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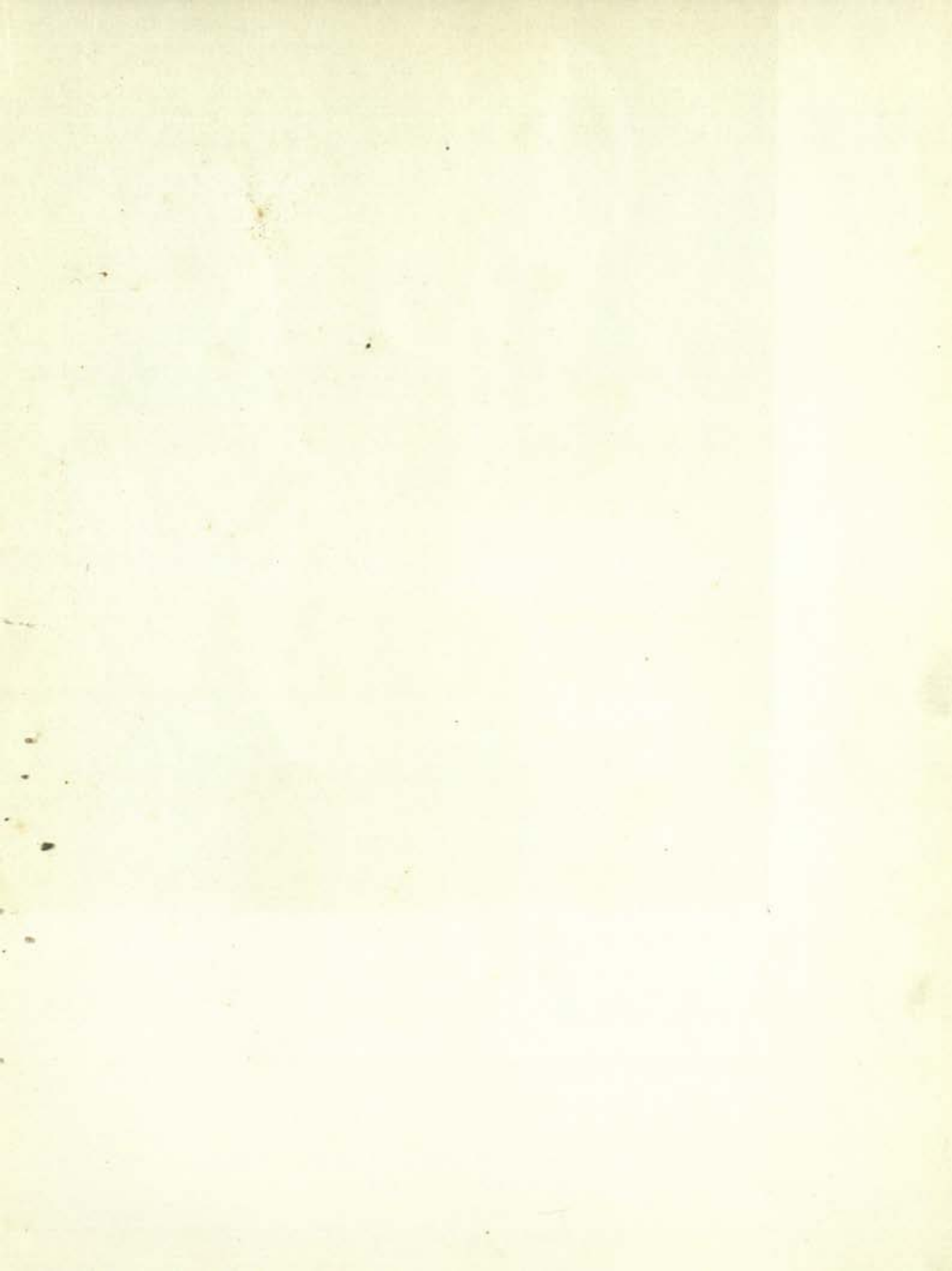
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HANIWA







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HANIWA

THE CLAY SCULP-
TURE OF PROTO-
HISTORIC JAPAN

BY FUMIO MIKI: ENGLISH ADAP-
TATION BY ROY ANDREW MILLER
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS 9

FOREWORD 11

INTRODUCTION 15

PLATES 47

NOTES ON THE PLATES 149

MAP WITH KEY TO PLATES 161

2174 / 2174 / 2200 22 5 . 107

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Color Plates

- | | |
|--|---|
| A Man and woman dancing: <i>facing title page</i> | H Man in full body armor: <i>facing plate 48</i> |
| B Man seated cross-legged, wearing miter: <i>facing page 48</i> | I Farmer with hoe over shoulder: <i>facing plate 56</i> |
| C Head of a woman: <i>facing plate 8</i> | J (top) Water fowl craning neck: <i>facing plate 64</i> |
| D Man in ceremonial dress: <i>facing plate 16</i> | (bottom) Head of a cock |
| E Horse with saddle and ornamental bells: <i>facing plate 24</i> | K (top) A Panting Dog: <i>facing plate 72</i> |
| F Man in military attire: <i>facing plate 32</i> | (bottom) Dog looking back |
| G Seated man playing a lyre: <i>facing plate 40</i> | L Deer with dappled fur: <i>facing plate 80</i> |

Gravure Plates

(following page 50)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 Head of man wearing crown with bells | 41 Man wearing hat, sitting cross-legged |
| 2 Woman with ornamental sash across shoulder | 42 Head of a man |
| 3 Man with upheld hands | 43 Head of man wearing high square hat |
| 4 Woman wearing necklace of "curved beads" | 44 Head of man wearing circular hat |
| 5 Man wearing miter | 45 Woman wearing necklace |
| 6 Woman wearing coat with wave pattern | 46 Woman with ornamental sash and necklace |
| 7 Man wearing hat with bells | 47 Man wearing necklace |
| 8 Head of a woman | 48 Head of a smiling man |
| 9 Man in full ceremonial dress | 49 Man of valiant mien |
| 10 Seated man | 50 Nude female figure |
| 11 Woman with raised arms | 51 Man laughing and beating breast |
| 12 Head of a man | 52 Woman with earrings and necklace |
| 13 Man wearing decorated trouser-form skirt | 53 Man of valiant mien |
| 14 Head of man with necklace | 54 Smiling farmer with hoe on shoulder |
| 15 Man in iron-cuirass armor | 55 Singing woman with baby on back |
| 16 Head of man wearing helmet with cheek-pieces | 56 Head of man wearing conical hat |
| 17 Man in full body armor, with quiver on back | 57 Man wearing miter with lattice pattern |
| 18 Man in full body armor, with quiver at waist | 58 Head of a man |
| 19 Man in full body armor, with quiver on back | 59 Head of man wearing hat with topknot |
| 20 Head of warrior wearing studded helmet | 60 Head of a man |
| 21 Man wearing sword with spherical pommel | 61 Woman with right arm raised |
| 22 Head of warrior wearing helmet with projecting front | 62 Head of a man |
| 23 Man in full body armor drawing sword | 63 Woman with necklace of round beads |
| 24 Head of man wearing decorated hat | 64 Young hawk |
| 25 Man in body armor wearing cap with cheek protectors | 65 Crouching male figure |
| 26 Man wearing shoulder armor | 66 Smiling man carrying shield |
| 27 Seated female shaman | 67 Man carrying shield |
| 28 Man with broad ornamental girdle | 68 Man carrying shield |
| 29 Woman with three-layer coiffure | 69 Man carrying shield |
| 30 Woman wearing coat with decorated hem | 70 Head of woman with hair in horizontal buns |
| 31 Man wearing coat with bells | 71 Man looking up |
| 32 Man with broad sash, wearing sword | 72 Head of a female deer |
| 33 Enthroned man wearing crown | 73 Wild boar |
| 34 Woman holding musical instrument | 74 Wild boar being shot at with arrow |
| 35 Head of a boy | 75 Horse with ornamental bells |
| 36 Head of woman carrying jar | 76 Chick |
| 37 Woman holding jar | 77 Hen |
| 38 Head of man on cylinder | 78 Duck |
| 39 Woman carrying jar on head | 79 Goshawk wearing collar and lead |
| 40 Human mask on cylinder | 80 Monkey |

Figures

- 1 Typical circular tumulus: *page 16*
- 2 Plan of typical keyhole tumulus: *page 17*
- 3 Plan of Haniwa on a tumulus dike: *page 30*
- 4 Types of Haniwa cylinders and Haji urns: *page 31*
- 5 Haniwa cylinders *in situ*: *page 31*
- 6-10 Haniwa houses and storehouses: *pages 32-34*
- 11 Storehouse on bronze bell: *page 34*
- 12 Haniwa boat: *page 35*
- 13 Boat on Yayoi pottery: *page 35*
- 14 Haniwa shield: *page 35*
- 15 Haniwa quiver: *page 36*
- 16 Haniwa helmet: *page 36*
- 17 Haniwa warrior: *page 36*
- 18 Haniwa swords: *page 37*
- 19 Haniwa ceremonial sunshade: *page 37*
- 20 Haniwa covered container: *page 37*
- 21 Quiver on Haniwa warrior: *page 39*
- 22 Haniwa male entertainer: *page 41*
- 23 Haniwa cow: *page 44*
- 24 Hunting scene on Yayoi bell: *page 45*
- 25 Stone cock: *page 45*

FOREWORD

THE JAPANESE-language version of the present volume was published in Tokyo in 1958 by Kodansha; the rich collection of gravure and color plates which distinguished that original edition appears here unchanged. The English text which I have prepared for this new version of the book is partly a translation but more often an adaptation of the original edition's remarkable Japanese text by Fumio Miki, well-known archeologist and Curator of Protohistoric Materials at the Tokyo National Museum.

Mr. Miki's text is remarkable in many respects, but especially for the way in which it combines archeological erudition with aesthetic taste and appreciation. This ability to match solid scientific control of a complex subject with genuine artistic perception and taste is rare among art historians, who tend to be endemically long on history and short on art. It seemed to the publishers and to me that Mr. Miki's text exactly filled the need for an authoritative, comprehensive introduction which would provide readers with the information necessary for an intelligent appreciation of this remarkable art form.

Mr. Miki's Japanese text consisted of two parts, a more general introductory section and, following the plates, a much longer and fairly detailed treatment of the subject, partly with reference to the plates but not hesitating to go beyond their subject matter in order to treat the Haniwa comprehensively. It was completed by a full inventory, not used here, of all known Haniwa finds and their sites, a tribute to the thorough scholarly preparation with which the author approached his subject. In translating and adapting it for the present edition I have drawn freely upon both sections of his text, nor have I hesitated to add explanations and other elucidative materials which it seemed to me the reader might need. If it is true that *tradutorri traditori* (and I am sure it is), I would hesitate to say what adapting in this fashion probably makes one; but I have been especially concerned here with maintaining what has struck me as Mr. Miki's happy balance between art and history, and if I have been successful in that, and in the meantime have not given the reader a too misleading impression of Mr. Miki's views, perhaps I will not be judged too harshly in the long run.

Mr. Miki has taken advantage of this new version of his book to correct certain site attributions and other technical data concerning several of the Haniwa illustrated; this explains differences between such data as found here and in the earlier version.

For a small country, Japan has always enjoyed a bewildering system of geographical divisions; archeological sites are usually recorded today by prefecture, then by county (*gun*) and village (*mura*) or city (*shi*). These last three I have not translated in giving sites, though otherwise I have preferred to use English instead of Japanese whenever possible. It may be less precise to speak of "female shamans," "curved beads," and "full

body armor" than to refer to *miko*, *magatama*, and *keikō*, but perhaps the loss in precision, if any, is offset by the gain in communication.

This is also my justification for the rank neologism "Kyoto-Nara area," which I use throughout for *Go Kinai* or *Kinki*. Though for the proto-historic period it is wildly anachronistic, perhaps something can be said for using geographical names well known in the West rather than the archaic ones hardly understood today, except among specialists, even in Japan. Kyoto, Tokyo, and Osaka apart, the macron has been retained in all transliterations of Japanese place names, proper names, and other words.

The preparation of this manuscript was greatly facilitated by the timely appearance of *Japan before Buddhism* (London, 1959), by J.E. Kidder, Jr., my colleague here at the International Christian University in Tokyo. Its comprehensive account of prehistoric Japan and its art has saved me from many a blunder in understanding and adapting Mr. Miki's text, though probably not from all. Incidentally, for the reader anxious to find out more about the subject and its relation to other phases of early Japan, it would be difficult to recommend a better book in any language than Mr. Kidder's.

The translations from the *Nihon Shoki* are taken from the recent reprint of W. G. Aston's *Nihongi* (London, 1956), originally published by the Japan Society, London, in 1896, though I have not hesitated to make minor changes in his versions when it seemed necessary in view of more modern interpretations and readings of the texts. My assistant Tsuneo Kobayashi has as always been unfailingly patient in seeing me through the intricacies of a Japanese text.

ROY ANDREW MILLER

Kichi joji, Tokyo
March 15, 1960

HANIWA

INTRODUCTION

CLOSE enough to the Asiatic mainland to have made cultural and artistic borrowing a commonplace since earliest times, but still far enough away to have rendered them safe from all except the most elaborate and determined attempts at invasion, the islands of Japan stretch in a graceful arc set out against the northeastern rim of the Asian continent. As early as 6000 B.C. a neolithic population in many parts of these islands was producing a variety of cord-impressed earthenware whose Japanese description of *jōmon* ("cord-marked") has given their culture a useful modern designation. This Jōmon-pottery culture continued for about six millennia, with a multitude of different stages and local developments, to be replaced finally by a thinner, better fired, and more practical ware known today as Yayoi.

