Modern Images of Ancient Clay Figures:
Discovery and Oblivescence, Unearthed Artifacts as Regenerative Devices

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Introduction: From the Storage of Modern Art

In the grounds beneath the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo lie artifacts of prehistoric and ancient times. The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo opened its doors in 1952, in a small box-shaped building that was the former headquarters of Nikkatsu Corporation, which had been redesigned and refurbished by the architect MAEKAWA Kunio. The museum was later relocated to the Takeshibamon area in 1969, which occupies part of the former site of Edo Castle. During excavations conducted between October 1979 and May 1980 in conjunction with the construction of the museum's new underground storage facility, a dense and overlapping collection of the traces of people's lives from the distant past, from Jomon period dwellings sites to urban remains of the early modern period, were unearthed from the grounds beneath. One wonders how many people are currently aware of this. In other words, "an earthen repository filled with historical materials from primitive antiquity to the early modern period" [1] had been transformed into an underground storage facility dedicated solely to modern art. While museums are often likened to "graves" that serve as a resting place for artworks of the past, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, was in itself a historic ruin.

The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, despite having opened as Japan's first national art museum specializing in modern art, held an exhibition in 1954, just two years after its opening, entitled, "Today's Focus: On the History of Japanese Art" (Cat.no.0-02, Cat.no.2-31), exclusively featuring artifacts and antiques from premodern times, centering on those from the Jomon to Edo periods. The highlight of the exhibition was an installation of a so-called group of haniwa clay figures put together by architect TANIGUCHI Yoshiro, who designed the current museum building located in Takebashi. The exhibition had intended to reexamine art of the past from a contemporary perspective, and bring out new. The "Today's Focus" exhibition later developed into a series, [2] and although it was discontinued in 1972, in the year of the museum's 20th anniversary, it still remains the title of the museum's newsletter.

When the "Museum of Modern Art" opened in the 1950s, artists were active in different groups and in different fields, but for some reason, motifs related to "excavation," such as haniwa and dogu

[1] KATO Shinpei, "Afterword," *TAKEBASHI-MON: Excavational Reports on the Takebashi-mon Site Kitanomaru Citadel of the Edo-jo Castle, Tokyo*, National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo Archaeological Research Committee, May 1991, p.521.
[2] "Today's Focus: Eastern Art seen through Eyes of the Present" (1955), "Today's Focus: Primitive Art seen through Eyes of the Present" (1960), "Today's Focus: Traditional Daily Implements of Japan seen through Eyes of the Present" (1963), "Today's Focus: Fantasy of the Orient seen through Eyes of the Present" (1966), "Today's Focus: On Modern Japanese Art [20th Anniversary Exhibition]" (1972).

clay images and earthenware, had appeared frequently in Japanese art works. This was something that first came to my attention in 2015, in the collection room of the Museum of Modern Art, Ibaraki, where I was working at the time. I was in the process of preparing an exhibition of the museum's collection on the theme of the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II.[3]

Particularly notable was the predilection for haniwa by Japanese Western-style painters, who had moved towards abstract style painting after the war. As exhibitions showcasing Western art started being held in Japan, such as the Picasso exhibition in 1951, Cubist-style haniwa images had rapidly proliferated. This could be attributed to a "future-oriented love of antiquity"—of seeking one's roots in ancient Japan while at the same time resonating with cutting-edge Western art. It indeed demonstrates the complexity of the postwar identity of Western-style painters, who had worked with oil paints of Western origin.

This awakened interest in antiquity among postwar artists is something that has already been discussed in the context of art history. After World War II, artists including the likes of OKAMOTO Taro and Isamu NOGUCHI discovered "primal beauty" in unearthed artifacts, and thus what had previously been valued solely as archaeological materials, came to be treated as aesthetic objects.[4] Such is recognized as a key factor in introducing the Western art philosophy and style of "primitivism" to Japan, brought about through the mediation of above figures like Okamoto and Noguchi who had crossed the borders between "East and West."[5]

However, the work *Under the Sun* (Cat.no.2-13) created in 1958 by MORIYAMA Choko, had raised within me a certain question. Moriyama, born to a family of loyalists in Mito, was a sculptor who had learned traditional Japanese woodcarving techniques under the tutelage of Imperial Household Artist YAMAZAKI Choun. This statue, which depicts a young man of ancient times carrying a haniwa clay figure upon his shoulders, is sculpted from a single piece of wood in following with the style of Buddhist sculpture. It is difficult to connect the haniwa motif of this wood sculptor, who has been using historical figures as subjects for his work from before World War II, with "primitivism" or abstract art. In the context of the "discovery of primal beauty," it indeed seemed too much of a leap to attribute Moriyama's work to the influence of Okamoto Taro or Isamu Noguchi. At the same time, I became curious as to what this strange parallelism between these two seemingly unrelated things could possibly be.

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[3] HANAI Hisaho, "Collection Research Report: 'War' and 'Haniwa' and 'Chimneys'—From the Collection Exhibition "Postwar Art and Ibaraki I: 1940s-1960s", *Newsletter of the Museum of Modern Art, Ibaraki No.102*, September 2015, pp.6-7. This essay cites as its source material my previous texts, "Resurrected Haniwa: 'Excavated' Identity" (*Research Report of the Museum of Modern Art, Ibaraki*, No.13, 2018) and *The Essence of Japan Unearthed? / Unearthing the Past, Constructing the Future: MOMAT Collection the 1950s and 1960s*, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 2019. Due to limitations of space, only the main points have been excerpted and introduced.

[4] Special exhibitions include, "JOMON: 10,000 Years of Prehistoric Art in Japan" (Tokyo National Museum, 2018), "Isamu Noguchi and Taro Okamoto – 'Japan' of Two Travelers without Borders" (Taro Okamoto Museum of Art, Kawasaki, 2018).

[5] SHINOHARA Hanako, "The Tendecy Towards the "Primitive" in Japanese Art: The Development of Discourse with World War II as a Divide," 2019, doctoral thesis, University of Tsukuba.

In “The Fifty-Year Progress of the Japanese Archaeological Association,” there is a passage that directly describes the state of archaeology in the postwar period.

> With the war’s end, Japanese archaeology was suddenly thrust in front of the nation’s view: in place of the deities from the nation’s founding myths, a brutish Stone Age Man stepped forth onto page one of Japanese history, inspiring a sense of wonderment in the citizens, particularly those of the younger generation. And as if to spur on this movement, the newspapers were filled day after day with news of the Toro excavation.[6]

Many people have likely seen news reports about “blacked-out children’s textbooks” in historical footage from just after the end of the war, which is shown on television from time to time.[7] Under the GHQ occupation, breaking away from and overcoming the so-called imperialist view of history—the history of the nation centering on the emperor—became a paramount task, and the nation’s founding myths thus disappeared from the opening pages of history textbooks. News of the discovery of archaeological sites was met with enthusiasm by the people of a nation that had lost its history in the defeat of the war. On the other hand, the postwar craze for all things ancient was also related to the construction of roads and residential areas as part of the nation’s reconstruction efforts, with the massive demand for urban infrastructure development leading to the survey and excavation of archaeological sites throughout Japan. The 1950s was thus a rare era in which the “passion for antiquity” and “economic growth” were inextricably linked. However, as soon as I began my research, I encountered a further question. That is, the praise for haniwa had clearly existed even during the wartime years. There were thus two periods in which haniwa were appreciated, separated by the nation’s defeat in the war. How are archaeology, which emerged in the postwar period to replace the imperialist view of history, and haniwa, which was given meaning amid the upsurge of nationalism during the war, connected? What were the things that were reinterpreted and carried over from the prewar period to the postwar period? Moving beyond the art historical narrative of “the discovery of primal beauty,” excavation sites for the “images of unearthed artifacts” in the modern era have come to cover a wide range of fields, including archaeology, history, literature, education, tourism, and publishing.

Antiquarianism and Archaeology

The love of antiquities, which involves collecting, documenting, and communicating their appeal, existed even prior to the modern era, with people known as “antiquarians” active in the

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[6] “The Fifty-Year Progress of the Japanese Archaeological Association,” *Journal of the Japanese Archaeological Association*, No.6, December 1998, pp.203-204.

[7] Japan News: Postwar Edition No.42, “New textbooks in which myths have disappeared,” Japan Broadcasting Corporation. https://www2.nhk.or.jp/archives/movies/?id=D0009181607_00000, 28 Aug 2024.

late Edo period. Meanwhile, archaeology was brought to Japan from the West in the early Meiji period by foreign advisors hired by the Japanese government and municipalities for their specialized knowledge and skill to assist in the nation's modernization. I wish to introduce excavated artifacts that were depicted at the intersection of "antiquarianism," "archaeology," and "art" as the entry point for this exhibition. The basic stance of this exhibition is to reexamine the artists' "gaze towards artifacts," while paying attention to "what is depicted on the outside of the artifacts." For example, the painter Minomushisanjin (TOKI Gengo), who excavated and collected artifacts from the Jomon period, depicted damaged objects as they were, and depicted dogu clay figures that were unable to stand upright, as if they were standing (Cat.no.0-04). The furniture on which the artifacts are placed have been depicted slightly more vaguely than the artifacts themselves. As such, this appears to be more like an imaginary exhibition space that Minomushisanjin had to some extent put together in his mind, rather than a completely realistic depiction of an actual scene. In this space, which retains strong influences of the Qing Dynasty that had persisted since the Edo period, there seems to be little to no self-awareness in using Jomon artifacts as symbols of "pure Japan."

The catalogue "*Hatsuun Yokyo*" (Cat.no.M-02), in which the collections of MATSUURA Takeshiro are depicted, features a sketch of a clay figure (haniwa) with missing legs by KAWANABE Kyosai. In his later years, Kyosai, at Takeshiro's request, painted a work entitled *Nomi no Sukune* (Cat.no.0-10). It depicts Nomi no Sukune, the founder of the Haji clan, making haniwa. However, what is placed on the worktable has a figure more similar in appearance to a Buddhist statue. Haniwa are meant to be cylindrical as they are held in position by placing their base into the ground, but the haniwa seen in the front row has two legs and rather resembles the wooden statue of early Heian period court noble and general, Sakanoue no Tamuramaro, which had been treasured by Takeshiro. Nomi no Sukune is wearing what appears to be the attire of a Nara period aristocrat, which suggests that Takeshiro and Kyosai, no matter how knowledgeable they were, still only had a vague idea of the Kofun period.