By the time this Yayoi ware appeared, roughly from about 200 B.C., Japan had emerged into a bronze and iron age, no doubt under the powerful stimulus of important cultural introductions from the then far more advanced Chinese civilization on the Asiatic mainland. It is not too difficult to correlate even the time itself with events in Chinese internal history, since the violence of the interregnum of Wang Mang (A.D. 9–23), which brought domestic chaos to Mid-Han-dynasty China, is known to have resulted in widespread population shifts in China itself and doubtless to areas outside its borders as well. Also, by A.D. 108 the Han emperors themselves had established formal colonial administration over their holdings on the Korean peninsula, always a likely avenue for cultural contacts between continental Asia and Japan.

From about the beginning of the Christian era, notices of Japan in Chinese literary and historical sources attest to the growing frequency of early contacts. In the early part of the eighth century of our era the first two Japanese attempts at compilation of their own history were made, committing to writing the accumulation of centuries of legend, tradition, and folklore. With these written histories it now became necessary to provide a chronology for the earlier periods, which was thoroughly, if rather boldly, done. The results ostensibly provide dates all the way back to the latter part of the seventh century B.C., but down to at least the middle of the fifth century of our era the resulting chronology is partly pure fiction and partly to be adjusted by the addition of several centuries.

But the existence of these early sources, in spite of their tenuous chronologies, means that the period which they cover, in increasing detail as their accounts come down in time toward the present, lies for us today in a kind of twilight zone between prehistory and history. The usual frank speculation based upon archeological evidence is not by any means our only source of knowledge for the period, but on the other hand the written records available are by no means completely historical documents as the term is generally understood. For this reason the approximately



Fig. 1. Circular tumulus (Maruhakayama Tumulus, Gyōda-shi, Saitama Prefecture).

half a millennium or so between the eclipse of the Yayoi-pottery culture and the beginnings of the Buddhist civilization of later periods is usually referred to as the era of Protohistoric Japan.

The single most important cultural trait unifying the various stages of protohistoric Japan was the practice of elaborate tumulus burial. A variety of different kinds of burial had been common in earlier periods, including interment in stone cists and pottery jars. Such customs were by no means completely replaced by that of erecting mountain-like burial barrows, for such were of necessity restricted to persons of wealth and social importance, the most impressive examples naturally enough being the tumuli built for deceased emperors. But, nevertheless, the some ten thousand burial mounds known today which date from this period are an impressive achievement by any standard, and it is not without good reason that this era is commonly called the Tumulus period.

With the advent of Buddhist culture in about the third decade of the sixth century, the continental, and originally Indic, practice of cremation brought an end to the costly tumulus cult. Of course, no cultural pattern of as long standing and so much a part of Japanese life as tumulus building was to be abandoned overnight, and the early years of the Buddhist period find the old and the new mingling in still often insufficiently documented fashion. One example is instructive. The pagoda of the Asuka Temple at Nara was erected in A.D. 593. An archeological survey of this site in 1956-57 revealed that at the time of its construction there had been deposited under it a hoard of objects identical with what would be expected from a Late-Tumulus-period find.

The historical period in Japan is usually considered to begin with the Asuka period (552-645), followed by Early Nara or Hakuho (645-710) and Later Nara or Tempyo (710-94); but from the above and other similar evidence it is clear that for practical purposes the last years of the Tumulus period must be considered to overlap well into the early historical beginning of the Asuka period.

The burial tumulus of protohistoric Japan was a highly specialized type of construction found throughout most parts of the islands roughly up to as far north as the Kanto-Tohoku demarcation (see map at end of book). The earliest ones were simple artificial hills of considerable scale piled up over the interred remains (Fig. 1), but these soon developed into the most representative type of tumulus, consisting of two mounds, one circular, the other triangular, merged into one another so as to produce an impressive circular mound with the base of the triangle forming an almost rec-

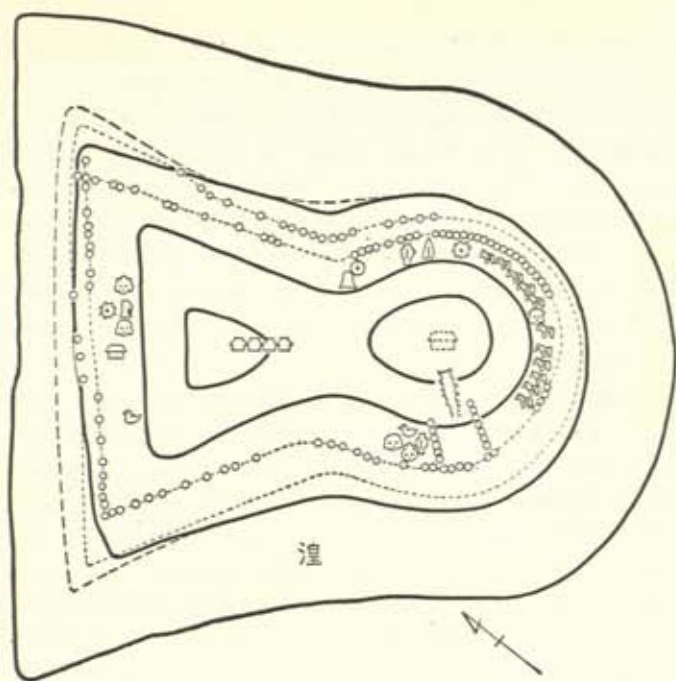


Fig. 2. The Futatsuyama Tumulus, Nitta-mura, Gumma Prefecture. The small figures and circles (these latter representing cylinders) indicate the locations of the Haniwa as discovered; the two outermost lines define the moat.

tangular projection (Fig. 2). The rectangular portion (i.e., what remained of the triangle after its intersection with the circle) is considered the front, while the circular portion is the back; from this derives the modern Japanese description of such tumuli as *zempōkōen* ("square in front and rounded in back"). To the Occidental eye the total barrow mound in over-all shape resembles nothing so much as a keyhole, and the moat or moats generally found surrounding the whole helps to emphasize this over-all keyhole outline.

The interment took place in a sarcophagus of stone or pottery in the back central mound, which was somewhat higher than the front portion when viewed from the side, usually in a burial chamber or vault of unhewn stones, often reached by a stone corridor.

The slopes of the tumuli were broken up into series of terraces, and it was on these side terraces, as well as on the top of both the circular and rectangular portions of the mounds, that the unglazed earthenware objects known as Haniwa (literally "clay cylinders") were placed, their circular bases pressed into the soft earth of the newly heaped up tumulus. These pottery objects, though only lightly baked and fairly fragile, are otherwise virtually impervious to time and decay and have come down to us today in large numbers. Taken together, the Haniwa form one of the most remarkable bodies of early art to find its way into the modern world.

Many cultures, of course, have at one time or another practiced elaborate burial rites, and in many cases it has also been the custom to provide the deceased in his last, long home with some of the material culture items with which he has been surrounded in this life. Some civilizations have even in this way consigned vast amounts of their economic resources to the ground, for as the departed comes to be accompanied to the grave by more and more of his valuables, more and more of the economic surplus of the community is successively removed from practical use. Others, perhaps most, eventually found a way out of this dilemma by substituting either pictorial representations or plastic models for the real thing. The culture of protohistoric Japan was one such. Here too, as often

the case elsewhere in antiquity, the stimulus provided by this economic challenge brought forth a response of major artistic significance.

Haniwa may be divided into two large classes: representational figures and simple cylinders. The latter, which appear to have been the only variety produced in the earliest part of the Tumulus period, strike the modern eye as the less interesting, though they were produced in great numbers, and their function in the tumulus burials, though imperfectly understood today, was obviously a vital one. They were set up or partly interred in large numbers around the base of the burial mounds, in regular rows up along their side slopes, or along the upper ridges.

The representational Haniwa figures and models, on the other hand, were set up on the tumulus at places of special religious and ritual significance, for theirs was above all a spiritual and a liturgical function. Their subject matter is, as we shall see, as wide as the scope of man's experience and imagination itself in protohistoric Japan. The ones showing men and horses are justly the most famous, but virtually every other animal known to the time is also represented, with special and feeling attention devoted to the domesticated animals that shared man's primitive dwellings and fireside in this difficult, early stage of civilization. Among the items of material culture, those concerned with the arts of war predominate, and models of bucklers and shields, swords, and a variety of armor are found, along with an impressive array of ceremonial regalia.

Important also among the Haniwa figures are the models of larger examples of material culture, especially those of dwelling houses and boats. In indirect ways certain of the Haniwa figures, especially those in this last category, bear a superficial resemblance to similar objects well known from China, where they were produced during both Han dynasties (202 B.C. to A.D. 9, and A.D. 25-220) and during the Three Kingdoms period (220-65). But these resemblances are only on the surface, and behind the obvious parallels that similar burial customs and somewhat similar beliefs concerning the next world might be expected to produce, there is no question of any direct influence from the Asiatic continent on the Haniwa figures. The art of the Haniwa was, throughout its long and dimly understood history, purely and essentially Japanese.

The entire Tumulus period, to be sure, was marked by the first fruition of important cultural borrowings from the Asiatic continent. It is clear that the persons whose burials were adorned with the Haniwa replicas and figures were living in a society which had taken over much of the material culture of early China, and indeed, that they were the dominant figures in a social organization which placed great status value on such typically continental cultural traits as horse-mounted combat and archery. The bronze-iron culture of protohistoric Japan, the culture of the tumulus burials, is already a rich melange of continental items with an earlier substratum.

But, especially in view of this, it is remarkable how little of the continent and its high culture is to be seen in the Haniwa. In their faces and poses we find nothing of the severity and coldness to be observed in their continental equivalents, the Chinese tomb guardian figures of the Han dynasties and the Three Kingdoms. To be sure, certain of the more formal, severe human-figure Haniwa from the Kyoto-Nara area may at times appear to be approaching continental standards in their demeanor,

but the resemblance is at best only superficial. The Haniwa figures never have anything of the distinctive aloofness and hauteur which distinguish the early Chinese tomb figures. Nor is there to be found in the Haniwa repertory any of the steely ritual precision that distinguishes the decoration of the ritual vessels from China's great bronze-producing periods, the Shang (ca. 1523 B.C. to ca. 1028 B.C.) and the Chou (ca. 1027 B.C. to 256 B.C.). Not a trace of the ritual-centered abstract decorative techniques carried to such a high point in the development of the Chinese bronze vessels found its way into the art of the Haniwa.

Partly this is to be explained simply by a refusal to engage in the wholesale adoption of what was still virtually an alien system of artistic values. But it also probably has important sociological and historical aspects as well. Unlike the continental society of China, with its constant difficulties arising from invasion and the encroachments of the many non-Chinese populations at its borders, the insular society of protohistoric Japan found itself virtually free from even the threat of such difficulties. (This was true in the main, even though its own upper strata were no doubt at least in part the result of some type of continental penetration into the islands.)

It was a class society, with carefully defined strata and painstaking attention to status, but it was by and large a society without the sense of conquered and conqueror, and racially it was already virtually homogeneous. Outsiders there were, especially to the north, but in the Tumulus period neither the threat these aborigines could present to the safety of society nor the frequency of the contacts with them were especially important considerations.

Free, too, from the rigid demands of the harsh and often cruel climate of continental Asia, the society of protohistoric Japan luxuriated in a comparative profusion of natural and climatic blessings. The moist, warm islands, with their wealth of rapid, clear mountain streams and peaceful, easily utilized lake and marsh areas, were ideal for supporting a growing population with comparatively little difficulty. The construction of irrigation facilities to bring water to less-favored areas hastened the spread of the then recently imported wet rice culture, while the pit, surface, and raised dwellings of an earlier period came gradually to be transformed into considerable communities centered about the water sources and irrigation canals that made wet rice production possible.

Little wonder, then, that in this idyllic, uncrowded existence the protohistoric Japanese community found little that was sympathetic to it in the quite diametrically opposed artistic themes of the totally different Chinese civilization.

To a great extent also differences between the social attitudes of protohistoric Japan and those of ancient China are no doubt reflected in the Haniwa figures and their artistic expression. In place of the stern, forbidding mien of the Chinese mortuary sculpture, the Haniwa seem to reflect a much more human relationship between the upper and lower strata of early society. It is difficult to imagine anything but genuine love and affection for their departed rulers on the part of the artisans responsible for some of the best Haniwa figures. Without these qualities, the notably human and often even warmly lifelike sculpture of much of the Haniwa repertory would be virtually unthinkable. The same holds true for the

Haniwa replicas of inanimate objects; not fear and servility but only the warm human desire to provide the departed with the best possible reproductions of the objects he used and loved while still alive can account for the care and affection evidently lavished upon their production.

Perhaps also it is possible to detect here something in the Japanese personality that, whatever its sources—geographical, climatic, or sociohistorical—is distinctly different from the Chinese artistic genius. Though it is difficult to express verbally, perhaps it can be summed up as a fresh, uninhibited fondness for the charm of decorative effects, whatever their professed aims or purposes. This fondness runs like a dominant and unifying theme throughout the long history of all Japanese art, but its clear notes are as easy to detect in Tumulus-period art as at any other time in later periods. This is the fondness that led the Haniwa-makers to produce Haniwa boats and water birds for the tumulus-encircling moats; it is the same fondness that led them to enjoy further their pleasure in viewing such Haniwa boats and birds, resting among the reeds here and there on the still waters of the tumulus moats, by drawing them in turn on pottery vessels made for daily use, where they were soon joined by flowing rivers, mountains, and clouds. Nothing could be more thoroughly Japanese, in every sense of the word.

If an attempt is made to correlate the various types of Haniwa figures with a chronology of the tumulus burials, certain general statements can be made, even on the basis of admittedly insufficient archeological evidence. In the Kyoto-Nara area (i.e., the old centers of Japanese culture throughout protohistoric and early historical time), Haniwa models of houses are the first to be found, associated with tumulus burials from roughly the later half of the Early Tumulus period. They are closely followed in time by models of military and ceremonial equipment, which in turn are followed by the human-figure Haniwa.

These earliest examples of Haniwa replicas of ceremonial equipment include impressive numbers of large, extremely well-done models of shields (*tate*), quivers (*yuki*), and archer's wrist protectors (*tomo*), and of the ceremonial sunshades known as *kinugasa*. The human figures include some now thought to represent female shamans or priestesses (*miko*), and male warriors in elaborate regalia.

From the middle on through to the later part of the Tumulus period the Haniwa began to be produced on a large scale throughout Japan, and as if by contrast, fewer have been found in the Kyoto-Nara area in sites dating from this point on. They now began to be produced with especial care and on a particularly grand scale throughout the Kanto area, that large plain in northeast Japan which today serves as a great hinterland for the Tokyo metropolis. The Haniwa figures of the Kanto region took the styles of the Kyoto-Nara examples as their artistic point of departure, to be sure, but went on into areas of style and subject matter unknown to the earlier period.

At this point the figures showing military equipment and other objects of material culture became increasingly stylized in their treatment, while among the human figures splendid, large examples of elaborately dressed men and women, especially of men in military attire, came to predominate. The Kanto figures added significant new subject matter to the Haniwa repertory, including peasants, parents minding children, dancing

men and women, and a variety of other "popular" themes, as the Haniwa artisans brought to their work more and more of the atmosphere of their daily lives and surroundings. Most important of all, this new variety was incorporated into the subject matter of the Haniwa figures without in most instances in any way lowering the high standards of artistic excellence and technical competence earlier set by the finest of the Kyoto-Nara pieces. By contrast, the relatively few Haniwa that were produced at this period in the northern Kyūshū area seem to lack life and vitality.

In view of the long centuries during which Haniwa were produced in almost all parts of Japan, the great quantity in which they were turned out, and the considerable amounts of economic resource which of necessity had to be devoted to their production, it is amazing to find that they have passed virtually unnoticed in the ancient quasi-historical legends and traditions which, after all, grew out of much the same background both in time and location. Both tradition and early written history are also silent on what is perhaps a connected problem—the identification of the persons interred in most of the early burial mounds. Perhaps behind this surprising and even ominous silence we may indeed catch something of the tremendous awe and fear with which early man in all parts of the world regarded death and the world to come. The Haniwa figures were, after all, solely and exclusively the property of the dead, whose last and most imposing homes they surrounded and decorated, mute earthenware sentinels and companions in that most feared of all man's adventures. That their manufacture and production should, like the world for which they were prepared, have been shrouded in mystery, silence, and awe is hardly to be wondered at.

One notable exception to the general silence is an incident recorded in the early history of Japan known as the *Nihon Shoki* or *Nihongi*, "The Chronicles of Japan," a work thought to have been completed in A.D. 720. Though it presents in many of its earlier portions an impossibly backward-looking chronology, the work no doubt often incorporated fairly ancient material and traditions, and its later portions, covering a period beginning shortly before the reign of the Emperor Yūryaku, are probably closer both to historical fact and to accurate dating.

This is the dramatic legend recorded in the fourteenth book of the *Nihon Shoki*, where it is associated with the ninth year of the reign of the Emperor Yūryaku (reg. 457–79), which would correspond to the year 465 according to the conventional chronological interpretation of early Japanese history. The incident is here recorded with the dramatic effect and force of an early oral tradition, still virtually untouched by the passage of centuries:

Autumn, 7th month, 1st day. The province of Kochi reported:

"The daughter of a man of the district of Asukabe named Hyakuson, Tanabe no Fubito, was wife to a man named Karyū, Fumi no Obito, of the district of Furuichi. Hyakuson, hearing that his daughter had given birth to a child, paid a visit of congratulation to his son-in-law's house. He came home by moonlight, and was passing at the foot of the Konda Imperial Tumulus at Ichihiko Hill, when he fell in with a horseman mounted on a red courser, which dashed along like the flight of a dragon, with splendid high springing action, dart-

ing off like a wild goose. His strange form was of lofty mold; his remarkable aspect was of extreme distinction. Hyakuson approached and looked at him. In his heart he wished to possess him, so he whipped up the piebald horse which he rode and brought him alongside of the other, head by head and bit by bit. But the red horse shot ahead, spurning the earth, and, galloping on, speedily vanished in the distance. Hereupon the piebald horse lagged behind, and, slow of foot, could not overtake the other. But the rider of the courser, knowing Hyakuson's wish, stopped and exchanged horses with him, upon which they took leave of each other and separated.

"Hyakuson, greatly rejoiced at obtaining such a steed, hastened home and placed him in the stable, where he took off his saddle, foddered him, and went to sleep. The next morning the red courser had become changed into a horse of clay. Hyakuson, wondering at this in his heart, went back, and, making search at the Konda Imperial Tumulus, found the piebald horse standing among the clay horses. So he took it, and left in its stead the clay horse which he had received in exchange."

The Konda Imperial Tumulus of this passage is supposed to be the burial place of the Emperor Ōjin; the *Nihon Shoki* places his death in 310 at the age of 110, while the *Kojiki*, a slightly earlier source, gives him 130 years. He is the figure somewhat later deified and honored down to the present time as Hachiman, God of War. Of course it is evident that for this early period the impossibly long reigns of the emperors were contrived later as a purely literary exercise in order to provide depth in time to accommodate the legends and traditions which by the time of the compilation of the earliest written records had begun to cluster about remoter antiquity. Approximately adjusted and somewhat more realistic dates for Ōjin's reign would be 346-95.

There is much else here that smells strongly of the lamp, as in most of the *Nihon Shoki*. Both Hyakuson and Karyū are Chinese-style names; "darting off like a wild goose" is a Chinese purple-passage; and the incident as it appears in the text today undeniably savors strongly of the literary spirit of a typical Chinese tale of the supernatural. But in spite of all these continental touches (which are found throughout the *Nihon Shoki*) one can glimpse behind the record something of the mystery and awe which surrounded these great monuments of an earlier past, as the Japanese slowly advanced down into recorded history.

Coming upon the forbidden precincts of a great imperial burial mound by night, how impressed the traveler must have been to see its whole majestic mass still crowned with a veritable forest of Haniwa figures and cylinders, their ghostly silence given added mystery and a strange, silent life by the play of the moonlight on their earthenware features. Surely such a traveler can be forgiven if for a moment he found himself bewitched by the awesome site and its stark rows of silent watchers, just as we can equally well understand if the sheer terror and fear of such encounters should endow the subject with such magic as virtually to taboo it from both legend and recorded history. In this sense, the incident quoted above from the *Nihon Shoki* comes close to being the exception that proves the rule.

The same *Nihon Shoki* text is also the source for the *locus classicus* concerning the origin of the human-figure Haniwa and their significance, and since this record cannot help but have a bearing on any discussion of the art of the Haniwa, it is worth quoting here in its entirety. It is found in the annals of the Emperor Suinin; the *Nihon Shoki* chronology would have Suinin come to the throne in 29 B.C. and die in A.D. 70 at the age of 140; the burial of Yamato-hiko would thus have been in 2 B.C., and the first burial with Haniwa figures in A.D. 3. But once again it must be emphasized that the chronology of this part of the *Nihon Shoki* is undoubtedly off by several centuries; an approximately adjusted chronology would put the reign of Suinin at around A.D. 249-80. The relevant passages are as follows:

28th year, Winter, 10th month, 5th day. Yamato-hiko no Mikoto, the Emperor's younger brother on his mother's side, died.

11th month, 2nd day. Yamato-hiko was buried at Tsukizaka in Musa. Thereupon his personal attendants were assembled, and were all buried alive upright in the precincts of the imperial tumulus. For several days they died not, but wept and wailed day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and crows gathered and ate them.

The Emperor, hearing the sound of their weeping and wailing, was grieved in heart, and commanded his high officers, saying: "It is a very painful thing to force those whom one has loved in life to follow him in death. Though it be an ancient custom, why follow it if it is bad? From this time forward, take counsel so as to put a stop to the 'Following of the Dead.'" . . .

32nd year, Autumn, 7th month, 6th day. The Empress Hibasuhime no Mikoto died. Sometime before the burial, the Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying: "We have already recognized that the practice of 'Following the Dead' is not good. What should now be done in performing this burial?"

Thereupon Nomi-no-Sukune came forward and said: "It is not good to bury living men upright at the tumulus of a prince. How can such a practice be handed down to posterity? I beg leave to propose an expedient which I will submit to Your Majesty."

So he sent messengers to summon up from the Land of Izumo a hundred men of the clay-workers' guild. He himself directed the men of the clay-workers' guild to take clay and form therewith the shapes of men, horses, and various objects, which he presented to the Emperor, saying: "Henceforward let it be the law for future ages to substitute things of clay for living men, and to set them up at tumuli."

Then the Emperor greatly rejoiced, and commanded Nomi-no-Sukune, saying: "Thy expedient hath greatly pleased Our Heart."

So the things of clay were first set up at the tomb of Hibasu-hime no Mikoto. And a name was given to these clay objects; they were called Haniwa. Another name is Tatemono.

Then a decree was issued, saying: "Henceforth these clay figures must be set up at tumuli; let not men be harmed."

The Emperor bountifully rewarded Nomi-no-Sukune for this service, and also bestowed on him a kneading-place, and appointed him to the official charge of the clay-workers' guild. His original title was

therefore changed, and he was called Hanibe-no-Omi, "My Lord of the Clay-workers' Guild." This was how it came to pass that the Hanibe-no-Muraji, "The Lords of the Clay-workers' Guild," superintend the burials of the Emperors.

In these terms for the objects in question, *hani* means "clay," *wa* is "ring" or "circle," and *tatemono* is literally "something made to stand erect" (in the modern language it means "a building").

Taken at face value, this passage from the *Nihon Shoki* might at first glance appear to tell all that is necessary about the Haniwa figures, and by extension, about the cylinders also, including their date of development and the motives behind their production. As already indicated, the chronology is unreliable; but that is not by any means all that must be questioned about the passage.

The basic interest of the authors of the *Nihon Shoki* at this point was actually not so much in documenting the practice of making Haniwa as it was in providing a background of high antiquity and noble deeds for the ancestors to which the traditional occupational guild of clay-workers traced its origins. At the very least, it would be safe to assume that by the middle of the sixth century (to which certain of the earlier compilations upon which the *Nihon Shoki* drew for its sources are to be referred) the clay-workers' guild had a tradition similar to the one which this text presents, namely that it was originally called into being in order to manufacture pottery figures that made it possible to abolish the inhuman custom of the immolation of servants to accompany noble burials.

But even if this be accepted more or less at face value as an old tradition among the potters whose ancestors had no doubt produced the Haniwa figures and cylinders, there are still major difficulties in the way of accepting it as historical fact. As already noted, the oldest Haniwa burials are in the Kyoto-Nara area, the historical centers of old Japanese culture. But here Haniwa figures representing human beings are not the oldest to be found, and thus what archeological evidence there is does not at all agree with the written tradition in exactly its most important aspect. Had the Haniwa figures actually been developed to be substituted for the cruel practice of the burying alive of servants and retainers of important persons, one would naturally expect that the earliest Haniwa forms known would be those showing human beings. But such is not the case. In the Kyoto-Nara area the human figures do not appear until the middle of the Tumulus period, and even then they are extremely rare.

Later on, as the Haniwa spread throughout Japan, more and more human figures were produced, while in the provinces comparatively far from the restraining influence of the old Kyoto-Nara area the human-figure Haniwa showed the charming results of the introduction of many popular themes, often approaching genre. Once this happened these developments appear in turn to have made themselves felt back in the Kyoto-Nara area, in a kind of reverse current; but the whole process in sum total shows that there is little concrete evidence, archeological or otherwise, for the edifying account of the origins of Haniwa as set forth in the *Nihon Shoki*.

Nor, for that matter, is modern scholarship even very well prepared to speak with authority on whether or not the immolation of servants and

retainers of the dead was ever practiced on a large scale in ancient Japan, though it was of course well known throughout the ancient world. But had it ever been common in Japan, it should at the very least have left some trace of unmistakable archeological evidence; such, however, is not forthcoming. Hence the most carefully considered judgment of the *Nihon Shoki* account is that which finds in it a piously didactic *ex post facto* explanation, but little more.

The custom of fashioning a tiny replica of the house in which the deceased had lived and placing it directly on the top of the tumulus heaped up over his remains is already observed as early as the third and fourth centuries, the time usually designated as the early part of the Tumulus period. These houses were the first of the Haniwa to be made representing articles of material culture and were given this important place at the top of the burial barrows.

In the middle portion of the Tumulus period, as more and more elaborate burial barrows were put up, the types of Haniwa used also greatly increased. To the solitary Haniwa house on the top of the most important part of the mound were soon added Haniwa replicas of other vital facets of the material culture of the time, especially shields and ceremonial sunshades. This more elaborate array of Haniwa objects was then usually encircled with a protective series of Haniwa cylinders, to which were in turn added Haniwa replicas of a variety of warriors' equipment, especially shields and quivers, archers' wrist protectors, armor, and helmets, often so lifelike as to be on first sight mistaken for the real thing. In certain burials of this period the Haniwa house in its central position was immediately surrounded and guarded by these replicas of military equipment; in other cases the house was surrounded by rows of cylinders, which were in turn guarded by the military gear.

It is easy to understand the continuing importance which in this fashion attached to the Haniwa house and its central location. The tumulus was the eternal dwelling place of the deceased; the Haniwa house crowning it made it possible to provide a tie between the life of this world and that in the next, as well as providing a visible, permanent dwelling place for the spirit of the departed. Surely too the ceremonial sunshade had important religious significance in the social system of the tumulus culture; this, together with the military equipment, symbols of the warrior's status and importance in the society, no doubt provided visible documentation for the religious, political, and social prerogatives of the deceased.