Tansei-Zasshu, the sketchbook of Western-style painter GOSEDA Yoshimatsu, also contains a painting of a haniwa clay figure (Cat.no.0-09). Goseda had accompanied Heinrich von Siebold, a foreign advisor hired by the Japanese government, on his archaeological survey conducted over a period of several days from April 25, 1878, and painted this portrait of a warrior figure in *tanko* (a form of short Japanese armor that was common in the Kofun period) during a visit to the home of NEGISHI Takeka, an antiques collector in the Saitama Prefecture.[8] The depiction

[8] TSUNODA Takuro (ed.), *A Collection of Historical Materials on Goseda Yoshimatsu*, Chuokoron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2015, pp.82-83; YOKOTA Yoichi, "Goseda Yoshimatsu and Heinrich von Siebold," *All about the GOSEDA Studio: A Bridge to Modern Paintings in Japan*, exhibition catalogue, Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History et al, 2008, 210-213; *Treasures inherited from the House of Negishi*, exhibition catalogue, Kokugakuin University Museum, 2024, pp.6-11.

techniques of Western-style painters would undoubtedly have been of great use in archaeological research. The shadows and textures are as realistic as if photographed, and the space around the haniwa is also depicted. It could be said that the moment when "antiquarianism" meets "archaeology" is here captured through the pencil of a Western-style painter. What emerges is a stratum that lies near the entrance to modernity, where the "foreign" coalesces with a desire to explore the roots of "Japan in its purest form."

Haniwa, Tumuli, and Expositions

It was in expositions that haniwa came to be granted the position of "national representative." The cover of *Representative Japan* (Cat.no.M1-02), a photographic magazine commemorating the Japan-British Exhibition held in 1910 in White City, London, features an illustration of Mount Fuji and haniwa. While Mount Fuji was also used extensively as a quintessential symbol of Japan at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, it was at the Japan-British Exhibition that haniwa first appeared as "representatives of Japan." Incidentally, the antiques exhibit on the Japanese side did not include haniwa. In the magazine cover, a haniwa of a shrine maiden is depicted with a friendly smile, and the Japanese imperial year "2570" (the year 2570 years since Emperor Jimmu ascended the throne) is written in the bottom right. HAYASHI Michiko's research on the Japan-British Exhibition[9] serves as a guiding aid in deciphering this representation of haniwa. Ancient imagery was used at the Japan-British Exhibition in order to visually demonstrate Japan as being a nation with a long history and culture. During the period between the World's Columbian Exposition and the Japan-British Exhibition, Japan had gained victory in the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, and thus stood shoulder to shoulder with Western powers in expanding its territory in East Asia and progressing towards becoming an empire. The image of "Yamatohime and Britannia," in which the armed goddesses of the two countries join hands, was created as an allegory of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance concluded in 1902, and this image was also used on commemorative medals and certificates of commendation at the Anglo-Japanese Exposition.[10] The shrine maiden haniwa image on the magazine cover is thought to be derived from "Yamatohime," as the Yamatohime-no-Mikoto is the daughter of Emperor Suinin who appears in the legend regarding the origin of Haniwa.

The pavilion at the Japan-British Exhibition displayed a diorama of Japanese history from ancient times to the present, featuring *iki* dolls (Japanese traditional life-sized lifelike dolls) dressed in period costumes.[11] A visualization of ancient times was sought to illustrate the history

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[9] HAYASHI Michiko, "The Ambivalence of the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition: Between 'Official Art History' and 'Show Business'," Geiso, No. 30, March 2015, pp.13-22.

[10] Hayashi Michiko, "The 1910 Japan-British Exhibition and 'Yamatohime': The Birth and Background of the Goddess Image Symbolizing Japan," *Kindai Gasetsu* No.25, December 2016, pp.83-101.

[11] Ibid (see footnote 10 above), ITO Mamiko, *Japan in the Meiji Era and the World Exposition*, Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2008.

of Japan's "unbroken imperial line." The backdrop of this diorama was painted by the artist GOSEDA Horyu. Goseda specialized in panoramic paintings and dioramas for expositions, and had been commissioned by the Department of Agriculture and Commerce to exhibit watercolors depicting Japanese archeological artifacts and ruins at 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Currently, a large oil painting of a round tumulus by Goseda Horyu II (Cat.no.1-01) remains in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum. Such is one out of a series of works painted as display panels, so to speak, for display in the archaeology galleries of the Imperial Household Museum (now the Tokyo National Museum).[12]

The reason for the preservation of tumuli by the Meiji government was to present them as embodiments of the imperial lineage amidst efforts to restore practical imperial rule in correspondence to Japan's modernization.[13] After notification, artifacts excavated from prospective tumuli were selected for further investigation, and the authority to purchase and preserve them rested with the Imperial Household Museum in Ueno. Only those items that the Imperial Household Ministry deemed unnecessary or that local governments refused to submit remained in respective regions as local artifacts. As Japan's domestic industry prospered following the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, railway lines were expanded, road networks were built, and regional development was actively pursued. These developments were accompanied by a rapid increase in excavations, including the destruction of tumuli, resulting in the discovery of many more buried artifacts.

End of the Meiji Era, a Monument to the Restoration of Imperial Rule and Martyrdom

TSUJI Kako's *Haniwa Figures* (Cat.no.1-05) from 1916, is an early example of haniwa as a subject in a work of art. In this painting, the haniwa's creators, and elderly earthenware artisan of the Haji clan and his son, are depicted among a group of haniwa in a forest.[14] What the painting illustrates is the very situation in which haniwa figures are in the midst of being made. For some reason, this work is placed in the "portrait" category in Nihonga artist KABURAGI Kiyokata's review of the Bunten (The Ministry of Education Fine Arts Exhibition).[15] Kiyokata does not hide his bewilderment at the way in which Tsuji depicts haniwa, which are human-shaped forms, and the actual human beings (artisans) who create them, as coexisting in the same space. Why did Tsuji choose these haniwa and artisans as the subject of his work? A certain situation emerges when looking into the years prior to and following the year of

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[12] Special Exhibition: "Copy, Create, Preserve: Records of Archaeological Objects in Modern Japan," September 10 ~ October 20, 2013, Japanese Gallery (Honkan), Tokyo National Museum.

[13] OTANI Masahiko, "The Change of the Policy for Preservation of Ancient Burial Yumuli (kofun) in Modern Japan," *Human Science Review, St Andrew's University*, No.33, March 2008, pp.155-242.

[14] According to UEDA Sayoko, it is thought to be a historical painting depicting Nomi no Sukune. Ueda Sayoko, "Tsuji Kako's *Haniwa Figures* and the Legend of Nomi no Sukune," *Occasional Opinions on Visual Facts: Suda Memorial*, No.2, March 2020, pp.51-54.

[15] KABURAGI Kiyokata, "Portraits (Nihonga Section)," November 1917, p. 17.

production. The most "historic" national project that began at the beginning of the Taisho era was the construction of the Imperial mausoleum at Fushimi Momoyama in Kyoto following the death of Emperor Meiji on July 30, 1912. Newspapers reported daily on the progress of the construction of the mausoleum,[16] and the mourning ceremony was of such great social interest that it transformed the city's infrastructure. The article, "Heavenly Generals that Guard the Mausoleum: A Purely Japanese Spirit and the New Significance of Haniwa," published on page 5 of the Yomiuri Shimbun's September 8, 1912 morning edition, states that the design for the haniwa was devised based on historical research conducted by Dr. MIYAKE Yonekichi, WADA Senkichi, and SEKI Yanosuke of the Imperial Household Museum, with sculptor YOSHIDA Hakurei working on their production. According to the article, as there was a risk that modern military attire may be misunderstood as having meanings of martyrdom, the haniwa themselves are modeled after the wooden figures that were buried by Emperor Kanmu to protect the royal palace, and their armaments are based on those from the Heian period, while their general form and faces are based on the "Armed Dogu Clay Figure (in the collection of Wada Senkichi, and on display at the Imperial Household Museum)" that was excavated from the "Round Tumulus, Serada Village, Nitta County, Ueno Province."

Although it was repeatedly reported that the production of haniwa in conjunction with the construction of the Imperial Mausoleum of Emperor Meiji "should not be misunderstood as having meanings of martyrdom," page 5 of the Yomiuri Shimbun's September 25, 1912 morning edition was filled with articles on martyrdom, such as "Suicide and Morality (Part 2) by TAKAHASHI Sen'en," "Studies on Martyrdom (Part 1) by IMAZAWA Jikai," and "Tales of Martyrdom (Part 1)" by Shojosei." The Martyrdom of Army General NOGI Maresuke, who attempted suicide on the same day as Emperor Meiji's death, had provoked various reactions in society. Just as OGAI Mori had dealt with the theme of "martyrdom" in his novel *The Last Testament of Okitsu Yagoemon*[17] as well as SOSEKI Natsume in his novel *Kokoro*,[18] Nogi's suicide through fidelity was an event that left a deep impression on people at the time, signaling the end of the Meiji era. The hidden protagonist of *Photo Album of the Imperial Funeral of Emperor Meiji* (Cat.no.M1-03) is Nogi Maresuke, as for some reason, a portrait of Nogi appears on its inside cover. In 1914, when the East Mound of the Fushimi Momoyama Imperial Mausoleum was built for the burial of Empress Dowager Shoken (wife of Emperor Meiji), haniwa made by Yoshida Hakurei were placed there as guards,[19] and in 1916, Nogi Shrine was built at the foot of the Imperial Mausoleum to enshrine Nogi Maresuke. The image that links haniwa to martyrdom became widely recognized among the public in part due to Nogi's existence.

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[16] *Yomiuri Shimbun*, August 22, 1912, morning edition, p.3; September 8, 1912, morning edition, p.5.
[17] OGAI Mori, *The Last Testament of Okitsu Yagoemon*, Chuo Koron, October 1912.
[18] SOSEKI Natsume, "Kokoro," *Asahi Shimbun*, serialized from April 20 to August 11, 1914.
[19] *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, April 30, 1914, morning edition, p.5.

Tsuji's 1916 work *Haniwa Figures* seems to have been a very topical subject matter for the people at the time, as it depicted a scene from a distant past, but could also be seen in conjunction with recent events. Haniwa, which are in essence figurative objects that are closely connected to human death, are depicted with a somewhat pastoral brightness as they stand alongside the artisan who made them, and his son. People continue to live on by sending haniwa figures into the afterlife, and as such, the image here is composed of a mixture of the living and the dying. "Restoration" is an attempt to invert the value of the oldest into the newest, and Tsuji's haniwa figures were indeed a subject that was chosen in the context of this time and milieu.

Knowledge Gained Through the Historical Study of Haniwa

Every time the name of the era changes in correspondence to the accession of a new emperor, attention is drawn to myths told in Shinto Scriptures such as the *Kojiki* ("Records of Ancient Matters") and *Nihon Shoki* ("The Chronicles of Japan"). In his essay titled, "An Introduction to Clothing," Japanese painter YASUDA Yukihiko explains the usefulness of examining haniwa as a means to study clothing.[20] In recent years, there has been a remarkable amount of research into the fact that archaeological artifacts, including haniwa, were widely used in the production of historical paintings from the late Taisho to the early Showa period.[21] Yasuda's research in particular, had begun to reveal the images sources of the motifs of individual works. What made haniwa effective in the research and study of ancient court and military practices, was that while stone, jewels, and metal artifacts often remained in their original form, artifacts made from organic matter such as cloth had corroded over time and no longer retained their shape. Haniwa were a valuable visual resource for gaining a comprehensive understanding of ancient people's clothing and lifestyle customs, including clothing styles, hairstyles, housing, and livestock.