Since at the same time the bodies interred in such tumuli were often richly dressed in real armor and accompanied in their graves by rich stashes of bronze and iron military equipment—horse trappings, jewelry, swords, and the like—the use of Haniwa replicas for the outer surfaces of the tumuli cannot be considered due solely to a disinclination to abandon such precious objects to burial. Of course, such treasures were far safer inside the tumulus with the remains of the deceased than they would have been if displayed, as the Haniwa were, in the open, and such more or less practical economic considerations may have been partly in operation in the development of the art.

But above all, the wish to give to the tumulus an imposing and majestic appearance must have been the principal motive behind the development of such elaborate Haniwa displays as were eventually provided.

From the middle of the Tumulus period on, the Haniwa arrangements can best be thought of in terms of a calculated visual effect aimed at the person gazing at, or worshipping before, such tumuli from a considerable distance. These motives of external decoration and outward display become even clearer as the tumuli begin to be surrounded by substantial moats, and as the surface of the water in such moats is itself decorated with Haniwa ducks and other water fowl. Religious motivation and sociological documentation are then all but lost sight of in an outburst of decorative enthusiasm, whose ultimate and sole object becomes more and more the eye of the beholder.

In burials of the middle portion of the Tumulus period one already begins to find Haniwa replicas of tall, goblet-like bowls and dishes, sometimes directly in front of the still-central Haniwa house. Some are so realistic that one might well assume that at the time of the burial they held real objects, probably as offerings to the departed. Haniwa chairs, which may once have carried Haniwa human figures, are also found.

Haniwa from the Kanto region, in contrast to those from the old cultural centers of the Kyoto-Nara area, are often distinguished by a certain simplicity and unsophistication in their design and execution. To be sure, some Kanto Haniwa figures are in no way inferior to similar specimens from the Kyoto-Nara area, but in many cases the Kanto specimens may appear to lack both character and style sufficient to capture the full attention of one intent upon viewing them simply as works of art. But though this is often undeniably true, it also is necessary to keep in mind when considering such Kanto-region Haniwa the special circumstances under which and for which they were produced, and to try to understand that in their own way these same traits of simplicity and unsophistication must eventually be ranked as one of their greatest accomplishments. Their ultimate location far from the eye of the viewer, who was separated from them and their ghostly companions by the placid waters of the moat circling the tumulus, explains much of their technique, and also explains why it was in point of actual fact the more effective for being apparently so unsophisticated. This and the necessity for what at times amounted virtually to mass-production go together to provide the rationale for many of the Kanto-region Haniwa.

The sculpture of most of the world was and still generally is conceived of and worked out in terms of stone or wood, rather different materials from those of the Haniwa. This is of course not to imply that clay was not at times commonly employed elsewhere for sculptural purposes, but rather that the fashion in which the Haniwa artisans put their chief and only material to work for them made it virtually a different medium from the same physical substance in other artistic traditions. Working with a long, flexible rope of kneaded clay, at least in producing figures of the Kanto style, the Haniwa artisan quickly built up a simple cylinder and adorned it with simply modeled features and punched-out eyes and mouth. Thus striking economy of labor and decoration brought into being the desired results, often in what today we can only view as a most daring and dramatic way.

Here only that which absolutely must be expressed is explicitly stated; all other elements that might possibly have been worked into the finished Haniwa are ruthlessly set aside or sacrificed to the demands of the

Kantō technique. If there is much that is childlike in the simplicity and unsophistication of these figures, then it is well to remember that together with this there goes much also of the uncalculatingly brutal severity of childhood and its ways.

But on the other hand, what is conspicuously lacking from these figures is any hint of their prime role as funereal goods. There is no hint of sorrow, of pain, or of lamentation in these happy, laughing figures, often so full of life that it cannot be completely contained within the narrow limits of their confining clay cylinders. Simple though their rudimentary faces are, they let us look deep into their hearts, which captivate us with the first glimpse they provide of the happy serenity of an earlier and far different world.

Nor are we much disturbed by the apparently total lack of regard for logical proportion in many of the Haniwa figures. The nose may be and often is far too large for the face on which it has been set; the ears, often on the same figure, also may be quite out of scale with the other features; but these do not, strangely enough, attract the primary attention of the viewer, nor do they particularly detract from the overall effect of the figure. This fine disregard for the physical reality of proportion is not restricted to the facial features of the Kanto-region Haniwa; legs too are especially remarkable in this respect, but the result seems never to be either ridiculous or even unnatural. Partly this is because the best Haniwa, though they may appear to be somewhat unstable, are actually quite cunningly balanced. More important, however, are surely the wonderful tactile qualities of the material from which they are made, and here neither photographs nor verbal description can be of any great assistance.

The low-firing to which Haniwa were subjected has resulted in a wonderfully warm, reddish-brown surface; they invite the exploratory touch, for they are neither as soft as one might expect from low-fired unglazed earthenware, nor nearly as hard of surface as one might expect from their age and degree of preservation. The charm of their surfaces, then, both in color and in tactile quality, is one important factor that explains why in viewing them we find that our critical eye is, in effect, deflected from many of their absurdities and illogicalities, to permit our aesthetic eye fuller and clearer vision.

These are the same elements in their make-up which have in recent years begun to direct a considerable amount of interest to the Haniwa remains, especially on the part of persons interested in the trends of modern Occidental art. This is natural enough, for on superficial glance there is much in the art of the less ceremonial and rigidly proper Haniwa figures that may appear to have elements and even origins in common with many of the tendencies of modern sculpture, for example. But these resemblances and likenesses are really only superficial, and while it is perhaps salutary that they should provide an impetus for interesting moderns in these ancient burial figures, it would be misleading if by this same token we at once attributed wholesale the attitudes and theories of modern artistic expression to the unknown persons responsible for the Haniwa figures. Of the complex processes, deductive and otherwise, out of which the views and theories of modern art have slowly and painfully been evolved, the Haniwa artisans were blissfully unaware, and it would be a gross mistake to let the superficial qualities of their work seduce us into

attributing to them any of the motivations or even views for which we moderns are indebted for our own art.

Above all, the artistic results of the Haniwa artisans were determined by their attitudes; and these were not modern attitudes, for theirs was not a modern world. Quite to the contrary, they were simple, natural attitudes quite suited to the dawn of Japanese civilization, and indeed, not far from the dawn of civilization in the Far East as a whole. With their fresh, clear, young vision—for their youth was the youth of their whole civilization, and indeed of their whole world—they saw clearly, and expressed clearly what they saw, leaving off the unessentials and compromising on the difficulties which intervened, with the brutal frankness of fresh-eyed children everywhere. In so doing they discovered, and were able to give amazingly effective plastic expression to, the force and impact which accurate observation possesses when it neglects the ego and transcends the individual.

The typical eye grasped the ideal object, and the hand reacted to produce the typical, ideal artistic product as the net result of this process. In the freshness of their early, still undimmed vision, the artisans of the Tumulus period were able to set reality as their goal and, what is more, to reach it, losing sight of self and ego in their young, vigorous enthusiasm. Nothing could possibly have been more removed from the process and motivation of modern art. If we moderns find the Haniwa congenial, then, it is not because they are like us and our own accomplishments; rather, it is because they are so strikingly unlike.

Nothing would cast more light upon the original religious or other significance of many of the Haniwa than complete data concerning exactly how they were originally employed on the tumuli, and just where they were placed in relation to the central portion of the mound and also to each other. Such data would also do much to clarify the successive stages of the development of the art. Unfortunately, only small fragments of such information are presently available. Most of the Haniwa finds and excavations in the past have been the result of chance discoveries rather than scientific investigations. Many of the finest, most interesting specimens known today are the result of such lucky discoveries, but often cannot with great certainty be traced to any particular portion of the tumulus from which they came. At times, indeed, even the site from which they were taken is obscure.

A small number of Haniwa-laden tumuli have, to be sure, in recent times been subjected to more or less thorough scientific investigation and study, but here major attention has generally centered upon the central burial chambers and their remains, and especially upon the rich hoards of burial-goods usually found in the tumuli. The result has been that even scientifically excavated tumuli have, to date, provided us with relatively little information concerning the positions and arrangements in which the Haniwa were placed upon and about the tumuli.

Even in those tumuli investigations that have paid special attention to their *in situ* Haniwa finds, it has often proven extremely difficult to obtain results of any degree of certainty. Even the most careful uncovering of the tumuli areas often shows that the Haniwa have been hopelessly shifted about by centuries of weathering and other natural causes, and often little confidence can be attached even to such *in situ* finds. It must

be remembered that originally the Haniwa were only partly buried in the piled-up tumulus surface, generally only their bottom cylindrical section being pressed into the ground to hold them upright. Their upper portions were thus exposed to the elements from the very first, and it is most common to find that only the base cylinders, and often not even all of them, are still *in situ*, the upper figures having long since been broken from their supports and scattered in irrelevant locations up and down the tumulus. Careful studies of fairly well preserved tumuli are still so few that it is difficult to recognize patterns and development trends among them; the postwar freedom in Japanese archeological investigation now makes it possible to work unhampered by the many ideological restrictions of former days, but the welcome academic liberation here is still too new to have supplied definitive data.

In such circumstances it is probably best simply to introduce two typical and fairly well-documented *in situ* Haniwa finds, and to refrain from attempting to draw any larger, more elaborate conclusions on the subject of the location and arrangement of the Haniwa on the tumuli sites.

The Haniwa house, it is at least clear, was always the center of the arrangement, and this appears to have been more or less true at all stages of the tumulus culture. In some of the oldest tumuli it is found surrounded by a protective ring of Haniwa cylinders, but usually in the early sites it reposes on the top of the central part of the barrow, directly over the interred remains, its importance emphasized by its central, solitary location. As the culture developed, the middle phases of the Tumulus period found the Haniwa house still central, but now surrounded by two or even at times three encircling rings of Haniwa cylinders or Haniwa replicas of inanimate objects. With the somewhat later development of human-figure Haniwa these were added in a variety of positions, impossible to generalize upon at the present state of knowledge, and the house too came to be accompanied by subsidiary structures—storehouses, granaries, and other outbuildings suitable for the grounds of the wealthy aristocrat whose last dwelling place was the still-central Haniwa house. The result was a virtual estate of Haniwa buildings, no doubt reproducing the clusters of buildings of varied sizes and uses of which the communities of the later Tumulus period consisted.

It is interesting to compare this custom of giving the central position of importance to the Haniwa house throughout the Tumulus period with the custom that still survives in Japan today of erecting a temporary "spirit house" over a new grave. This practice is still followed even in the Buddhist funeral services which are now almost the rule in Japan. In such services the remains are first cremated and an urn containing the ashes buried, usually in a shallow, stone-lined pit. The "spirit house," today of wood and paper and gaudily decorated with artificial flowers, is then erected over the grave on the day of burial and allowed to stay there until the weather destroys it. Grown vastly larger than its Haniwa origins, and transformed into a ritual accessory of the adopted creed of continental Buddhism, it provides today a startling link with the protohistoric past, spanning centuries of time and fundamental differences in religious beliefs with the assurance of an ancient folkway firmly rooted in the dawn of civilization.

In the Futatsuyama Tumulus (Fig. 2), the Haniwa house was found



Fig. 3. Location of human and animal Haniwa figures on a tumulus dike (Hachimanzuka Tumulus, Hododa, Gumma-machi, Gumma Prefecture).

in its customary position on the top of the rounded portion of the mound. Balancing it, and arranged in a straight line on the top of the triangular section of the tumulus, were four additional Haniwa houses. One more house was discovered along the slope of the tumulus leading up to the rear section, while this and the other slopes were found to have a rich trove of human-figure Haniwa, both men and women, horses, chickens, and various replicas of inanimate objects all still *in situ*. The figure shows the locations in which these were found, and gives at least an idea of one of the possible ways in which various types of Haniwa were arrayed on and about the tumuli.

Another Gumma Prefecture find, the Hachimanzuka Tumulus, provides a well-documented instance of a Haniwa find *in situ*, this time on the top of a portion of the dike surrounding the outer edge of the moat (Fig. 3). This reminds us again that, at least in its later stages, the tumulus culture paid particular attention to the decoration of the moat and its dikes with Haniwa figures. The tumulus-makers appear to have considered the aesthetic effect on a person viewing the tumulus from a considerable distance, his view partly obstructed by the impressive Haniwa installations, such as this one, which would lie between him and the central mound. Japanese religion has always capitalized on the sense of the unknown that surrounds its sacred locations, and the Japanese temperament has long delighted in the sense of the divine it finds in an obscure and not completely grasped object of worship. No doubt these considerations too played their part in such elaborate Haniwa arrangements.

In this particular case, a rectangular area on the top of the outer dike was set off by a regular fence of Haniwa cylinders, running lengthwise east to west. In what is roughly the center of this area a pair of human-figure Haniwa, one male and one female, were found, more or less facing each other. Five additional human figures were discovered, facing various directions, standing along the west boundary of the area, and one more human figure near the east edge. Near this figure, in the center of the area but closest to the east edge, a pair of Haniwa horses stood, facing each other, and six more Haniwa horses were lined up, all facing west, along the south fence. They were balanced by two Haniwa geese and six Haniwa chickens along the north fence, all these also facing west (i. e., away from the tumulus). Again, the relative lack of well-documented finds of this sort makes it difficult to evaluate this particular site in terms of standards or developments, but it no doubt reveals one striking way in which the Haniwa figures and cylinders were used together for dramatic decorative effect.