That which became a point of contact between artists and archaeological artifacts were exhibitions held at the Imperial Household Museum in Ueno, and publications regarding its collection. In the early Showa period, archaeological research methods were developed in Japan under the influence of European typology, and interest in archaeological research shifted from "understanding the present state" of excavated artifacts to their "restoration." The museum's display of reconstructions painted by SUGIYAMA Sueo (Cat.nos.1-08～1-11) of Japan's paleolithic period, as well as copies and reproductions of excavated artifacts, is thought to have helped artists envision the ancient times.

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[20] YASUDA Yukihiko, "Introduction to Clothing," *Atelier Art Lectures*, August 1933, p.81.

[21] INAHATA Rumiko, "Yasuda Yukihiko and Historical Paintings Related to Shinto Scriptures," *Journal of the Nara Prefectural Museum of Art*, No. 29, March 2015, pp.1-23; NAGASHIMA Keiya, "Research on Chokoku Sogyo Emaki," *Geiso*, No.17, 2001, pp. 41-98; Nagashima Keiya, "Yasuda Yukihiko's Mythological Paintings and Studies of Customs, "*Today's Focus: Newsletter of the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo*, No. 617, April 1, 2016, pp. 4-5; KATSUYAMA Shigeru, "The Essence of Yasuda Yukihiko's Art – Taking Clues from the work *Injured Yamatotakeru at the Spring," Yasuda Yukihiko: A Retrospective*, exhibition catalogue, Asahi Shimbun, 2016, pp. 174-181.

KIMURA Buzan's work *Gallant Man* (Cat.no.1-07), produced in 1935, depicts Emperor Jimmu. This was around the time that the "Preparatory Committee for the Celebration of the 2600th Anniversary of the Japanese Empire" was formed and planning began for commemorative projects such as the development of Kashihara Shrine (the place where Emperor Jimmu is said to have acceded to the throne) and the mausoleum located in its grounds. In this work, Emperor Jimmu is depicted wearing the traditional short armor and helmet of the Kofun period, armed with a sword and staff. The difference in clothing is striking when juxtaposed with the image of Emperor Jimmu in KIKUCHI Yosai's *Zenken Kojitsu* (a collection of illustrated biographies of Japanese historical figures),[22] which served as an authoritative source of iconography for modern painters in the early Meiji period and had a great influence as a textbook on court practices and customs. *Archaeology Lecture Series Vol.12: Haniwa and Accessories*, published in 1929,[23] is an explanatory book written by TAKAHASHI Kenji, who was the head of the archaeology section at the Imperial Household Museum at the time. The book contains a wealth of illustrations from the museum's collection, categorized by type of accessory, making it a comprehensive catalogue of ancient clothing. Such is an example of how new findings from archaeology were quickly incorporated as archaeological knowledge for the production of historical paintings.

Haniwa and the 2600th Anniversary of the Japanese Empire

It was not until the year 1940, when the celebratory mood for the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese Empire was rising, that the beauty of haniwa itself as an archaeological artifact, rather than as an archaeological tool for research, came to be praised. The antique hobbyist magazine *Chawan: Tea Bowl*, Vol.9, No.2 (Cat.no.M1-25) published in February 1939, presented a special feature on haniwa. The opening page proclaims, "Advocating the Exploration of Haniwa Beauty Ahead of the 2600th Anniversary Next Year." On the occasion of the 2600th anniversary, editor of the magazine ONO Kenichiro (1888-1943) had wished to position haniwa in the context of Japanese art.

> We would like to feel first of all the great beauty of haniwa that reflects the universalist concept of *Hakko ichiu* ("eight corners of the earth united under one roof," as advocated by Emperor Jummu at the time of his ascension). We must also be impressed by the skill and mentality of the people who, as something that is indeed even difficult to do today, managed to bake such a large amount of soil in an era close to the time of the nation's founding. It would be meaningless to treat haniwa as mere objects of reference. The beauty of those simple lines and their power must be recreated today.[24]

[22] KIKUCHI Yosai, *Zenken Kojitsu*, vol. 1, 1868, Unsui Mujin-an, p. 38.
[23] TAKAHASHI Kenji, *Archaeology Lecture Series Vol.12: Haniwa and Accessories*, Kokushi Koenkai, Yuzankaku, 1929.
[24] ONO Kenichiro, "The Beauty of Haniwa," *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, December 10, 1938, morning edition, p.7.

Behind Ono's praise of haniwa was a growing nationalistic momentum ahead of the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese Empire. It is said that "many works that drew inspiration from haniwa" were presented in the sculpture section of the Bunten exhibition. In fact, the sculpture section of the Bunten exhibition in October 1938 featured statues of warriors from Japan's Age of the Gods, including MATSUBARA Gakunan's *Ancient Samurai Figure*, based on the armor of a haniwa warrior.

In May 1939, in the Miyazaki Prefecture, an area associated with Emperor Jimmu, construction began on the "Ametsuchi no Motohashira Monument" (Cat.no.M1-13), a tower commemorating the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese Empire, designed by sculptor HINAKO Jitsuzo (1892-1845). On each four sides of the tower are the statues of the "Four Honorable Shinto Spirits" made of Shigaraki ware, their attire of which is inspired by haniwa armor. The artists of Kozo-sha, Japan's first independent group of sculptors formed in 1926 by the likes of Hinako and SAITO Sogan, had produced sculptural works for society including monuments, commercial art, and designs and crafts, and also produced many commemorative medals for sporting events. They began paying attention to haniwa relatively early on, using images of Nomi no Sukune, the founder of the Haji clan and god of sumo wrestling (Hinako Jitsuzo, *Medal of the 7th Meiji Shrine Games*, 1933 (Cat.no.1-13)) as well as haniwa horses (Hinako Jitsuzo, *Medal of the All-Japan War Horse Relay*, 1940, (Cat.no.1-12), and warriors dressed in hanging armor from the Kofun period (YO Kanji, *Medal of the 8th National Secondary School Kendo Tournament*, 1937) as motifs on the medals that they produced.[25]

Modernists' Appreciation of Haniwa

Patriots were not alone in expressing their appreciation for haniwa during Japan's wartime period. Around 1940, artists from the Association of Free Artists who had pursued abstract art since the prewar period, including HASEGAWA Saburo (1906-1957), NANBATA Tatsuoki (1905-1997), MURAI Masanai (1905-1999), and ONOSATO Toshinobu (1912-1986) also showed a clear interest in haniwa. The opening passage of the first issue of the journal *Jiyu Bijutsu: A Quarterly of the Association of Free Artists*, launched in 1939, advocated the search for a circuit that connects the "classic" and the "modern."

In his text "Classics are ours," contributed to the No.2 issue of *Jiyu Bijutsu* (Cat.no.M1-22) published in May 1940, Hasegawa Saburo discovered the principles of abstraction in the gardens and tea ceremony utensils he came across in Kyoto, and reversed the relationship by stating that abstract art had already existed in Japan.[26] A consistent tendency among these artists was to seek common ground between modernism and contemporary art, that is, the

[25] *Medals and their Appeal*, exhibition catalogue, Kodaira Hirakushu Denchu Art Museum, 2017
[26] HASEGAWA Saburo, "Classics are ours", *Jiyu Bijutsu: A Quarterly of the Association of Free Artists*, No.2, May 22, 1940, p.1.

simplicity of form. Hasegawa Saburo's essay "Avant-garde Art and Oriental Classics"[27] also illustrates an attempt to connect art from all over the world, past and present, based on similarities in form. Pressured by the social circumstances in which the Imperial Rule Assistance Association was about to begin its political regime, the Association of Free Artists changed its name to "Association of Art Creators," and the word "free" was removed from the 2600th anniversary issue of the journal. It was in this issue that Onosato Toshinobu's poem, "Spirit of Haniwa" (Cat.no.M1-23) was published. The negative words in Onosato's poem give the impression of a wryer sense of commentary, different from the straightforward praise of haniwa that Ono Kenichiro had described as "all the great beauty of haniwa that reflects the universalist concept of Hakko ichiu ("eight corners of the earth united under one roof"). The year before the publication of this poem, Onosato produced an oil painting titled *Man of Haniwa* (Cat.no.1-15). *Man of Haniwa* depicts a simplified human body comprised of circles, maintaining the fine line between figuration and abstraction. In addition, his work *Vermillion and Yellow Circles* (Cat.no.1-16), in which red circles occupy the white background, can also be seen as reminiscent of the Japanese flag. The eyes and mouth of *Man (clay sculpture)* (Cat.no.1-17), made from fired clay, are not hollowed out like those of a haniwa, instilling the figure with a complex facial expression that is difficult to read. During the war, haniwa, composed of simple forms, became a laissez passer of sorts to circumvent the strict controls on abstract painting.

Reading into the Facial Expressions of Haniwa: *The Beauty of Haniwa* by NOMA Seiroku, TAKAMURA Kotaro and SAKAMOTO Manshichi

In November 1942, the book *The Beauty of Haniwa* (Cat.no.M1-41) by Noma Seiroku was published by Jyuraku-sha. Noma, a historian specializing in sculpture, studied at the Department of Aesthetics and Art History, Faculty of Letters, Tokyo Imperial University, and was a close friend and classmate of artist Hasegawa Saburo (1906-1957) who was a member of the Association of Free Artists. After graduating in 1930, he became an assistant inspector of the Imperial Household Museum. *The Beauty of Haniwa* is a large cloth-bound book containing 56 black-and-white photographs taken by Sakamoto Manshichi (1900-1974) and is luxurious in its finish and specifications considering the publishing restrictions imposed during the war. Compared to the way FUJIMOTO Shihachi captured the dramatic expressions of the haniwa figures photographed in the presence of the young sculptors HONGO Shin and SATO Churyo, Sakamoto's photographs of haniwa figures (Cat. no. M1-41, see Column I, pp.90-91 for reference) while celebrating their lyricism, does not fail to capture the shape, texture, and detailed characteristics of the material itself. It can be said that Sakamoto's photographs of haniwa reflect to a large extent his understanding of haniwa that he gained through working

[27] Hasegawa Saburo, "Avant-garde Art and Oriental Classics," *Mizue*, No.384, February 1937, pp.146-148.

with Noma.

Noma's goal with this large-format book, *The Beauty of Haniwa*, was to present to the world images of haniwa that were worthy of aesthetic appreciation. Noma wrote an essay titled, "On the Photographs of the Sculptures"[28] in *Sakura no Kuni: Land of Cherry Trees* (Cat.no.M1-40), a pamphlet for camera enthusiasts published by Koshinroku (now Konica Minolta). The essay is Noma's guide to photographing sculptures, and he discusses in great detail the following topics: types of photographs of sculptures, understanding the beauty of sculptures, angles and lighting for photographing sculptures, and additional precautions for photographing sculptures. Noma's argument is that the beauty of sculpture must be understood before the pursuit of photographic techniques. For example, he uses illustrations to show that it is better to photograph Greco-Buddhist sculptures from an angle, rather than from a frontal view, to bring out the beauty of the voluptuous curvatures of their hands. He also widely appealed that it would be possible to photograph the sculptures on display at the museum by taking advantage of the museum's special viewing regulations. One suspects that Noma's openness must have appealed to aspiring sculptors. During this period, Noma was working on a series of writings and photography projects on haniwa. Noma's essay "On Haniwa" (Cat.no.M1-27)[29] published in the magazine *Lady's Graphic* in September 1941, is accompanied by photographs of haniwa set against a black background. These photographs were taken by MITSUZUMI Hiroshi (1909-1977), a photojournalist who joined WATANABE Yoshio and HAMAYA Hiroshi at Toho-sha publishing and worked for the magazine *FRONT*. The technique of photographing the subject at an angle against a black background is common with the haniwa photographs he took with Fujimoto Shihachi. Although it is unclear to what extent Noma's intervention is reflected in these photographs, it is possible to point out the overlap in their awareness of these issues.

In *The Beauty of Haniwa*, Noma's interest in haniwa is almost exclusively directed toward the "face," as he largely omits commentary from an archaeological or historical perspective. While Noma was a specialist in the history of sculpture, his main work was *The History of Japanese Masks*,[30] which deals with facial expression. Noma's commentary devotes most of its effort to deciphering the facial expressions of haniwa, and Sakamoto Manshichi's photographs of richly expressive haniwa serve as a complement to the text.

Sakamoto was a photographer who photographed cultural assets, including crafts related to YANAGAI Soetsu's Mingei movement as well as surveys of archaeological sites in China, and from 1941 he was commissioned by the Japan Foundation. Haniwa, which had no value to Sakamoto, took on a completely different "beauty of expression" by being brought into the

[28] NOMA Seiroku, "On the Photographs of the Sculptures," *Sakura no Kuni: Land of Cherry Trees*, Koshinroku, August 1942, pp.1-10.
[29] NOMA Seiroku, "On Haniwa," *Lady's Graphic*, September 1941, pp.101-107.
[30] Noma Seiroku, *The History of Japanese Masks*, 1943, Geibun Shoin.

spotlight. Sakamoto stated that photographing haniwa had instilled him with a sense of photographic awareness[31]. His photographs published in *The Beauty of Haniwa* had since become widely known, creating a situation in which respective viewers could interpret the facial expressions of haniwa in different ways. *The Beauty of Haniwa* opens with a preface by TAKAMURA Kotaro (1883-1956). At the time Takamura was the head of the poetry section of the Patriotic Association for Japanese Literature, and was involved in producing poetry in support of the war. Takamura drew links between the face of a haniwa dressed as a warrior (excavated in Kamichujo Village, Kita-Saitama District, Saitama Prefecture) and that of a young soldier heading to war in the Asia-Pacific, praising "the brightness, simplicity, and purity of its expression."[32]

Haniwa's Contribution in the War

In April 1938, the National Mobilization Law was promulgated, allowing the Japanese government to control and manage all of the nation's human and material resources in order to wage total war. In May 1938, the "War Art Exhibition" was held at the Tokyo Prefectural Art Museum under the sponsorship of The Asahi Shimbun Company. The exhibition featured armaments collected from all over Japan, among which were haniwa warriors. Armed haniwa were not the only objects of praise. From May 4 to May 22, 1940, the "Exhibition of Japanese Cultural History" commemorating the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese Empire, was held at the Tokyo Prefectural Art Museum. The exhibition was sponsored by The Asahi Shimbun Company, which also published in its newspaper a serial titled, "Viewing the Cultural History Exhibition." The first instalment of the serial introduced a female haniwa under the headline "Handed down from generation to generation: the gentle and beautiful faces of haniwa." The article was written by the female playwright HASEGAWA Shigure (1879-1941). In 1928, Hasegawa founded the magazine *Nyonin Geijutsu: Women's Arts* to discover and foster female artists and improve the status of women (the magazine was discontinued in 1932). Later in 1933, following the Manchurian Incident, she formed the *Kagayaku Troop*, an organization aimed at comforting soldiers in war zones by sending them "comfort bags" containing daily necessities and essays by children, thus devoting herself to supporting the war effort.[33]

Two years earlier, in April 1938, Hasegawa Shigure had written about two female haniwa in a column for Yomiuri Shimbun titled, "The Clothing of Working Women."[34] In 1938, Hasegawa had been favorably impressed with the modern attire of female haniwa complete with their

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[31] SAKAMOTO Manshichi, "Gratitude for Haniwa," *Monthly Journal of Japanese Sculpture 5*, Bijutsu-Shuppansha, 1952, p.1.
[32] TAKAMURA Kotaro, "Preface," Noma Seiroku, *The Beauty of Haniwa*, Jyurakusha, 1942, p.1.
[33] "Kagayaku Troop Send-off Party," *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, May 21, 1940, evening edition, p.2.
[34] HASEGAWA Shigure, "Female Haniwa Speaks of the Origin of Gentle Wartime Women," *Yomiuri Shimbun*, April 26, 1938, p.9.

accessories, however, by 1940, she no longer commented on adornments, and instead referred to the garments of the shrine maiden as "an allusion to tomorrow' emergency wear." On July 7, 1940, Regulations on the Restriction of the Manufacture and Sale of Luxury Items, known as the so-called "7.7 prohibitory decree,' came into effect. This signaled the beginning of an era marked by the slogan, "extravagance is our foe." Men were required to wear national uniforms, and women defending the home front were encouraged to wear a sash over a white sleeved apron. As flamboyant clothing became prohibited, it was also required for the fashion of haniwa women to be subdued.

KURAHARA Shinjiro's (1899-1965) anthology of poems *Fighter Plane* published in July 1943, included the poem "Female Haniwa." Despite the strict paper quotas imposed by publishing regulations, 3,000 copies were reprinted on June 10, 1944. Shortly after the reprinting of this anthology, Japan lost an aircraft carrier in the Battle of the Philippine Sea, losing its air supremacy over the western Pacific. The entire poem, "Obey Thy Army" is cloaked in an atmosphere of martyrdom. Haniwas were mobilized even in such patriotic poems that intended to boost fighting spirit.

In the special feature "Beauty of Countenance" in *Seikatsu Bijutsu: Lifestyle Art* Vol.3, No.10, published in October 1943, Noma placed the caption "Head of a Grieving Man" on the photograph of the haniwa *Man's Head* (excavated from Mikuri Village, Tano District, Gunma Prefecture) (Cat.no.M1-43), and introduced it as follows: "the downcast look in the corners of his eyes inevitably gives the impression that he is crying. There is nothing more appropriate as a symbol of strong sorrow or mourning for the dead." Reading the expressions of haniwa had the aspect of garnering sympathy by linking the emotions of people living through the war with their yearning for the "ancient times."

In the January 1944 issue of the magazine *Bijutsu Kogei: Art and Crafts*, Noma wrote an article titled "The Artistic Value of Haniwa," in which he reflected on the response to his efforts to promote the "beauty of haniwa." He mentions that sculptors in particular were the ones who most sympathized with his work and were able to extract even more value from haniwa than Noma himself.[35] Sculptor HORIUCHI Masakazu, who had suspended his artistic practice during the war, also wrote in his diary about listening to a commentary on haniwa that Noma gave at the Imperial Household Museum during the war.[36] As such, there were other sculptors who visited Noma in their pursuit of haniwa, in addition to Hongo Shin and Sato Churyo who were present at the photoshoot for the haniwa feature in the third issue of *Zokei Geijutsu: Figurative Art*. GOTO Seiichi (1893-1984) was also one of such sculptors received Noma's tutelage.
Goto's work *Tama (Orb)* (Cat.no.1-23), which was exhibited at the Wartime Bunten Exhibition in

[35] Noma Seiroku, "The Artistic Value of Haniwa," *Bijutsu Kogei: Art and Crafts*, No.22, January 1944, pp.10-17.
[36] In "Diary of Horiuchi Masakazu No.3, (collection of the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Modern Art) there is an entry that reads, "On the afternoon of February 26, 1943, I listened to Noma Seiroku's talk on haniwa at the museum."

1944, appears to reference haniwa. Among the issues addressed at the time, this work seems to be in line with the "praise of national manners and customs." The garment and accessories are referenced from a female haniwa unearthed in the Gunma Prefecture, and the title *Tama (Orb)* evokes Tamayori-hime, the mother of Emperor Jimmu who appears in Japan's founding myth. This work is made of dry lacquer. Towards the end of the war, there was a serious shortage of materials, metal was collected for the production of weapons, and the supply of good quality plaster was halted.[37] In his essay, "The Eyes of Haniwa Dolls,"[38] philosopher WATSUJI Tetsuro praised the beauty of the eyes of haniwa, which comprised of nothing but two holes, as representing the spirit of the Japanese people in times prior to the introduction of Buddhism. Goto was an avid reader of Watsuji's writings. By being made of dry lacquer, *Tama (Orb)* had acquired the hollows eyes of a haniwa.

There painting titled *The Gallery of Haniwa*[39](Cat.no.1-25) (Cat.no.1-25), which depicts two armed haniwa in a glass display case at the Imperial Household Museum in Ueno. It was painted by KUWAHARA Kihachiro,[40] a 21-year-old art student enrolled in the Japanese Painting course at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. Kuwahara was enlisted as a student soldier on December 1, 1943, and was sent to the battlefields in the Philippines and northern Burma (now Myanmar). Kuwahara, who was assigned to the Photography Unit of the Imperial Japanese Navy Air Service, was killed at the age of 24 in February 1945, when he was hit by a bomb dropped from a British night fighter plane while on the move. The women in Kuwahara's *The Gallery of Haniwa* are dressed in a modern style, and strangely enough, there seems to be no hint of the dark times. One wonders whether Kuwahara had foreseen being sent to the battlefields in the Asia-Pacific after painting this work, and that the very gallery depicted, would one day come to be filled with women and children.

Rewriting and Unearthing History

> Haniwa, which were created by the people of Japan in the midst of its natural environment and spiritual features, was revived here and now with new meaning, while exuding an aura of the Japanese ideal.[41]

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[37] SAKOUCHI Yuji, "The Relationship between War and Sculpture in Modern Japan: Focusing on the Japan Sculptor's Association," *Sculpture 1*, Topofil, June 2018, pp.174-249.

[38] WATSUJI Tetsuro, "The Eyes of Haniwa Dolls," Shiso: Thought, No.200, January 1939, pp.181-183.

[39] The work was registered under the title *Figure Study* at the Mugonkan Memorial Museum for Art Students Fallen in War, but in preparation for this exhibition, the catalogue and plates of the 1947 privately published *Collection of Works by Kuwahara Kihachiro*, in the possession of his family, revealed that the work was in fact *The Gallery of Haniwa*, exhibited in the 1942 Nihonga-In Exhibition.

[40] *The Definitive Guide to the Mugonkan Memorial Museum for Art Students Fallen in War*, Koseisha, 2022, pp. 161-163. *Collection of Works by Local Japanese Painter Kuwahara Kihachiro*, Kakegawa Ninomaru Museum of Art, August 2003, pp. 36-37.