Those responsible for the early literary accounts, in attributing the origin of the Haniwa to the development of a substitute for human immolation, appear to have been unaware that the simple Haniwa cylinder antedated all other types of Haniwa by a large margin. In general terms, the inanimate Haniwa objects are earlier than those showing human beings, and are thought to be largely from the fifth century, though some may have appeared slightly earlier. But the cylinders are far earlier, probably going back to the late third century, and are found throughout Japan wherever the burial tumuli were erected.

The cylinders were, like the later figures and models, of unglazed, lightly fired clay. Often they had their surfaces decorated with several

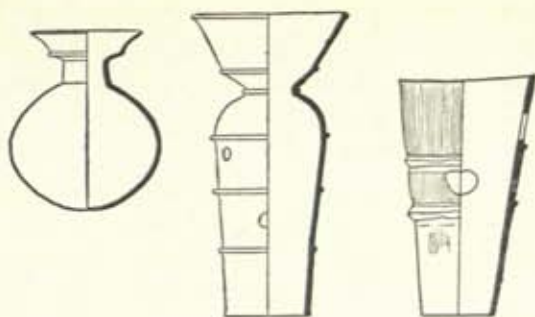


Fig. 4. Types of Haniwa cylinders (center and right) and Haji-ware urns (left).

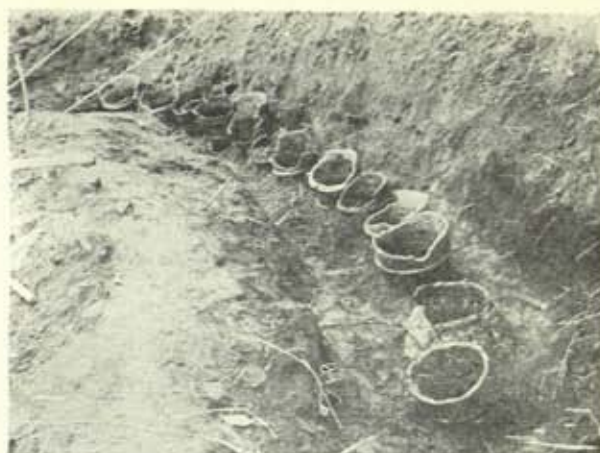


Fig. 5. Haniwa cylinders *in situ*.

horizontal ridges dividing them into parallel horizontal zones, and were further distinguished by several round, square, or triangular holes opened at various places along the sides. Some of these cylinders are characterized by coming to a narrow neck near the top, after which they flare out sharply into a trumpet-shaped top of the type Japanese archeologists dub the "morning-glory" variety (Fig. 4, center and right).

The Haniwa cylinders are found in a variety of positions and spacings on almost every part of the tumulus surface, and many theories have been advanced concerning their basic purposes and symbolism beyond their obvious functions as over-all decoration and boundary demarcation. When fairly widely spaced out it is possible that they formed an impressive fence or railing, and in such cases the holes in their sides may have permitted a rope or cord to be passed along through the row. Such ornamental fences setting off the more hallowed areas of a sacred site are still common in Japanese shrine architecture in one form or another; today one may see modern equivalents in granite set in cement foundations and connected with cast-iron rods.

In other cases the Haniwa cylinders are found lined up in double and even triple rows with next to no space between them, and such finds have suggested to some that perhaps in addition to the decorative function of their exposed upper portions, their half-buried lower sections helped prevent the freshly heaped-up earth of the tumulus from eroding too quickly. (Fig. 5 shows such a row of closely spaced Haniwa cylinders *in situ*.) Whatever their significance and purpose, the Haniwa cylinders were used throughout Japan during the entire Tumulus period. As many as two hundred have been found in a late circular tumulus no more than twenty meters in diameter, while the twenty thousand said to have been fired for use in the 380-meter-long tumulus erected upon the death of the Emperor Nintoku (the dates of his reign are traditionally given as 313-99 but should probably be adjusted to 395-427, i.e., the Middle Tumulus period) is a famous indication of the importance of these cylinders in major burials.

Another clue to at least part of the original significance of these Haniwa cylinders is afforded by the frequent discovery, as for example in the extremely old Chausuyama Tumulus (Nara Prefecture), of considerable numbers of Haji-ware pottery urns (Fig. 4, left), notable for the fact that

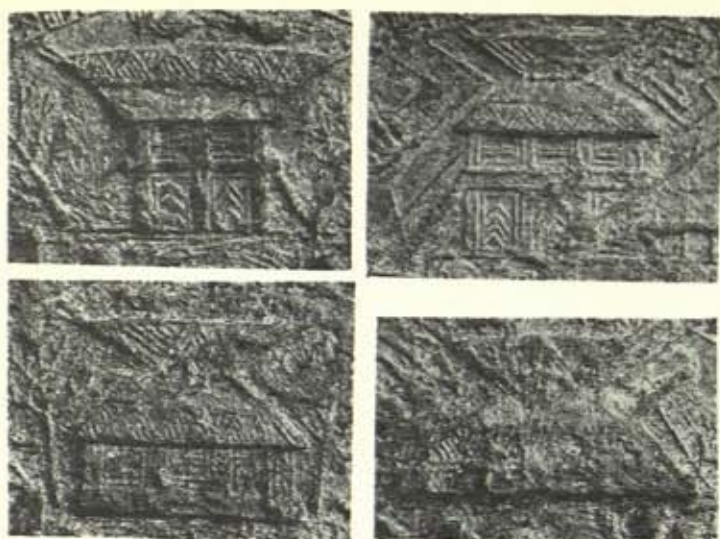


Fig. 6. Houses and other buildings as shown on an early bronze mirror (from Takarazuka Tumulus, Kōryō-machi, Kita Katsuragi-gun, Nara Prefecture).

their bottoms had never been completed and that they were evidently especially prepared as symbolic representations for burial rather than fired for practical use. (Haji ware is the name given to the domestic pottery of the Tumulus period and is a development out of the Yayoi-ware tradition.) Other early burials reveal similar vessels whose bottoms have been knocked out at the time of burial, no doubt as symbolic of their "sacrifice" to spiritual rather than mundane use. Such hoards of vessels are found surrounding the interred remains in the interior of the tumulus in much the same fashion as the Haniwa cylinders surround it on the outside, which together with their obvious similarity in terms of their flaring "morning-glory" mouths indicates more than a chance connection between the two. The Haniwa cylinders, especially at the early stage when relatively few of them were employed, may in fact have been stylized, symbolic representations of Haji vessels used to contain offerings to the spirit of the recently departed. From this in turn developed their obvious value as markers, fences, and guards for the hallowed precincts of the tumuli, and led to various fanciful arrangements employing more and more of them, until their decorative possibilities, especially in conjunction with human and other figures, came to be of major interest.

Most of the later Haniwa figures, whether of men, horses, other animals, or inanimate objects, in some way or other are still part of the basic cylinder, which usually becomes their base. Indeed, many human-figure Haniwa consist of little more than a nose added to a cylinder with puncture holes for the eyes and mouth. But curiously enough, there are few if any pieces that can be pointed out as clearly transitional between the cylinders and the figures. In this sense too, the representational Haniwa are in no way primitive, though many of them are extremely simple and abbreviated in their expressive techniques.

Second only to the Haniwa cylinder in antiquity and importance throughout the entire Tumulus period are the Haniwa replicas of houses. The whole estate of Haniwa buildings which often appeared together no doubt represented in considerable realistic detail the buildings on the grounds belonging to the deceased. Today these are prized largely for the priceless information they have preserved concerning the architectural

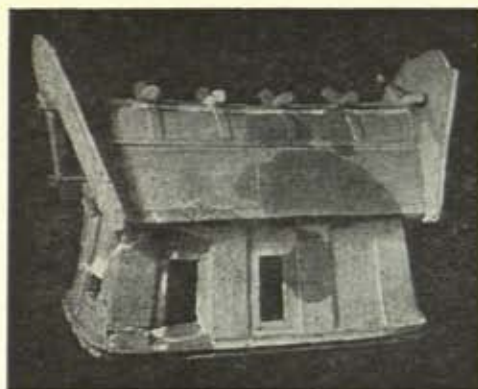


Fig. 7. Gabled-roof Haniwa house (from Akabori-mura, Sawa-gun, Gumma Prefecture).

styles of dwelling houses and other buildings in protohistoric Japan. We know next to nothing about the kinds of buildings erected in pre-tumulus times, but once the Haniwa house models come onto the scene it becomes evident that in the period of the tumulus culture great advances were made in all types of building.

Most of the Haniwa buildings are realistically depicted. Basically they differ but little from modern Japanese farmhouse architecture, being built with vertical posts and poles, the wall-spaces filled with mud-plaster over wattle and providing door and window openings, while elaborate thatched roofs are held in place by wooden or bamboo retaining members. The most notable difference is in the elaborate and perhaps even fanciful (in the sense of not being completely realistic) bargeboards on many of the Haniwa houses, which billow out into fine, impressive sections of the roof; often the ridgepole may be seen projecting out from under them on either side. Today at least such enormous structures would be quite inappropriate for most parts of Japan, where the first typhoon of the season would soon make quick work of them.

Most of the Haniwa buildings which are thought to represent dwelling houses have gabled roofs, or double-slope roofs, showing one roof with, in effect, another resting upon it. Their foundations appear to rest directly upon the ground, though at times Haniwa dwelling houses are found as tall structures raised a considerable distance above the ground; this type is also known from illustrations on protohistoric bronze mirrors (Fig. 6). Most of these tall Haniwa buildings have only a single entrance and are thought to have been storehouses.

Many of the gabled Haniwa houses are really imposing structures (Fig. 7). The walls carry door and window openings, but of course it is the noble roof construction that attracts the major share of attention, with its soaring bargeboards and prominent *katsuogi*. These last are logs placed as weights on top of the ridgepole to help anchor the thatch of the roof in place, but they soon became a more or less decorative device and as such survive in various stylized versions in Shintō shrine architecture today.

One of the most unusual types of Haniwa roofs—and one might suspect it to have been one of the least practical—was the double-slope variety (Fig. 8), in which a usual gable roof with fairly elaborate bargeboards has been set upon a square-hipped ridge roof. The result looks something like a modern hipped and gabled roof. Its most unique feature is the contrast



Fig. 8. Double-slope-roof Haniwa house (from Tobi, Sakurai-shi, Nara Prefecture). Important Cultural Property.

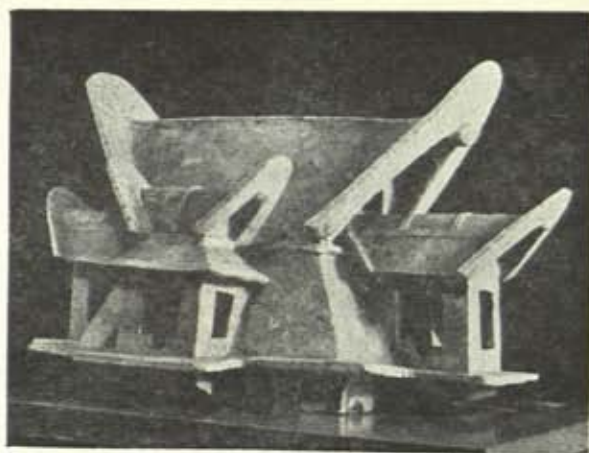


Fig. 9. Complex of Haniwa houses (from Saitobaru Tumulus, Saito-machi, Kōyū-gun, Miyazaki Prefecture). Important Cultural Property.



Fig. 10. Haniwa model of a storehouse (from Sara, Ueno-shi, Mie Prefecture).

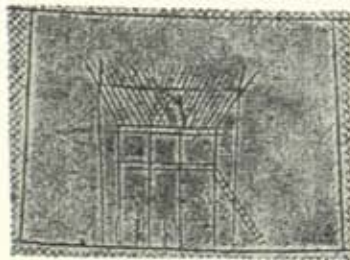


Fig. 11. Protohistoric storehouse as shown on a Yayoi bronze bell. National Treasure. Coll. Mr. Hachirō Ohashi

in the grade of the upper section of the roof with that of the lower, a technique that appears to have been in vogue in certain types of architecture down into the Asuka period (552–645), i.e., into early historic time.

One of the most famous Haniwa buildings is the elaborate complex of structures from the Saitobaru Tumulus in Miyazaki Prefecture (Fig. 9). The central section of this fascinating Haniwa is a set of two main structures, each with its own gabled roof, one inside the other, with prominent ridgepoles and bargeboards, while to the front and rear have been attached porch-like additions that are in effect smaller buildings with their own double-slope roofs. The fact that the thatched roof of the upper section of the central structure clearly extends all the way to the ground has led archeologists to the opinion that this Haniwa basically represents a more or less permanent superstructure erected over a pit-dwelling, down into which a ramp would lead from the smaller front or rear structures. As such, it would have been a palatial residence for the upper classes, and would represent a valuable link in the transition from the pit-dwelling period to residence in surface structures.

The Haniwa replicas of storehouses generally have hipped-ridge roofs and are found both as high structures set up off the ground and as lower ones. Some of them, with their characteristic "log cabin" type of construction (Fig. 10), at once bring to mind the most famous "storehouse" of ancient Japan, the Shosō-in, the Imperial repository dedicated to the Todai-ji in 756 and containing as its chief treasures objects owned by the Emperor Shōmu (*reg.* 722–47). Even though of course the Shosō-in dates from well after what is generally regarded as the end of the Tumulus period and comes from a time when the Chinese Buddhist cultural tradition was in the full force of its early vigor, it is evident that here as elsewhere much of what was produced even in early historical Japan had profound roots far back in the pre-Buddhist past.