[41] KANAYA Katsumi, *The Birth of Haniwa: The Peripheries of Ancient Japanese History*, Kodansha Ltd., January 1962, pp.166-167.

This is a passage from *The Birth of Haniwa: The Peripheries of Ancient Japanese History*, by archaeologist KANAYA Katsumi, who in 1962, looks back on the postwar haniwa craze. The re-excavation of the Toro ruins in 1947 is said to be the starting point of postwar Japanese archaeology. It was a national project to re-excavate the remains of the paddy fields in the eastern provinces of Japan from the Yayoi period, which had been discovered on the site of a munitions factory during the war.[42]

The excavation, which was carried out by university students including female students, local teachers, high school students, and women's associations, was said to have given the impression of a new democratic society. The fact that the Toro ruins were the remains of paddy fields from the Yayoi period, where no iron weapons or graves had been excavated, also strongly evoked the image of Japan's reemergence as a peaceful nation. Goto Shuichi, who was a central figure in the excavation, emphasized the peaceful nature of the Japanese race, stating, "Unlike hunters, the Japanese, who are a people devoted to agriculture, are lovers of peace."[43] Harvard University professor Edwin O. Reischauer, who was in Japan at the invitation of the GHQ, also visited the site and encouraged the progress of archaeology in Japan, stating, "In order to establish itself as a cultural nation, Japan must thoroughly investigate such important sites, preserve them in their entirety, and teach its people ancient history that is accurate."[44] Development of the Toro Ruins began subsequently in 1951 in an effort to convert the site into a tourist destination (Cat.nos. M2－11～ M2-13), and the "ancient period" was visualized through the restoration of dwellings. Toro, which was the site of a munitions factory during the war, became a new destination for school excursion students and tourists after the war. In 1953, locals led the excavation of the Tsukinowa Tumulus in Yuuka, Misaki, Okayama Prefecture, with the aim of making the masses the "writers of history."[45] The excavation of the Tsukinowa Tumulus is positioned as one of the achievements of the National History Movement advocated by ISHIMODA Sho. A documentary film titled Tsukinowa Tumulus (Cat. no. M2-15) was also produced, and excavation as part of local history education continued to be carried out through school study groups and club activities.[46]

In the 1950s, the image of "the people" as the driving force behind the reconstruction and

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[42] MORI Yutaka, *Photographs of the Toro Ruins*, Gendai Kyoyo Bunko No. 196, editorial supervision by GOTO Shuichi, Shakai Shisosha, May 1958; OTSUKA Hatsushige, *Japan Lay Within the Soil: A Life of Excavation that Began at the Toro Ruins*, Shogakukan Inc., May 2013.

[43] Ibid. Goto Shuichi, "Ancient Japanese Society Centered Around Toro," pp.132-133.

[44] Ibid. Goto Shuichi, p.119

[45] Mibi Local Culture Association, "How was the Excavation of Tsukinowa Tumulus Carried Out?" *The Local History of Kibi*, No.9, Kibi Local History Research Association, 1953, p.2. Kokuni Yoshihiro, "Reconstructing the Image of Japanese History in the National History Movement: Taking Clues from the Excavation of Tsukinowa Tumulus in Okayama Prefecture, *the Journal of Social Science and Humanities*, No.38, pp.1-30.

[46] Ichimoto Rui, "The Past, Present, and Future of High School Archaeology Studies," *A Happy Connection Between the Cultures of the 'Community' and 'Museums' 3: Report on the Forum and Symposium on the Cooperation Between Schools and Museums*, The Museum of Kyoto, March 2017, pp.62-75.

construction of Japan as a new democratic nation, came to be projected onto the image of haniwa. HANESHI Koji's work *Haniwa Artisans* (Cat. no. 2-16) is a group portrait of ancient artisans, half-naked, busy working on the production of haniwa. *Under the Sun* (Cat.no.2-13), produced after the war by MORIYAMA Choko, who used traditional wood carving techniques to create works centering on Buddhist statutes and statues of historical figures, depicts a young artisan of the Haji clan carrying an animal haniwa upon his shoulders. During the war, Moriyama produced works that reflected the times, using the myths of the Kojiki and Nihon Shoki as their subject matter. While historiography based on founding myths were subject to censorship under the GHQ occupation, the scientific excavation of ruins had once again come into the spotlight. Moriyama was interested in the subject of "people making haniwa," and had collected postcards of Tsuji Kako's *Haniwa Figures* as well as the Asahi Photo Book *The Beauty of Haniwa*, and newspaper articles on the exhibition "Haniwa" held at the Bridgestone Museum of Art in 1958. The title *Under the Sun* likely conveys the joy of seeing the history once buried underground being brought to light, and the hope for a rebirth of Japanese identity following its defeat in the war.

Haniwa and Children: Welcoming New Visitors to Museums

In May 1947, the Imperial Household Museum was renamed the National Museum, and the museum, which was once an imperial hall of beauty, became a national asset. The first issue of *The National Museum News* (Cat.no.M2-19-01), published on September 1 that year, begins with the headline, "Citizens and the Museum: A Need to Reconsider Antiquities." What is particularly symbolic is a photograph of a GI and a young woman viewing artworks in the museum's gallery. "If it is true that Japan's past history must be rewritten anew, then the antique artifacts that serve as the material for this must be reexamined through the eyes of new historians."[47]

The fact that "children" were the target audience for the relaunched National Museum can be seen in the guide to its first special exhibition held in the fall after its name change, "Changes in Japanese Dwellings: Cultural History for Children" (Cat.no.M2-08) (October 29 – December 20, 1947). At the time, just a step outside the museum and one could still see barracks and black markets standing amidst the city burnt to ruins—a scene that was likely also observed in cities across other regions in Japan. "Primitive life" was thus not a thing of the distant past, but was the reality that people were then confronted with. "How should future housing in Japan be devised as we move forward in building a peaceful cultural nation?" This exhibition on the history of dwellings, which introduced house-shaped haniwa and pit-houses, was a great hit with children and also toured throughout the Kyushu region.[48]

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[47] *The National Museum News*, No.1, September 1947, p.1.
[48] *The National Museum News*, No.2, October 1947, pp.2-3.

There are a number of reasons why haniwa's "contribution to the war" during World War II went unquestioned, enabling them to continue being a source of appeal and fascination after the war. First of all, the empirical study of archaeology helped to revise Japan's historical perspective during the war and encouraged reflection. After Japan had been burnt to the ground due to wartime devastation, all places became an "excavation site" in correspondence to widespread reconstruction and development efforts, resulting in the surfacing of new "history." There was also the fact that haniwa were a resource for learning about primitive Japanese life, and the wisdom of that primitive life provided encouragement to people who suffered from material shortages after the war. It was thanks to these rare strokes of luck that accumulated amid the ruins of "defeat" that haniwa were able to survive after the war without being charged with any crime.

Rediscovering the Beauty of Haniwa

The National Museum News, No.41, published in October 1950, contained an interview with artist Isamu NOGUCHI.[49]

> I am fond of haniwa, and I once saw some at Kyoto National Museum when I visited Japan 19 years ago. Having come back to Japan on this occasion, I found the haniwa and Jomon and Yayoi period earthenware that I saw at the Tokyo National Museum very interesting. (…) In the end, I decided to take a haniwa with me. It was a haniwa horse made by Matsubara (Gakunan), housed in the museum—a truly lovely horse at that. (…)
>
> I think that there are many things amongst old Japanese things that we can learn from. Painters, sculptors, craftsmen should all look closely at the fine things that we have here. Just take a look. They're all here. Don't just look at things from overseas, take a good look at the old things we have here, in Japan. (…). It's not about imitating, but about making use of what you have learned and what you are going to learn from now on.

One can only imagine how encouraging Noguchi's words must have been to Noma Seiroku and others working at the Tokyo National Museum at the time. Noguchi's love for haniwa had reawakened in Noma and his colleagues the passion for the beauty of haniwa that had still lingered within them.

The wartime haniwa craze was fueled by the excitement leading up to the 2600th anniversary celebrations of the Japanese Empire, and since "faces of haniwa" were also used in militarist education, haniwa could have been deemed war criminals. Immediately after the war, haniwa

[49] "Isamu Noguchi's Visit: Learning from Japanese Antiques," *The National Museum News*, No. 41, October 1950, p.3. The interview was conducted by KAMAHARA Masami, who then worked at the National Museum Archives.

were brought into the spotlight as archaeological resources, and Noma himself never vocally advocated the beauty of haniwa. However, Noguchi's statement, as an artist from the United States, may indeed have been the coup de grace that helped to remove these concerns. It is unclear whether it should simply be taken that Noguchi's words had motivated Noma and his colleagues, or whether they decided to interview Noguchi who had expressed his fondness for haniwa and publish it in their newsletter in conjunction with the "Exhibition of Ancient Japanese Culture" that was to be held the following year. In any case, the story of the "discovery of haniwa" in the age of freedom had come together. *The Sansai: Fine Art Magazine*, No. 52, published in April 1951, featured a text by Noma Seiroku titled, "Haniwa and its Artistry" (Cat. no.M2-20).[50] The magazine was edited by FUJIMOTO Shozo, and its photographs were taken by Sakamoto Manshichi. As such, Noma was once again reunited with the two allies who he had worked together with in promoting the beauty of haniwa to the world in the wartime period. In his text, Noma plainly confesses that he had already advocated the aesthetic beauty of haniwa ten years prior, during the war. He reiterates that haniwa, while still only considered an "archaeological (customs)" resource just as in 1941, is a "fine example of sculpture." Nevertheless, he forgets to mention how he himself had advocated the beauty of haniwa during the war and took pride in the positive responses he received from the fields of archaeology, art history, and sculpture.[51] Noma's discussion still focuses on the beauty of the facial expressions of haniwa, and apart from using words such as "human emotion," "expression of individuality," and "free-spiritedness" that are more in keeping with the democratic era, his discourse remains largely unchanged from the wartime period.

The pursuit of the Japanese spirit prior to its influence from the Asian continent, has also not changed since the war. The yearning for the "purity" and "cheerfulness" of the "people of Ancient Japan" that Watsuji spoke of remains intact.