The evidence of the Haniwa storehouses is further substantiated by such other sources as the recently (1947) excavated Middle and Late

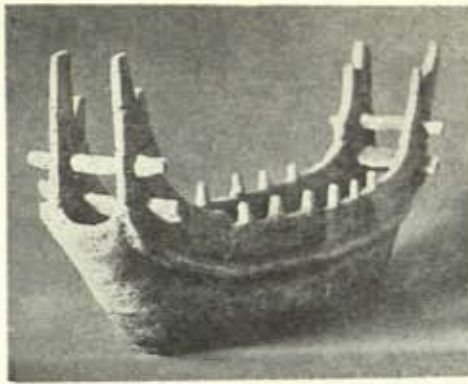


Fig. 12. Haniwa boat (from Saitobaru Tumulus, Saito-machi, Kōyū-gun, Miyazaki Prefecture).

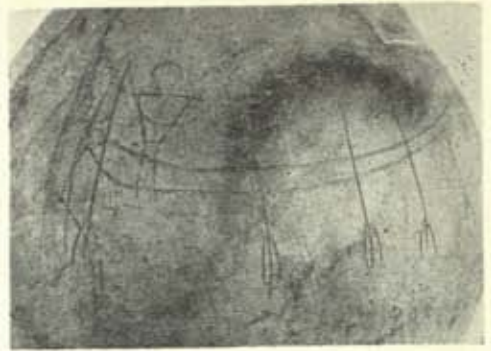


Fig. 13. A boat as shown on a specimen of Yayoi pottery (from Karoko, Tawaramoto-machi, Shiki-gun, Nara Prefecture).

Yayoi community at Toro, Shizuoka Prefecture, where early inundation has accidentally preserved a great variety of wooden tools and other archeological treasures, or by the primitive drawings of storehouses on a Yayoi-period bronze bell (Fig. 11).

Haniwa boats are not frequent finds, but they range widely from Kyūshū up into the Kantō plain and are generally thought to date from the middle of the Tumulus period on. Then as now, the sea cannot but have played an important part in the lives and thoughts of the inhabitants of this island country. The same Saitobaru Tumulus in Miyazaki Prefecture is the source for the most remarkable Haniwa boat known (Fig. 12), with its high gondola-like prow and stern and its six prominent oar-locks on each gunwale. There can be little doubt that such vessels were quite capable of venturing out on the high seas. Inside this Haniwa boat the deck planking is indicated, while the hull has a prominent ridge at the waterline. Leaving the simple hollowed-log boats of earlier days far behind them, the population of protohistoric Japan had evidently progressed a considerable way in the arts of the shipwright.

Naturally, this technical progress has important implications for early contacts between Japan and the Asiatic continent. Even earlier, the Yayoi culture often provides evidence of fairly elaborate boats (Fig. 13), and it is hardly to be questioned that for a long time such vessels played an important part in bringing bronze and iron culture, rice cultivation, and many other techniques from the continent into Japan.

The aristocratic culture of the Tumulus period was one of high status for the warrior, and hence one in which the warrior's elaborate, extensive armor and other equipment, both for actual combat and for ceremonial purposes, played an important role. Almost every possible part of this rich armor repertory became the subject of Haniwa reproductions at one time or another. The Haniwa shield is a unique and fascinating piece (Fig. 14), often formed by the intersection of two fan-shaped sections top and bottom, and set off by an area of middle bands, the whole placed upon a Haniwa cylinder base. The entire surface of the shield is decorated with restraint and manly vigor, producing a rhythmical pattern in keeping with the nature of the object represented.

The Tumulus-period warrior prized his swords and daggers, but he also was a skilled archer, though probably by the middle and later periods



Fig. 14. Haniwa shield (from Miyake-mura, Shiki-gun, Nara Prefecture).



Fig. 15. Haniwa quiver (from Anjiyama Tumulus, Kumiyama-machi, Kyoto Prefecture).



Fig. 16. Haniwa helmet (from Tottori, Yasaka-machi, Takenogun, Kyoto Prefecture).



Fig. 17. Haniwa warrior figure wearing full body armor (from Kugō, Ōta-shi, Gumma Prefecture).

of the culture archery was fully as important as a ceremonial as it was as an actual means of combat. Such splendidly elaborate Haniwa quivers as that from the Anjiyama Tumulus in Kyoto Prefecture (Fig. 15) can hardly have duplicated objects of ordinary, practical use, but must rather have been largely symbols of status and power erected for use in tumulus decoration almost without reference to the real object. When somewhat similar quivers are found on the backs of fully dressed warrior figures (cf. Plates 17 and 19) it is thought that they too represent a type of decorative quiver used for ceremonial purposes.

The helmet of the protohistoric period is well known not only from actual archeological finds of the real objects, interred as supplementary burial goods, and from those worn by Haniwa warrior figures, but also from numerous Haniwa replicas (Fig. 16).

As time went on, the Haniwa replicas of armor and other warrior's equipment became more and more stylized (Plates 66-69). This trend also affected the equipment the Haniwa figures carried, to be distinguished from the earlier ones in which armor, quivers, and other details were presented with life-like realism (Plates 17-19, Fig. 17).

The warriors of the period knew and used at least two major types of metal weapons, a short, dagger-like sword (Fig. 18, left), shown in its scabbard, which became the Haniwa cylinder base, and a much longer, more elegant blade of ultimate continental origins (Fig. 18, right). These are also well known from large hoards of the actual blades found as supplementary burial goods in tumuli, which finds make it clear that most of the Haniwa daggers and swords were extremely stylized in their execution. Cinnabar was often employed to add further surface decoration to such Haniwa, as in many of those illustrated in this volume. But were it not for the evidence of the actual pieces upon which such Haniwa were modeled, it would be difficult to gain a very clear idea of what the weapons themselves were.

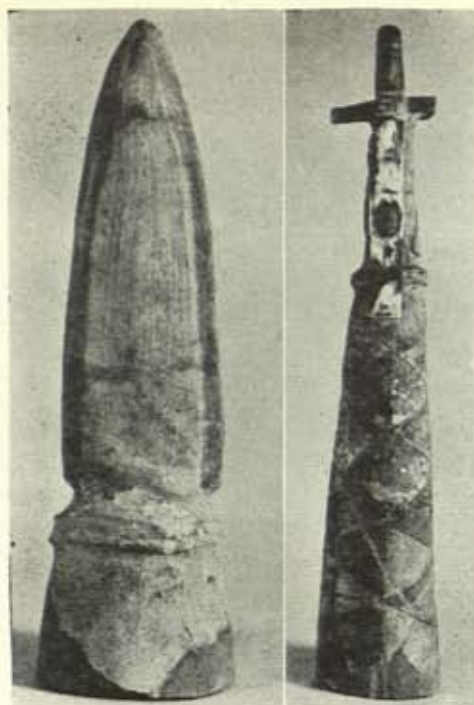


Fig. 18. Haniwa swords (from Yokozuka Tumulus, Ichikai-mura, Haga-gun, Tochigi Prefecture).



Fig. 19. Haniwa ceremonial sunshade (from the tumulus traditionally held to be that of Hibasu-hime, Nara; see text, p. 23).



Fig. 20. Haniwa covered container (from Kanakurayama, Sawada, Okayama-shi, Okayama Prefecture).

The *kinugasa* was a ceremonial sunshade frequently found in Haniwa reproductions (Fig. 19) from tumuli in the Kyoto-Nara area from the later part of the Early Tumulus period on; with the passage of time, it too became more abbreviated and stylized. Of the same material as the Haniwa were the large covered containers (Fig. 20) in which supplementary burial goods were often placed, especially those of bronze and iron, for deposit in secondary burial chambers adjoining that for the interment of the remains; purely utilitarian and practical, and neither decorative nor especially interesting as art, they need be mentioned only because they provide, as it were, the outer limits for the art of the Haniwa artisans.

It is only natural that the Haniwa representations of human figures have been those which more than any other variety, especially in most recent times, have caught the public imagination. Partly, of course, this is because of their natural connection with the legend already noted from the *Nihon Shoki* concerning the function of such Haniwa figures as immolation substitutes. But it is not only in modern times that the Haniwa human-figure representations have been most popular, for even in the protohistoric period they appear to have been the variety produced in the largest numbers. As many as forty or more such Haniwa figures have on more than one occasion been excavated from a single burial tumulus.

Whether their purpose in such elaborate burials was actually to serve as substitutes for living human beings or not is, as already indicated, a difficult question to answer. But at any rate there is little doubt that they fulfilled an important and significant ritual purpose in connection with such burials. The human Haniwa were of course figures made for funeral purposes. In spite of this, it is amazing how often they show happy, smiling faces. Surely in this, as in much else of the Haniwa art, it is possible to gather important information not only about daily life but even concerning the attitudes of the early Japanese.

Among the human-figure Haniwa some show both men and women

in full torso and others only from the waist up; the full-torso figures are usually the more carefully done, while the half-torso figures tend to be considerably abbreviated in style. Both varieties were invariably set upon, as a base, a lower cylindrical portion, which made it possible for them to be stood upright above the burial tumulus.

There is little if any difference of expression in the male and female figures, and both wear earrings and necklaces. But the sex can be determined by distinctions in the hair styles. The male figures have their hair parted distinctly in the middle and plaited into two long braids, one of which comes down to touch each shoulder (Plates 9, 21, 25, 32, etc.). This is the hair fashion on most of the male Haniwa figures, although on a few exceptional pieces one finds that the hair has been dressed by cutting both the left and right sides extremely short and piling the rest of the hair, which has been allowed to grow long, high on top of the head in a circular fashion, surmounted in some cases by a crescent-shaped ornament (Plates 14, 48, 52). The women dress their hair in a long, almost horizontal bun, which in some cases somewhat resembles the modern styles of Japanese formal hair dressing called the "Shimada coiffure" (Plates 6, 30, 34, 45, 63, 70). At times, too, female Haniwa figures are found in which hair combs decorate the coiffure.

In figures showing the full torso, both men and women wear the same type of tube-like untailored upper garment. But beneath this the men are seen to be wearing a garment very much like the modern Japanese *hakama*, that is to say a long trouser-form skirt. Many of the men also are wearing various types of headdress (Plates 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 23, 28, etc.). The women combine the same upper garment with something that looks quite similar to a modern Occidental-style skirt (Plate 6). Many of the male Haniwa figures, of course, appear in military attire, but as if by contrast most of the women are pictured in a variety of far more peaceful poses. In many cases the female figures wear sashes over one or both shoulders, crossing in front or behind, reminiscent of the cord or cloth band (*tasuki*) used in modern Japan to hold back the kimono sleeves and permit greater freedom of arm movement (Plates 2, 45, 46, 61). In striking contrast too are the figures of female shamans in what was no doubt their ritual attire (Plates 4, 27).

The male Haniwa figures appear both in full ceremonial dress (Plate D) and in everyday attire. Many of them are wearing ancient armor of what is called the *tankō* type, a short cuirass covering the breasts or even extending down over the hips, and probably made of iron sheets joined with rivets or leather thongs (Plates 15, 17-19). But other less military occupations are also often found, as for example a hawker (Plate 64), and even peasants (Plates 1, 60).

Many of the male Haniwa figures showing ceremonial or military dress are splendid examples of the high peak of technical execution which the art reached in depicting the full human figure. Men in ceremonial dress generally have their tube-like upper garment fastened right-over-left and secured with two ties at top and bottom (Plates 5, 7, 9, 28, etc.). Some have a wide decorative girdle (Plates 28, 32), while in others the effect is made even more splendid by the flaring hem of their upper garments (Plates 5, 28). Their limbs are encased in billowing trouser-form skirts, tied at the knee, and rakishly decorated with prominent side-creases (Plates



Fig. 21. Quiver on the back of a Haniwa warrior figure (from Kugō, Ōta-shi, Gumma Prefecture). Important Cultural Property.

5, 9). Such male Haniwa figures wear hats, crowns, or other headdress. In addition they are found with earrings and necklaces (Plates 28, 32).

Their wrists are protected with gauntlets, while at their waists are seen short daggers (Plates 5, 7, 10, 21, 28) or knives (Plate B), metal-worker's pincers (Plate 9) or sickles (Plate 57), and many show quivers or other bag-like receptacles suspended from the girdle down along the left side (Plates 5, 9, 32). Tiny jingle bells are found decorating the hats, crowns, gauntlets, and knee-ties (Plates 7, 31), while the weapons worn at the girdle display a variety of hilts and holds. Some are in the form of an annular ring (Plate D), others circular (Plate 32), still others square (Plate 28). Figures shown wearing crown-like headdresses and sitting on high seats (Plates B, 10, 33, 41) are thought to represent persons of high status, while the female figures seated in chairs, with bells and metal mirrors at their waists (Plate 27), are thought to be female shamans, who of course also enjoyed high social status.

The Haniwa, devoting great attention as they do to the representation of fully armed warriors, supply us with rich sources of information about the various types of body armor common among the Japanese in proto-historic times. Two main types can be distinguished. The first is that already noted, which might in Occidental terms be called a cuirass or corselet, a smaller body armor of horizontal or sometimes triangular metal plates riveted together; but actually relatively few Haniwa figures of this type are known. More common is the more elaborate, complete body armor known as *keikō*, which consisted of small metal plates or scales held in place by leather thongs. It is also remarkable that while examples of the cuirass are known among the Haniwa models of articles of the material culture, no specimens of the full body armor are known there.

All the Haniwa warrior figures wearing either the cuirass or the full body armor are fitted with helmets fashioned of triangular metal plates riveted together. This is in contrast to the wide variety of helmet types known from supplementary burials in tumuli. In the Haniwa warrior figures regardless of the type of armor worn the helmet appears to be limited to the same characteristic type, oval in the rear and brought out to a slight ridge in the front.

But to give the impression that detailed information they provide about military customs and apparel is the main interest of such Haniwa warrior figures would be to fall far short of the mark, for here as elsewhere in the art of the Haniwa the elegance and beauty of their artistic execution are more often than not fully worthy of attention in their own right. The warrior figure wearing a cuirass excavated in Saitama Prefecture (Plate 15) is a splendid example, though only the upper half of it has survived; here the superb expression on its face all but takes our attention from the equally masterful execution of its other details.

Evidently the Haniwa artisans were greatly concerned with the accuracy and clarity of the details of the dress and equipment on these warrior figures, or perhaps it was their noble patrons who insisted on a great degree of faithfulness in this part of the work. Whatever the reason, the results abound in lifelike detail and even in realism. In one common variety, illustrated here by two specimens from different sites in Gumma Prefecture (Plates 17, 19), the armor is complete with a decorative or ceremonial quiver worn on the back (Fig. 21); the left hand holds the

bow, and the right hand is about to grasp the short sword worn at the waist. In another variety of this general type the bow is held in the left hand and the short sword is at the waist, while the right hand rests upon the quiver hanging along the right hip (Plate 18, Fig. 17). It is interesting to note that this slight difference in pose does not correspond to other differences in the decoration of the figures: as far as decoration is concerned there is a first group (Plates 17, 18), in which the voluminous trouser-form skirts are decorated with vertical stripes and divided horizontally into several registers, indicating string ties fastening the garments to the wearer's legs; and a second group (Plates 19, Fig. 17), in which the same trousers are decorated with a triangular lozenge-like design, no doubt dyed in the original, and indicated on the Haniwa figure by traces of color still adhering, as well as by lines incised on the surface.

One is here tempted to ask if perhaps there is not an indication of what might have originally been a set of two pairs of matching figures; that each was found in a different tumulus site does not, however, make it easy to pursue such a theory about their original design a great deal further. But perhaps it is still safe to assume that their dates of production were close together.

Other pieces too are known in which the facial expression has much in common with these four warrior figures (e.g., Plate 14), and when one considers that these four pieces (Plates 17-19, Fig. 17) were all found within the limits of a fairly small portion of Gumma Prefecture, the possibility certainly grows that all of these may actually have been the work of a single person or of a few persons who specialized in the production of this type of figure. Perhaps this artisan or these artisans actually set something of a vogue for this type of warrior Haniwa, or perhaps the uniformity of the product was due instead to a uniformity in taste on the part of the patrons of the art.

These antiquarian and archeological questions apart, it is in the final analysis the exquisite facial expressions of these Haniwa warrior figures which make them memorable as works of art, and which more than anything else explain their great appeal for modern collectors. Those figures whose poses and attire suggest the more formal attitudes of a military man (Plates 17, 19) as well as those that appear to be showing something of a less formal, more active stance (Plate 18, Fig. 17) all have in common, at least in masterpieces of the level of the pieces illustrated here, this utterly captivating, calm, even gentle visage. Its contrast with their grim trappings, and indeed with the no doubt grim realities of military life in protohistoric Japan, is one of the most notable among the many factors that lift the art of the Haniwa from clay modeling to the level of important sculpture.

Haniwa female figures in ceremonial dress are relatively rare, and the standing figure from Isezaki in Gumma Prefecture (Plate 6) is a unique example. Here her upper garment is quite like that worn by the men, but decorated with a pattern of overlapping semicircles that forms an extremely common motif for textile and pottery designs in the historical period, and indeed down to the present day. The skirt with its vertical stripes is quite modern looking, and the hair, decorated with a comb, appears to be a realistic representation of the style of the day.

The great care which was lavished by the potters responsible for these



Fig. 22. Haniwa figure of a male entertainer wearing a zoomorphic hat (from Ibaragi Prefecture).

Haniwa figures showing men and women in full ceremonial dress, especially on the details of their clothing, armor, and weapons, makes it possible, as already noticed above in regard to Plates 17-19 and Fig. 17, to establish a certain number of sub-classes within the larger categories of figure types; but it would probably be a mistake to consider that these are by that token so many "basic" Haniwa models. More likely than not these apparent sub-class groupings are the result of refinements, short-cuts, and conventions adopted and developed in the course of stepping-up Haniwa production. It is also important to remember that the Haniwa sculptures were to be viewed, if at all, at a considerable distance, which no doubt played its part in encouraging labor-saving economies; these in turn gave birth to a sculpture that in many important respects prefers to suggest and intimate rather than to state explicitly.

In their fixed positions atop the grave mounds, the Haniwa sculptures were visible only from the considerable distance that separated such hallowed areas from the rest of the world; in practical terms they were at the very least to be viewed with the water-filled moat of the tumulus between them and the eye of the observer. Surely this fact was of importance in determining that the artistic course their development took would be along lines of effective, though often severe, formalization and rigid stylization of features. Their realism, then, was a realism enforced, as it were, along certain rigid lines, and these lines in turn were as much as anything else determined by the conditions under which the Haniwa were to be observed.

But the considerable rigidity and restraint of the imaginative impulse that the above situation implies were to a great extent relaxed when the Haniwa artisans turned from formal, aristocratic figures in ceremonial dress, and began instead to find their materials closer at hand, in their own daily lives and environment. With their vision and imagination here no longer limited to the same extent by the canons of aristocratic society and its manners, they were able to produce figures abounding in a variety of nuances. Many of these are little more than representations of the upper half of the human body with a cylinder base. Especially when contrasted with the figures in full ceremonial dress considered above, these Haniwa sculptures dealing with the plebeian levels of society are notable for the almost complete disregard shown for the clothing and garments of their subjects.

Rich variety and a wide range of subject matter here make comprehensive statements difficult. Figures of women with their breasts visible, all but unknown to Japanese art in historical times, are common (Plates 29, 30, 34, 39, 55, 61); one finds poor peasant men carrying the simple hoe of the time over one shoulder (Plates 1, 54, 60); and there are wonderfully alive dancing figures of men and women in which the entire sculpture consists of little more than the basic Haniwa cylinder elongated, with perfectly round punctures for eyes and mouth (Plate A).

Dancers and musicians play important parts among these plebeian Haniwa subjects; both male and female musicians are shown wearing a striking crown-like zoomorphic hat with horns and ears (Fig. 22, a male figure). A female musician (Plate 34) dances to her own accompaniment provided by the castanet-like bamboo musical instrument which she holds high in her left hand. Another female figure (Plate 37) provides that

essential accompaniment for any Japanese entertainment, a drink of *sake*, in the pottery vessel she charmingly holds out. The gesture with which she delicately holds the pottery container is still the accepted polite grip for such a task, the right hand supporting the side of the container, and the left the bottom.

Far less elegant women are shown carrying larger pottery vessels on their heads (Plate 36, 39). Figures of both men and women are found in a variety of fascinatingly sketched poses and moods, the exact significance of many of which can only be guessed at (Plates 49, 50, 53); but at the same time the immediate appeal and intimacy of the singing mother carrying her baby on her back (just as her modern descendant in Japan today still does) reach us directly and clearly, their effectiveness not at all diminished by the lapse of centuries (Plate 55).

One feature which all the human-figure Haniwa have in common is of course their unique representation of the human eye. Here is a trait which in a sense serves as a point of artistic unity, binding together such otherwise quite diverse extremes as the aristocratic figures in ceremonial dress and the plebeian genre figures. The famous Japanese philosopher-historian Dr. Tetsuro Watsuji has expressed the appeal of the Haniwa eye in the following way, and the aptness of his remark makes it worth quoting here:

Look at them, if you will, from afar off; but the strange thing you will notice is that the farther you draw away from them, the more real they become, and the less you notice their unassuming execution. As one gradually draws away from a Haniwa, the sculptured eyes gradually become real eyes, now truly the "windows of the soul"; the whole face lights up with life; and the entire Haniwa figure itself seems about to come alive.

It would be difficult to put this more accurately. In these simple, unassuming Haniwa eyes, little more than puncture holes made by the potter's trowel, there is real, glowing life; but it is a placid, sweet, unsophisticated variety of life that has all but disappeared from the modern world. Surely no sculptor in any age could hope to accomplish more than the Haniwa artisans have here, in their magic work of preserving intact the quiet but still alive and vibrant voice of remote antiquity down to the present time. No finer tribute to the heights their art reached is possible.

Most of these plebeian Haniwa figures were produced beginning in what might be called the "Late Middle" Tumulus period, that is to say, from about the end of the fifth century on into the sixth and seventh centuries, and generally in local areas somewhat removed from the older centuries of culture in the Kyoto-Nara and Kantō areas. In this sense, they might even be said not actually to be continuations of the original Haniwa tradition. As has already been pointed out, in the early stages of the art extremely few human figures of any type were produced in the Kyoto-Nara area; they have been found here in tumuli dating from about the middle of the Tumulus period on, to be sure, but even then only rarely. What figures there are here are generally representations of female shamans, who would have been in charge of the funeral celebrations, or men and women in ceremonial dress, which again does little to corrobo-

rate the theory that the Haniwa first developed as immolation-substitutes. More likely by far was their early employment as a means for providing fairly permanent memorials of the important persons (female shamans, aristocrats in ceremonial regalia, etc.) who took place in the funeral observances, and who, thanks to the Haniwa figures, could in a sense continue to watch over the tumulus in the same formal locations and poses that they had assumed during the impressive ceremonies which took place while the departed was being placed in the burial chamber.

Nor does this rest on mere speculation. Kyoto-Nara area Haniwa figures (Plates C, 8) are often superb examples of Haniwa sculpture. They agree well in this aspect with the Haniwa replicas of inanimate objects from this same area, which, like them, are filled almost to overflowing with the sense of dignity, solemnity, and even majesty which it would be natural to expect from these oldest centers of the Japanese aristocratic tradition. There is little doubt that it was here, in the rigor, rigidity, and solemn attention to detail so dear to the aristocratic tradition everywhere in the world, that the Haniwa was in the true sense born. But this in no way detracts from the great charm and appeal of the quite different Haniwa figures that later came to be produced in the Kantō region, as well as in many other places even more isolated from the aristocratic heritage of the Kyoto-Nara area.

Nor do the art and imagination of the Haniwa sculptors limit themselves to the human figure. There is abundant archeological evidence of the extent to which a variety of animals shared men's dwelling places and contributed to his welfare and food supply in Japan from earliest times, and the Haniwa figures give abundant evidence of the great familiarity of the Tumulus-period population with a large variety of animals.

The horse, as the mount for the warrior-aristocrat of the time, is of course the Haniwa animal *par excellence*, an expensive, precious, and status-bestowing possession, about which many of the social and cultural values of the tumuli builders no doubt centered. The dog, the companion of man in Japan at his campfires and in his pit-dwellings from neolithic times, is next in importance among the Haniwa animals, which include in addition the deer, the wild boar, the monkey, the cow, the chicken, the goshawk, and a variety of water fowl.

Most of the animal Haniwa figures are fashioned as quadrupeds, or more rarely with one "foot" fore and another aft. Thus they are completely divorced from the basic Haniwa cylinder form, though birds are never shown with both legs individually executed, but are perched atop the usual basic cylinder with their claws only rarely shown on the top of the base.

Horses are the most frequent, and here again the story of Hyakuson, who came across a Haniwa horse so splendid he longed to exchange it for his own mount, comes to mind. Horses with riders or horses without saddle gear are extremely rare; most commonly the Haniwa horse is saddled and decorated with a variety of ornamental trappings (Plates E, 75). It was the horse itself in its role as an aristocratic mount that the people of the period prized, and hence it was natural that they preferred to show it riderless, but ready to be mounted.

Though the legs of the Haniwa horses are simply four unabashed cylinders, the mane is usually beautifully modeled into a high, prominent



Fig. 23 Haniwa cow (from Tawaramotomachi, Shiki-gun, Nara Prefecture).

ridge. The saddle itself generally features cantles and pommels that are in effect exaggerated crescent arcs. From it are hung stirrups, either round or oval in shape. The breast and rump of the mount are decorated with large horse bells or with smaller spherical jingle bells, and often also with pendants bearing a variety of intricate stylized patterns and designs. The bridle reins are also decorated with similar devices, as often too are both cruppers and quarter straps.

Naturally, little today remains of such actual saddles and horse trappings except those portions that were of metal, for the wooden and leather parts have long since decayed, but among the examples that have been preserved there are sufficient materials to indicate the high point of technical and artistic excellence which was reached in the production of horse trappings during the Tumulus period. This evidence, taken together with the Haniwa representations of such ornamental horse equipment actually in use, is more than sufficient to make possible a very complete reconstruction of the aristocratic mount of protohistoric Japan.

Though Haniwa horses are sometimes found in burials of the early part of the Middle Tumulus period in the Kyoto-Nara area, as for example in the tumulus of the Emperor Nintoku, they are extremely rare at this point in the history of the art. From a point slightly later on in time, the tumulus burials themselves are distinguished by the supplementary interment of large amounts of splendid horse trappings, so exquisitely executed that they must be believed to be of foreign origin, while from the later part of the Middle Tumulus period and down through the Late Tumulus period, auxiliary interments of large amounts of splendid horse trappings are common.

This and other allied evidence has even caused many scholars to conclude that in about the fifth century portions of Japan were conquered by horse-riding invaders from the continent, who by virtue of their military success came to occupy a dominant role in the society, and that the great importance placed on the horse as an aristocratic mount and the amount of economic resources devoted to the production and burial of horse trappings are to be explained only by this conjectured historical background. At any rate, the excellence of the horse equipment in Tumulus-period Japan is striking and serves as a good background for the semi-legendary accounts of early Japanese military adventures on the Korean peninsula. The large numbers both of auxiliary-horse-trapping burials and of Haniwa horses indicate the high value the ruling classes in protohistoric Japan placed on the horse; nor is it too much to conjecture that in part at least this was due to lessons learned at the hands of the Koryo Kingdom during Japan's early Korean expeditions.