With regards to haniwa, the same tendency as Noma applies to the writings of Takamura Kotaro, who gave up sculpting for seven years and lived in seclusion in a mountain villa in Hanamaki due to his remorse for writing pro-war poetry. Takamura's writings are almost unchanged in their content, also focusing on the beauty of haniwa in terms of their "purity" and "brightness."[52]

Noma and Takamura were not alone. When referring to ancient and primitive beauty, the speaker always seems to be accompanied by a sense of ego of wanting to be the "discoverer." "Discovery" and "obliviscence" go hand in hand, and one suspects that their "obliviscence" had indeed played a part in transforming the narratives regarding haniwa and dogu in the postwar

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[50] Noma Seiroku, "Haniwa and its Artistry," *The Sansai: Fine Art Magazine*, No.52, April 1951, p.2.
[51] See footnote 35.
[52] Takamura Kotaro, "The Beauty of Haniwa and Mushanokoji Saneatsu," *Bungei: Mushanokoji Saneatsu A Reader's Guide*, extra edition, Kawade Shobo, August 1955, pp.105-107.

period, into that which was flat and easy-to-understand. Tanikawa Shuntaro's poem "Haniwa," written on January 22, 1950, and published in the August 1951 issue of *Rekitei*, tells of the "secrets" of haniwa that Noma, Takamura, and others had chosen to forget. Fujimoto Toshihiko points out that the imperialist interpretation of haniwa is implied through the words, "two thousand years" and "god."[53] Tanikawa Shuntaro's father, the philosopher Tanikawa Tetsuzo, was the man who led the postwar transformation of the Imperial Household Museum to the National Museum. He served as Deputy Director of the National Museum from November 1946 to June 1948. The National Museum News includes an article in which his son Tanikawa Shuntaro, who was a junior high school student at the time, made a comment about the museum as a viewer.[54] The boy Shuntaro was a young visitor to the museum. Tanikawa Tetsuzo was involved with Watsuji in the launching of the magazine *Shiso: Thought*, and it was in 1939, during the war, that Watsuji's article "The Eyes of Haniwa Dolls" was published in *Shiso: Thought*, No.200.[55]

The second issue of *MUSEUM*, the official magazine of the National Museum, published in May 1951, was almost entirely dedicated to haniwa. Noteworthy is the inclusion of artist Hasegawa Saburo's poem "Earth and Air" (Cat.no.M2-21), which was printed across four pages and began with the words, "Oh haniwa." This is highly unusual for a research journal. While the nature of Noma's writings remains unchanged between the prewar and postwar periods, Hasegawa, Noma's university friend and with whom he studied art history, accounts for everything that haniwa have observed from the prewar period through 1951. He mentions that although haniwa still haf the same "cheerful" and "innocent" look about them, their "hollow" eyes continued to see "war, war, and more war." One wonders whether the "world crisis" that he speaks of having heard on the radio at the time, is referring to the Korean War of 1950. Back then was an age when "trains, steamships, and airplanes were invented, the television was born, and nuclear energy had come to be used." Perhaps Hasegawa had no choice but to use poetry as a means to express his various feelings about haniwa, which are "unfeigned" and were in danger of exposing what it was involved in doing during the war. It is suggested that the painting *Untitled—Inspired by a Neolithic Dogu* (Cat.no.2-25), which Hasegawa produced in 1948, prior to Noguchi's revisit to Japan after the war, is an image of a dogu from prehistoric times. Following Japan's defeat in World War II, Hasegawa may have been thinking about going beyond "Japan before the arrival of Buddism=haniwa" to connect with prehistoric times. For Hasegawa, who was aware of the wartime efforts to promote "the beauty of haniwa," haniwa were "fragile" self-portraits for which he harbored mixed feelings of love and hatred, and were artifacts that still triggered a guilty conscience. In the pages on which this long poem was featured, the text was juxtaposed with

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[53] Fujimoto Toshihiko, "On Tanikawa Shuntaro: The world of his early poems incorporated into the anthology, *Two Billion Light Years of Solitude*," *Bulletin of Research Institute*, No.15, Nara University Research Institute, March 2007, pp.180-184.
[54] *The National Museum News*, No.3, November 1947, p.3.
[55] See footnote 38.

images of the works "Picasso's Sculpture (1934)," "Japanese Haniwa (detail of cylindrical haniwa)," "Picasso's Sculpture (1933)," and "Prehistoric Dogu." Following the words, "Oh haniwa, let's start over," Hasegawa writes, "the emptiness that Lao Tzu speaks of also resides in the bellies of haniwa, and in the depths of their eyes." Drawing reference to Lao Tzu, Isamu Noguchi, and Tal Khao, Hasegawa ends the poem by suggesting a parallel connection between East and West, prehistoric antiquity and modernity. In this poem, Picasso, Noguchi, and Lao Tzu—"others" from Europe, the United States and China—are reinterpreted as a new "self" that can mend the wounds of war.

Hasegawa accompanied Noguchi on his two-week trip to Japan in 1950 and served as his guide to Japanese culture.[56] That same year, the National Museum held an exhibition of the works of Matisse (March 31 – May 6, 1951) (Cat.no.M2-19-02). At the time, museums were driven by the desire of their exhibitors to connect East and West, new and old. Back in 1951, the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo was yet to come into existence, and the only public space in Tokyo where Western modern art and Japanese antiquities could be viewed simultaneously was the National Museum in Ueno. KAMON Yasuo, who was in charge of the Matisse exhibition held at the National Museum in 1951, wrote that an archaeologist colleague of his had showed him a photograph of the Ozuka Tumulus in the Fukuoka Prefecture, and told him, "How about it, we have Matisse in Japan as well."[57] Once the "Exhibition of Ancient Japanese Culture" (Cat.no.M2-19-03) finally opened in October 1951[58] with Noma and other members of the National Museum having made all the necessary preparations, artists and art historians alike had responded that earthenware and haniwa were a new form of art that connected the East and West. On November 7, towards the end of the exhibition period, OKAMOTO Taro, who was commissioned by *Mizue: A Monthly Review of the Fine Arts* to write about the event, came to "discover" Jomon period earthenware in the exhibition's galleries. Okamoto eventually broke down "Ancient Japanese Culture," which had been lumped together in this exhibition, into the "Jomon period" and "Yayoi period," eventually developing it into the dichotomous narrative of the so-called "Controversies on Tradition."[59]

Haniwa Tied to Cubism

In October 1951, *Earthenware and Haniwa* was published as part of the Mizue Paperbacks series. Formerly known as the Children's Art Library series, Mizue Paperbacks is a "visual

[56] Hasegawa Saburo, "Noguchi and Japan," *Bijutsu Techo*, N0.33, 1950, pp.58-60.
[57] Kamon Yasuo, "Japanese Tumuli and Matisse," *The National Museum News*, No.53, October 1951, p.3.
[58] *The National Museum News*, No.53, special feature on the Exhibition of Ancient Japanese Culture, October 1951, pp.1-3.
[59] For further information on Okamoto Taro's thoughts regarding controversies on tradition and the dogu and Jomon period earthenware craze, see Nariai Hajime's essay "150 Years of Art and the 'Jomon Period'" (pp.250 - 262) and the column "Jomon period vs. Yayoi period" (pp.140-141) in this catalogue.

encyclopedia of art." In other words, it is not an archaeology book for children, but an educational book for children to view "earthenware and haniwa" as art. In the chapter "The Birth of Haniwa," after explaining the production process known as "coiling," the author quotes the words of Paul Cézanne.

> The skill with which the artist has skillfully managed to fashion everything into a cylindrical shape and fill it with the life of the object itself is truly astonishing. This, however, is connected to the spirit of Cubism, a modern art movement advocated by Pablo Picasso. The famous words that became the fundamental theory of Cubism were written by Cézanne in a letter to Émile Bernard in 1904.
>
> "Treat nature as spheres, cones, and cylinders…"
>
> Haniwas are sculptures which, over a thousand or so years ago from now, had treated everything as cylinders.[60]

The author Kuno Takeshi is a specialist in the study of Buddhist statues, yet he explains haniwa in relation to Picasso, Cézanne and Cubism. At first, I thought this was an interpretation specific to the postwar era. However, as early as 1935, HASUMI Shigeyasu of the Imperial Household Museum had already presented a discourse in the magazine *The Joy of Pottery*, citing Western art theories including Cézanne and Cubism.[61] Hasumi states that the artistic essence of haniwa lies in its "cylindricality," and asserts that "regardless of whether it is Eastern or Western, sculpture in general has a three-dimensional expression (…) and we must realize that haniwa as a sculpture is a kind of simple form of Cubism."[62] This theory on haniwa by Hasumi was reprinted in 1944 in the magazine *Arts and Crafts* No.22, in a special feature titled, "The Dawn of Japanese Beauty."[63] Furthermore, NAMBATA Tatsuoki, who saw the "Haniwa" exhibition (1958) at the Bridgestone Museum of Art, wrote something of a similar content in his text "Discovery of Haniwa."[64]

The beauty of haniwa during and after the war was thus circularly connected.

The Rebirth of Hollow Eyes

The magazine, *Sekai: The World* No.121 (10th anniversary issue), published in January 1956, contained a text by Watsuji Tetsuro titled, "Eyes of Haniwa Figures." Until that point, Watsuji had published numerous revisions of his text "Eyes of a Haniwa Doll," but in this issue he changed

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[60] KUNO Takeshi, *Earthenware and Haniwa*, Mizue Paperbacks, Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, October 1951, p.49. A part of the quote has been underlined by the author of this paper.
[61] HASUMI Shigeyasu, "Artistry of haniwa (1)," *The Joy of Pottery*, Vol.1, No.2, April 1935, pp.22-27. Hasumi, "Artistry of haniwa (2)," *The Joy of Pottery*, Vol.1, No.4, June 1935, pp.25-28. Hasumi, "Artistry of haniwa (3)," *The Joy of Pottery*, Vol.1, No.5, July 1935, pp.13-16
[62] See footnote 61, Hasumi, "Artistry of haniwa (2)," p.25.
[63] See footnote 35, p.17
[64] NAMBATA Tatsuoki, "Discovery of Haniwa," *The Sansai: Fine Art Magazine*, No.102, 1958, pp.33-43.

the title to “Eyes of Haniwa Figures” and rewrote the entire text.[65]

Watsuji discusses Jomon period earthenware and dogu, which he had not mentioned in previous installments of “Eyes of a Haniwa Doll,” and acknowledges that although they may be bizarre, they are not unskilled or artless, but rather a mature style—and “old tradition.” In contrast, he declares that Yayoi style culture is extremely crude, “whether it’s the tales of the gods, or the haniwa figures.” He goes on to further articulate that Yayoi style culture had abandoned the mysteriousness of the Jomon period and had thus become highly simplified. Watsuji begins with the argument that the Yayoi period was crude, then praises the maturity of the Jomon period, and then goes on to mention that the Yayoi period had “freed itself” of the Jomon period. In other words, Watsuji regards this crudeness as acceptable. Around this time, OKAMOTO Taro had communicated his thoughts on Jomon period earthenware through a series of articles: “Dialogue with the Fourth Dimension: A Theory on Jomon Period Earthenware” (1952[66], “Rediscovering Tradition: On Jomon Period Earthenware” (1955)[67], and “Jomon Period Earthenware: The Vitality of the People” (1956).[68] The postwar edition of “Eyes of Haniwa Figures” is thought to have been Watsuji’s response to Okamoto’s theories on Jomon period earthenware.[69] Until then, Watsuji had not viewed the Jomon and Yayoi periods as being in such an opposing relationship, and at least in his “Eyes of a Haniwa Doll” text from the mid-war period, he did not bring up the topic of the gods, nor did he refer to it as crude. As such, “Eyes of Haniwa Figures” is essentially a postwar rewriting of “Eyes of a Haniwa Doll.”

The magazine *Sekai: The World* was launched in September 1945, shortly after the end of the war, by members of a group of fellow artists, including ABE Yoshinari, TANIKAWA Tetsuzo, YANAGI Soetsu, in response to IWANAMI Shigeo’s desire to “create a comprehensive magazine for the masses. This issue was a commemorative issue marking the 10th anniversary of the end of the war and the 10th anniversary of the magazine’s founding, and one believes that for Watsuji, it was an opportunity to rewrite “Eyes of a Haniwa Doll,” which he had originally written during the war.

In 1956, Asahi Photo Book published The Beauty of Haniwa (Cat.no.M2-37).[70] The author of the book was MIKI Fumio, a technical official with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, who worked in the Archaeology Department of the Tokyo National Museum. As

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[65] Watsuji Tetsuro, “Eyes of Haniwa Figures,” *Sekai: The World*, No.121, January 1956, Iwanami Shoten, pp.141-147.

[66] *Mizue: A Monthly Review of Fine Arts*, No.558, February 1952, pp.3-10.

[67] *Bijutsu Techo*, No. 103, December 1955, pp.11-17.

[68] *Japanese Traditions*, 1956, Kobunsha, pp. 78-101.

[69] Watsuji contributed the following passage to an advertisement in *Japanese Traditions*: “Personal letter to the author, from Watsuji Tetsuro / I thank you very much for your book, *Japanese Traditions*. I would here like to express my sincere gratitude. If I may mention, I read the part about the garden at the end, and it truly resonated with me. There were many things I learned and many things I reflected on. It was a very enriching read indeed, for which I would also wish to thank you.” Featured in the first half of the book, which Watsuji poses as “not having read,” is Okamoto’s discussion of Jomon period earthenware.

[70] Asahi Photo Book 28, *The Beauty of Haniwa*, The Asahi Shimbun Company, February 1956.

is typical of a popular graph magazine, it featured a wealth of illustrations, and the layout is designed for general readers to enjoy, with the haniwa categorized by type, and comments added to each. The "Facial Expressions" page is divided into four segments with haniwa faces introduced across a full-page spread, and the vocabulary for describing haniwa faces has been further expanded, as shown through comments such as "a man with his mouth twisted in an unpleasant manner" and "a man with a face reminiscent of an owl." With the full cooperation of the museum, the "From Restoration to Display" section includes a photographic report of the storage facility, as well as the entire process from the packing, unpacking, and the installation of the works for the exhibition. The group of haniwa waiting to be put on display bring to mind the photographs of haniwa in *Zokei Geijutsu*: The Plastic Arts taken by Fujimoto Shihachi.

Light and Space: Exhibiting Haniwa

In his 1950 interview, Isamu Noguchi had mentioned another important thing. That is, with regards to the way in which haniwa are exhibited.

> The presentation (exhibit) style overseas is very different from that in Japan. There are almost no glass display cases, and the colors of the walls and the backgrounds are different. While the room is dark, the exhibits are illuminated by spotlights from somewhere or another. The lighting in Japanese museums is generally dark, and the display cases seem too large.[71]

That year, Noguchi had entrusted TANIGUCHI Yoshiro with the venue design for his solo exhibition at Mitsukoshi Department Store. To express the texture of the materials, Taniguchi placed terra cotta made in the Seto and Shigaraki regions on the old marble floor (see pp.166-167 for reference).

What was realized through Taniguchi's inheritance of Noguchi's ideas was the 1954 exhibition, "Today's Focus: On the History of Japanese Art," mentioned at the beginning of this paper. Taniguchi stated that "the prominent focus of this exhibition is the contemporary love for haniwa[72]," and as exemplified by these words, the highlight of the exhibition was the installation of a group of haniwa. Black and white granite was used for the stage, and new materials of the time, such as red bricks and gray cement blocks, were added to contrast with the earthy texture of the haniwa. The lighting design of presenting the haniwa in a completely dark room and illuminating them with artificial light, was apparently not well received by some viewers. In response to this, HOMMA Masayoshi, head of display at the museum, stated, "Antiques belong to their historical environments, but precisely recreating those environments is not necessarily the

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[71] "Isamu Noguchi's Visit: Learning from Japanese Antiques," *The National Museum News*, No. 41, October 1950, p.3.
[72] TANIGUCHI Yoshiro, "On the Display," *Today's Focus: On the History of Japanese Art*, Tokyo Bunka Shuppan, March 1955, pp.61-63.

paramount concern of display. I think that the key is to show the beauty of the works in an abstract way.[73]"

Taniguchi's love for haniwa continued to persist thereafter, and when he designed the Imperial Theatre (1966) he installed "haniwa-colored" border tiles made by ceramicist KATO Tokuro on the lobby walls. The haniwa-colored lobby walls are decorated with masks by HONGO Shin, as well as stained glass and lighting fixtures by INOKUMA Genichiro.[74]

In the 1954 Asahi Photo Book *The Beauty of Haniwa*, the difference between displaying haniwa as archaeological artifacts and displaying them to show their beauty is introduced through images.

> The most standard method is to present them in display cases. There is a difference between arranging them by type so that the properties of the haniwa can be observed as material for research, and arranging them in a way that shows off their beauty.
>
> Nowadays, as the artistic quality of haniwa has come to be admired, efforts are made to make them look better by any means possible, and thus there is a tendency to deviate from conventional display cases. At the Aichi Prefectural Museum of Art, white sand was spread across the floor of a darkroom with corrugated walls of purple velvet, upon which a group of animal-shaped haniwa were placed and illuminated by spotlights to create the effect of them playing. Sculptures of human figures were placed on white platforms of varying heights installed within a pool of black cobblestones filled with water, and sand mounds evoking the shapes of ancient tumuli were made on which a group of human-shaped haniwa were displayed.[75]

The above statement is in reference to the "Japanese Art History" exhibition (1954) at the Aichi Arts Center, for which architect YOSHIZAKA Takamasa had designed the displays. Yoshizaka's design notes and sketches are preserved in the Waseda University Architecture Department Honjo Archives (Cat.no.M2-52). One can see that the haniwa are placed on a hilly bases resembling ancient tumuli, and state-of-the-art spotlights have been installed. "Brightness" was a slogan that illuminated postwar society. The dimly lit display cases at the National Museum were newly fitted with fluorescent lights,[76] and thus in the 1950s, haniwa literally found themselves bathed in light.

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[73] "Voice," *Today's Focus*, The National Museum News, No.3, February 1955, p.8.
[74] Taniguchi Yoshiro, "On the Architectural Design of the New Imperial Theatre," *Shinkenchiku*, Vol.41, No.11, November 1966, pp.1790188. The Imperial Theatre is scheduled to close and be rebuilt in February 2025 due to redevelopment.
[75] *Asahi Photo Book 28: The Beauty of Haniwa*, February 1956, pp.16-17.
[76] MEGURO Shunji, "Large Exhibition Galleries of the Postwar Era," *Memories of the Museum*, edited by Tokyo National Museum, November 1972, p.203.

This is Japan

Japan—a country that is both modern and rich in tradition. This was "Japan's image that Japan wanted to present." It is also important to note that the formation of "Japan's image" in the postwar period was conducted under careful consideration from an international perspective. In the mid-1950s, a series of tourism magazines and books were published for the overseas market, such as *This is Japan* (Cat. no. M2-42) (The Asahi Shimbun Company, annual publication since 1954) as well as *Japan* (Sankei Shimbun Co., Ltd., 1956). *This is Japan* is a comprehensive graphical magazine printed as a deluxe edition that comes in a wooden box, and covers information on Japanese politics, culture, education, and tourism. In addition to typical tourist images of traditional Japan, such as the Kyoto's maiko (apprentice geisha), Mount Fuji, and rural farming villages, it also included a look at modern Japan, even introducing contemporary buildings that were then under construction. The advertisements section was filled with ads promoting Japan's major exports and prized souvenirs, and at the end of each issue was a listing of tourist attractions in each of the 46 prefectures except Okinawa. The pages introducing the Shizuoka Prefecture often featured the restored ancient dwellings at the Toro Ruins.

The Japanese economy, which had to feed a large population with its limited land and resources, had lost its reserves due to the long war. While exports of Japanese products were strong, profits were low as the country relied on imported raw materials for its processing trade. Tourism was a lucrative "invisible export." The Comprehensive National Land Development Act, enacted in 1950, promoted the use of national land and resources to build a self-sustaining economy, and one of its key pillars was the "development of tourist roads." Plans were underway to improve the road network of 17 national parks and to build cultural facilities in rural areas to attract tourists from abroad.[77] The development and restoration of the Toro Ruins into a historical park, which began in 1951, is not unrelated to this trend toward "tourism." Ruins were transformed into tourist attractions not only because they represented a means of reviving Japan's identity, but also because they were a valuable tourist resource for obtaining foreign currency.

One person who keenly respond to such attention from overseas was the woodblock print artist SAITO Kiyoshi (1907-1997). Saito joined the Asahi Shimbun Company in 1944 during the war, and worked in the publishing department until 1954, creating covers, lettering, and illustrations. Saito was responsible for the title lettering and illustrations for *The National Museum News*, which was launched in September 1947 when the Imperial Household Museum was renamed the National Museum. Saito's work while at Asahi Shimbun also included many educational materials and culture books for children.[78]

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[77] *Shonen Asahi Nenkan 1954: Children's Asahi Yearbook 1954 Edition*, the Asahi Shimbun Company, February 1954, pp.289-291.

[78] KONNO Tomoko, "On Kiyoshi Saito's Early Illustrations and Book Designs," *Kiyoshi Saito: The 100th Anniversary of Birth*, exhibition catalogue, Fukushima Prefectural Museum of Art, October 2017, pp.122-127.

From the National Museum to children, education, and foreign eyes on Japanese art, Saito was indeed an artist who was closest to the epicenter of the postwar haniwa craze. It was right around the time of Noguchi's visit to Japan in 1950 that haniwa began to appear in Saito's work.

> Around this time, exhibitions in Ueno began to become more modern, and abstract works of art became more prominent. There was a tendency to ridicule those who were engaged in figurative painting. I thought snow was an overused motif and would just not cut it, which is why I started depicting "haniwa." At the time, I had an acquaintance at the National Museum, who let me hold a national treasure-level haniwa in my hand and sketch it. It's unthinkable now, but that was the way things were back then.[79]

The work *Haniwa* (Cat.no.2-18), exhibited at the 2nd Sao Paulo Biennial in 1953, is a large print configured in the form of a two-panel folding screen. Saito continued to work on the theme of haniwa throughout the 1950s, but in the latter half of the decade his focus shifted to his Kyoto and Nara series, and by the 1960s haniwa appeared only in his dark monochrome collagraphs (Cat.no.2-22).

Haniwa Diplomacy in 1960

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs positioned the 1960 "U.S. Touring Exhibition: HANIWA" (Cat. no.M2-43) as a project commemorating the 100th anniversary of the establishment of friendly relations between Japan and the United States, and thus preparations began. The project was implemented by the Japan Foundation, and Noma Seiroku and Miki Fumio of the Tokyo National Museum were responsible for drafting its specific proposal.[80] For approximately a period of 10 months, a selection of 55 haniwa works traveled around the United States, visiting five venues: the National Gallery of Art in Washington, the Asia House in New York (see pp.154-155 for reference), the Chicago Art Institute, the Seattle Art Museum, and the de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco. The haniwas to be exhibited were chosen to satisfy the American interest in haniwa "which lies more in their formative qualities rather than their value as an archaeological resource."[81] What was most ambitious about this touring exhibition in the United States were the ways in which the haniwa were displayed. At the Washington venue, a large low stage was built in the center of a spacious room, and the exhibits were displayed in a group format on black and white disk-shaped display stands that were placed on a bed of white pebbles. These pebbles were inspired by the image of "steppingstones in a traditional Japanese garden."

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[79] "Saito Kiyoshi On Himself: An Independent and Self-reliant Practice," *Hanga Geijutsu: Print Art*, No.63, January 1989, pp.92-123.
[80] Noma Seiroku, "A Report on the US Tour of the HANIWA Exhibition," *MUSEUM*, No.118, September 1961, pp.32-33.
[81] Noma Seiroku "US Tour of the HANIWA Exhibition," *Kokusai Bunka: International Culture*, No.79, November 1960, pp.30-32.

Miki Fumio, who accompanied the exhibition, stated, "In exhibiting the dogu and haniwa in the United States, we avoided the attitude of enforcing the American audience to view them in a specific way, and instead focused on seeing how they would look at them and what they would perceive (...). I anticipate that they must have been greatly comforted by the simplicity of haniwa, who smiled warmly and peacefully, and conveyed emotions that people all over the world could relate to."[82] Noma also noted that "the holding of this exhibition played a major role in easing the US's deteriorating sentiment toward Japan, especially since it took place at a time when there was an uproar against the US-Japan Security Treaty," and "at any rate, I think it had a certain effect in that it introduced an old, simple Japan."[83] In June of that year, the same month in which the haniwas traveled across the ocean, violent demonstrations over the US-Japan Security Treaty were taking place across Japan, resulting in deaths. Both during and after the war, haniwa, which "smiled warmly and peacefully," were always side by side with political matters.

From Soil to Buildings: Unearthing the Past, Constructing the Future

The title of the book that Noma Seiroku published in 1954 through Bijutsu Shuppan-sha was, *Clay Art: Dogu, Earthenware and Haniwa* (Cat.no.M2-36). The photographs featured were taken by Fujimoto Shihachi and Sakamoto Manshichi, and Saito Kiyoshi's work *Earthenware and Haniwa* (1952) was used as the book's cover image. Artifacts "left abandoned with no other use"[84] came to be discovered as soil in various parts of Japan was dug up and paved over. Memories of the "beauty of haniwa" that was once so praised during the war, were buried beneath the asphalt. The attachment to haniwa and earthenware is also in part due to nostalgia, a longing for the "soil" that is lost no sooner than it is discovered.

Inokuma Genichiro painted the work *An Amazing Landscape (B)* (Cat.no.2-90) when he temporarily returned to Japan from New York in 1969. Composed of three colors (red, white, and gold), it overlaps with the visual image of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics created by KAMEMURA Yusaku. While in New York, Inokuma had already began working on his "The City Planning" series, which consisted of bird's-eye view paintings of the metropolis. It is interesting if one were to consider the block of red that divides the top and bottom sections of *An Amazing Landscape (B)* as the horizon. With subways running underground and skyscrapers towering above, the painting is thought to depict the "amazing" recovery of Tokyo since the Olympics. When viewed together with the excavated landscape depicted in *HANIWA I* (Cat.no.2-89), it seems to indicate the transformation of Japan's national landscape in terms of what was built after excavation.

In the 1950s, the "bright and cheerful" haniwa literally found themselves in the spotlight, yet

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[82] Fumio Miki, "Traveling with the HANIWA Exhibition," *MUSEUM*, No.118, September 1961, pp.32-33.
[83] See footnote 81.
[84] Noma Seiroku, *Clay Art: Dogu, Earthenware and Haniwa*, Bijutsu Shuppan-sha, May 1954, p.4. A part of the quote has been underlined by the author of this essay.

the time in which their "dark" origins came to be known coincided with the social spread of the "Jomon-esque" creations of Okamoto Taro and others around 1956. For further information, please refer to the separate article (pp.220-221) and Nariai Hajime's essay on the "Jomon Period" (pp.140-141) also included in this catalogue. Ten years had passed since Japan's defeat in the war, and a new generation was beginning to shift away from an era when people had empathized with the "martyred existence" of haniwa. By the 1960s, artists who had depicted haniwa in their work had also moved onto explore other themes.

Artifacts in Our Surroundings

Although Haniwa gradually disappeared from artwork, their popularity had not necessarily waned. Haniwa continued to feature repeatedly in the daily news, making their presence felt.

For example, on page 9 of the October 5, 1959, morning edition of the Yomiuri Shimbun, an article titled "New Kokeshi Works from the Japan Rural Crafts Association Exhibition" reads, "This fall, works inspired by haniwa are also catching attention with their new-found beauty." On August 21, 1965, a cherry blossom sapling from Tokyo's Hibiya Park and a male and female haniwa dolls from Heiwadai Park in Miyazaki Prefecture (the former *Hakko Ichiu* Tower was renamed the Tower of Peace after the war) were exchanged to commemorate the two parks becoming sister parks, and an adoption ceremony was implemented. On page 13 of the May 5, 1972, morning edition of the Yomiuri Shimbun, an article reported that Prince Hiro, who "has expressed an interest in haniwa since visiting the Toro Ruins in the summer when he was nine years old, and has even built his own kiln to make haniwa," had been presented with handmade haniwa dolls made by students from a special needs class in Hiroshima. The special effects film *Daimajin* (Cat.no.M3-06), released by Daiei in 1966, also uses a warrior haniwa figure as the motif for its title character, and the program *Hey! Hanimaru* (Cat.no.3-06), which aired on NHK Educational TV from 1983 to 1989, is an educational language program for young children in which the characters "Hanimaru" and "Himbee" jump out of a house-shaped haniwa and learn various "words." Haniwa continues to be a symbol of peace and friendship, and also plays an active role in guiding children into "society."

In the 1980s, haniwa once again resurfaced in artworks. For his Master's graduation project at Kyoto City University of Arts, contemporary artist Hiroshi Fuji (1960-) produced the work *Marriage problem of Mr. Godzilla & Ms. Haniwa* (1984), a performance that expresses a mixture of love and hate for haniwa. The artist likened the hollow of the *Dancing Haniwa* to the "emptiness of the art world" and "the authority of art," ultimately sunk the work in a pond located within the university premises.[85] Fuji mentions enrolling to study at art university due to

[85] FUJI Hiroshi, "The Gecko that lies in the Gap Between the Community and Art," Nishinippon Shimbun, July 27, 2017, morning edition.

his admiration for the photographer DOMON Ken. It was Domon Ken's colleagues, such as Fujimoto Shinpachi and Sakamoto Manshichi who had established haniwa as "art. *Haniwa Tale: 1985-2024* tells the story of the haniwa's subsequent vicissitudes. The haniwa, that the artist had once sunk in the pond and bid farewell to, had since become somewhat of a legend at Kyoto City University of Arts, as if continued to float up and down within the water. When it was eventually pulled out of the pond in 2022, following the relocation of the university, another haniwa was somehow "excavated" with it. The haniwa, which was knocked down and shattered to pieces by an intruder after it was moved from the pond to the new university building in front of Kyoto Station, was later restored during the Obon festival, when the spirits of ancestors return home. As society experienced changes, the haniwa rose to the surface only to sink once again, be replicated, relocated, forgotten, destroyed, and restored.

While we live among the monuments of ancient people, we tend to forget about tombs. Tumuli, once symbols of kingship and built to demonstrate the power of the ruling class, have now become part of the landscape and provide a place of leisure and relaxation. Recently, there is even such a thing as "tumuli drone tourism." The reason we are able to recognize tumuli as being keyhole-shaped without the need drone tourism is because we have already gained the perspective of viewing the graves of the dead from above. The tombs of former kings, now registered as World Heritage sites, are now a tourist resource that can be viewed from above without guilt. KOROMO Shinichiro (1987-), who continued to paint tumuli in his home prefecture of Gunma, eventually arrived at the Oyamato Kofun Tumulus Cluster in Tenri, Nara Prefecture. The vertical canvas work, *Scenery with Ancient Tumulus* (Cat. no. 3-11), is a record of the artist's actions, or cold be regarded as a mental map of the tumulus. Like a car navigation system screen, a road extends beyond the driving path, creating a map. The artist eats at a Sukiya restaurant chain, then takes a detour and buys a giant pinecone from an unattended vendor. The tumulus emerges in the midst of this unfolding of contemporary life. The corporate logos, ruins, and artifacts that crowd the roadside are all depicted upon the canvas in one equal color, and in single brushstrokes of paint. In this painting in which interest and indifference coexist in a matter-of-fact manner, only around the two ancient tumuli at the top of the image is there no path visible.

TATSUKI Masaru (1975-) traveled on a "Decotora" (abbreviation for "decoration truck," commonly featuring neon, LED, or ultraviolet lights, detailed paintjobs, and stainless steel or golden parts) to the Tohoku region where he came across fragments of Jomon period earthenware. Decotora, which light up the darkness of the night with their artificial lights, are a byproduct of Japan's rapid economic growth, running at the forefront of the nation's major logistical arteries that now extend to every corner of the Japanese archipelago. From one end of the road to the other—the origins of shiny Decotora and the earthenware dug up from the ground can both be traced back to roads. It is common knowledge that earthenware is generally

excavated when new roads are built. Tatsuki's "DECOTORA" and "KAKERA" series (Cat.no.3-2) form a circle, in which objects running on the upper layer of the road lead us to the northeast and end up in a repository of fragments buried in the lower layer of the road.

The exhibition comes to a close as we confront the three layers of time documented by Tatsuki: the time of the earthenware's creation, the time of its excavation (the time of the newspaper used to wrap the earthenware), and "our" present time as we stand in front of the "photograph of the earthenware and newspaper."

What is "Today's Focus?" After all, we can only observe things that are in front of us through "today's focus." What was it that "today's focus" of the 1950s desperately tried to forget and wipe away as attempts were made to merge with modernism by brightly illuminating haniwa with the power of artificial lights, and insisting on the abstract nature of its form? Without knowledge of the war and nationalism that existed right beneath their feet, one cannot truly understand the meaning of their endeavors towards attaining "today's focus." We must continue to read into the "wrapping papers" that have been randomly left behind together with the artifacts. This is indeed a heavy task entrusted to us by our predecessors, who named the museum's newsletter "Today's Focus" and kept the word "Modern" in the name of our museum.

Translated by Kei Benger