During the sixth and seventh centuries it is clear that the horse was prized by the upper classes in every part of Japan, long before it had been universalized either as a mount or as a pack-horse. The story of Hyakuson and his lust for the Haniwa horse is of course one that has survived in an early-eighth-century literary source, but considered once more against the actual historical and cultural background as revealed in archeology and art, it takes on added levels of significance.

Haniwa cows are rare; an early example from Nara Prefecture (Fig. 23) is almost unique. The early Chinese literary accounts of Japan claim that both horses and cows are unknown there. Excavations in Chiba



Fig. 24. Hunting scene from an early Yayoi-period bronze bell. National Treasure. Coll. Mr. Hachirō Ohashi.

Prefecture since World War II have brought to light a few other Haniwa cows, so it is possible to affirm that both the horse and the cow were known in the Late Tumulus period, but certainly the cow then had nothing like the important place it today occupies in the human economy.

Dogs in Japan as elsewhere in the world have since remotest antiquity been man's best friend. An early bronze bell dated in the Yayoi period has a primitive drawing of a man hunting down a wild boar with the help of five hunting dogs (Fig. 24), a vivid scene from this early period testifying to the frequent and common use of the domesticated dog in early Japan.

As he looks back, his attention caught by a sound from the rear, the Haniwa dog's ears pop up to attention in a remarkable figure which shows the animal's instinctive reactions as well as any dog fancier could wish (Plate K, bottom). Full of charm too is the Haniwa dog who wears a tiny jingle bell on a neck collar about his neck as he lolls his tongue out of his panting, open mouth (Plate K, top).

Haniwa boars and deer are common. Many Haniwa boars are minor masterpieces involving clever use of plastic mass to evolve the feeling of the total animal (Plate 73); the snout is powerful with feeling and potential fury, especially in contrast with the deeply-cut-back mouth and the determined eyes, while the animal's essential qualities are all the more stressed by the slope of the powerful back down to the incongruously insignificant tail. Other Haniwa boars show the beast being hounded by the hunter's arrow in flight (Plate 74), while in still others the captured animal has been trussed up by the hunters. The wild boar is a ferocious and worthy foe for the most intrepid hunter, especially for one armed only with primitive bow and arrow, and the protohistoric Japanese hunter is surely to be pardoned if he sought the assistance of as many as five hunting dogs in bringing the beast in. Boar's meat is still prized as a delicacy in Japan, and down to the mid-nineteenth century, when beef was first popularly eaten, it was virtually the only type of meat consumed. To early man it must have been a treat without equal, and fully worth the dangers of the hunt it involved.

The Haniwa deer is also executed with great attention to over-all impression and stance, and doubtless embodies the fruit of much close observation. Here too the alert ears catch our attention, as does the chewing mouth and the painted representation of the animal's distinctive coloration (Plate L). In other instances (Plate 72) the potter has worked the surface of the clay into a startlingly lifelike replica of the deer's hide. Pictures on early bronze bells make it clear that the deer too was often hunted down in Yayoi times, but fairly early in the Yayoi period there is evidence that the attitude toward the deer changed, and that it soon came to be prized and its slaughter discouraged. The famous herd of tame deer in modern Nara, though today popularly explained as having Buddhist associations, is actually a continuation of the protected sacred deer herd of the Kasuga Shrine there, and a reminder that this early affection for the deer survived down into historical times.

The Haniwa monkey is rare, but the best known example (Plate 80) is a masterpiece of rare charm. Haniwa birds are frequently found, and occupy important places in the tumulus layouts, to be explained partly by their early close association with man, and also by certain mythological



Fig. 25. Stone cock (from Iwatoyama Tumulus, Yame-shi, Fukuoka Prefecture).

considerations. In legend the Sun Goddess, who has taken refuge in a cave in protest over the sacrilegious desecrations perpetrated by the offensive male deity Susa-no-o, is eventually lured out of hiding once again by several powerful inducements. One was the famous performance of rollicking song and dance by Ama-no-uzume no Mikoto; but another was the sound of a number of cocks crowing.

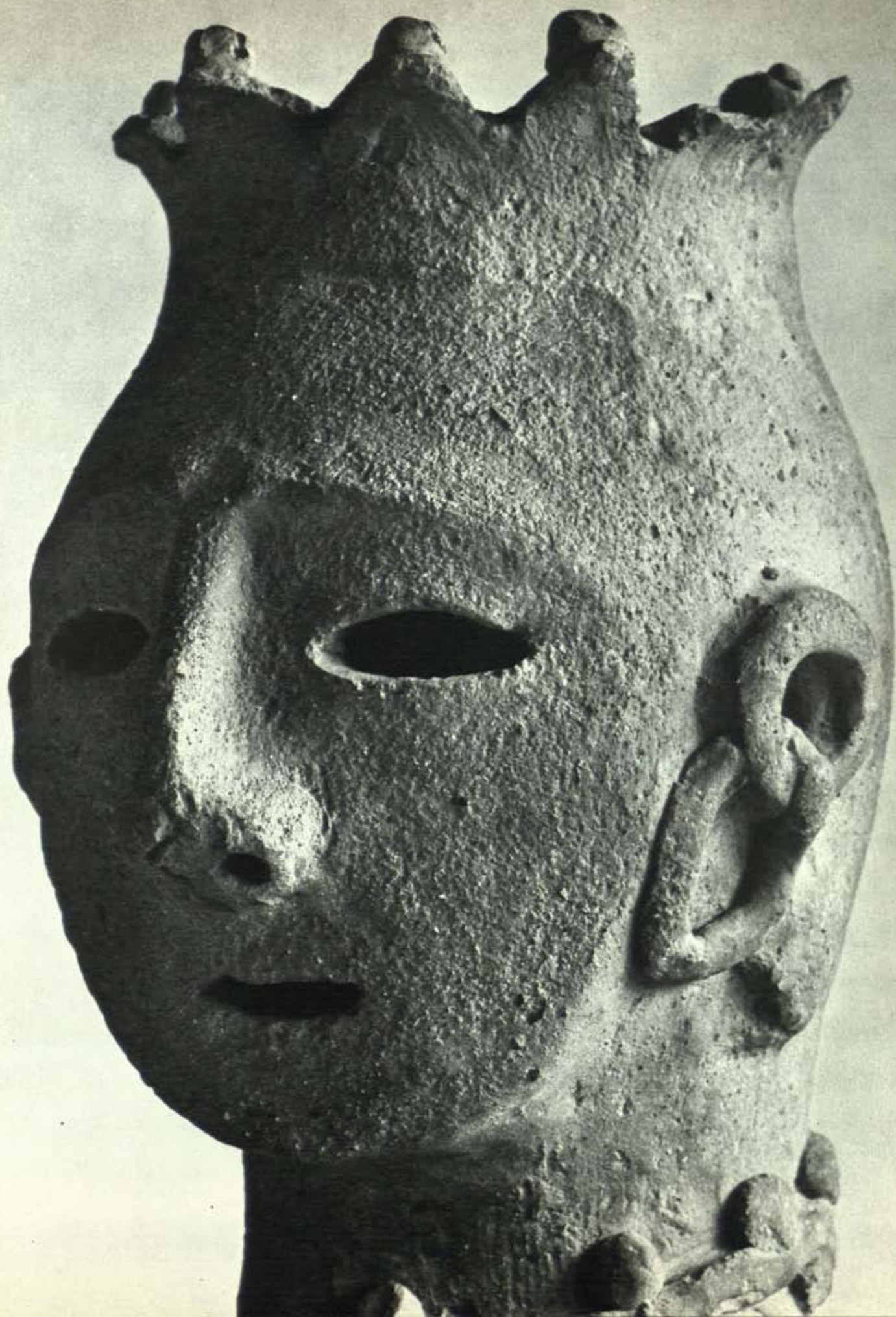
Japanese scholars of prehistory have pointed out how the cock thus no doubt enjoyed something of the status of a resurrection symbol in primitive Japanese culture, and this goes far to explain its frequency among the Haniwa remains, as well as the position of prominence assigned to it in the arrangement of the Haniwa about the tumuli. The cock is also known in early stone versions, an especially fine one coming from a tumulus in Fukuoka Prefecture (Fig. 25).

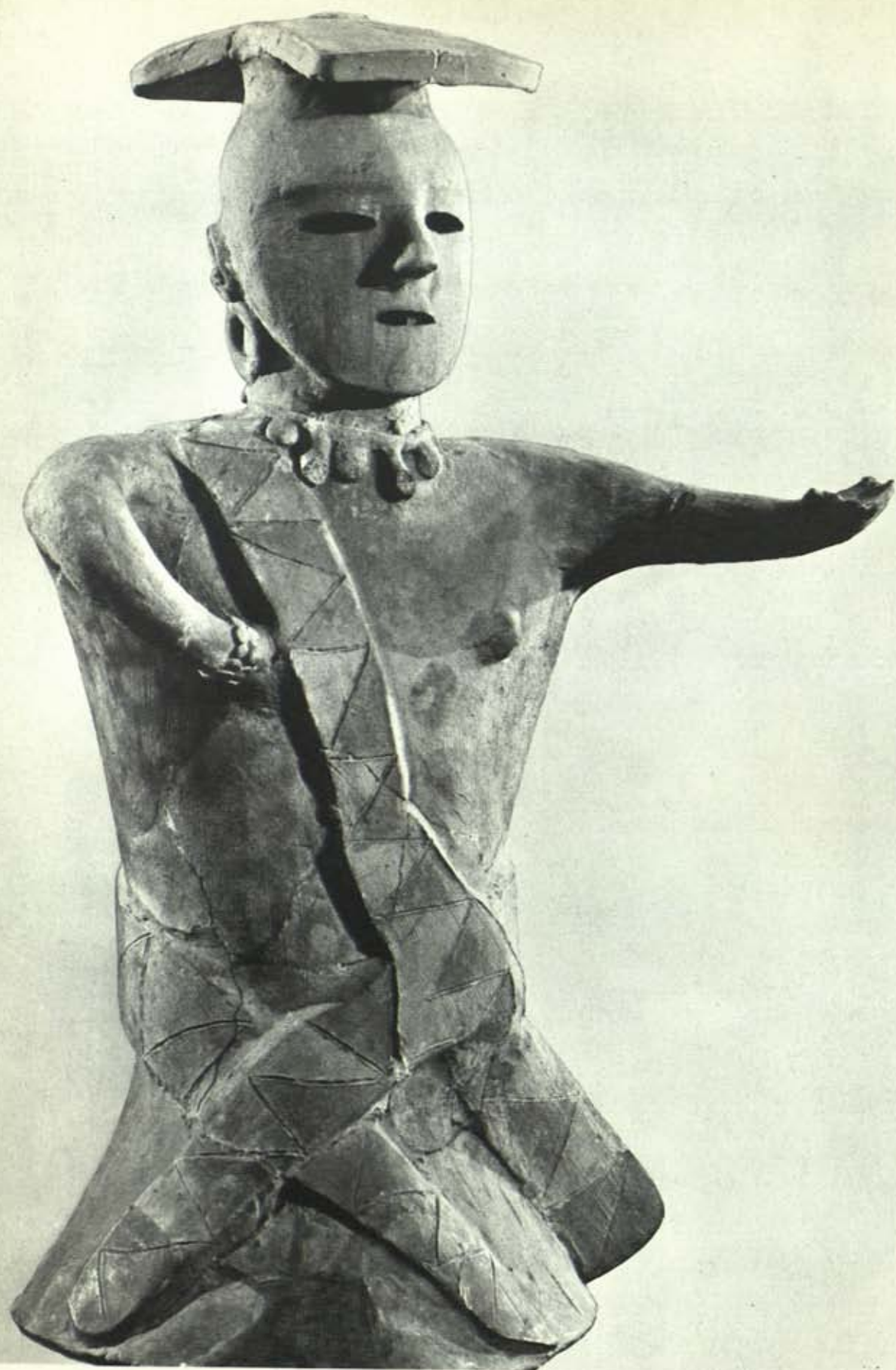
The goshawk (Plate 79) was, like the dog, man's companion and helper on the vital hunt, and as such contributed to the precious food supply. The goose (Plate J) and the duck (Plate 78) are shown with a poetic calm that all but supplies the natural surroundings of stream and water plants among which the sculptor observed them. One is reminded once more of the water-filled moat that guarded the tumulus, for probably these Haniwa water-birds were often used to decorate this moat, and figures of water fowl have been excavated from the traces of the moat surrounding the tumulus of the Emperor Ōjin. Japan is visited in the winter months by large numbers of migratory water fowl from the Asiatic continent; no doubt in antiquity they often joined their Haniwa counterparts on the placid waters of the tumulus-guarding moats.

The wide expanses of the Kantō plain were the impressive stage for the final flourishes of the Haniwa art; here in the last portion of the Tumulus period, just as Japan gracefully though eagerly began its transformation into a continental-oriented Buddhist society, with all the devotion and vigor of new converts everywhere, new peaks were reached, especially in the production of human and animal Haniwa figures. The developments achieved here were striking enough to be reflected throughout the entire country, expanding up into the still sparsely settled northwest portion of the main island, and even making their impact felt back in the Kyoto-Nara area where the art had its oldest roots (see map at end of book).

And then, almost as if the Haniwa artisans themselves realized that in their vigor and imagination they had left open virtually no way to go further in their art, the majestic iconographic and liturgical sculpture of Buddhism next made its impressive entrance onto the scene, in the fullness of its early vigor. There was no contest. Tumulus burial gave way, at first reluctantly and then in an overwhelming rush, to the continental practice of cremation, and the Haniwa ceased to be made. The artistic culture of protohistoric Japan lingered for a moment, sparkling in the first reflections of the strong, new light rising in the East; and then, when next we look for it, it has utterly disappeared, melted away in an instant under the first full rays of the dawn of history.











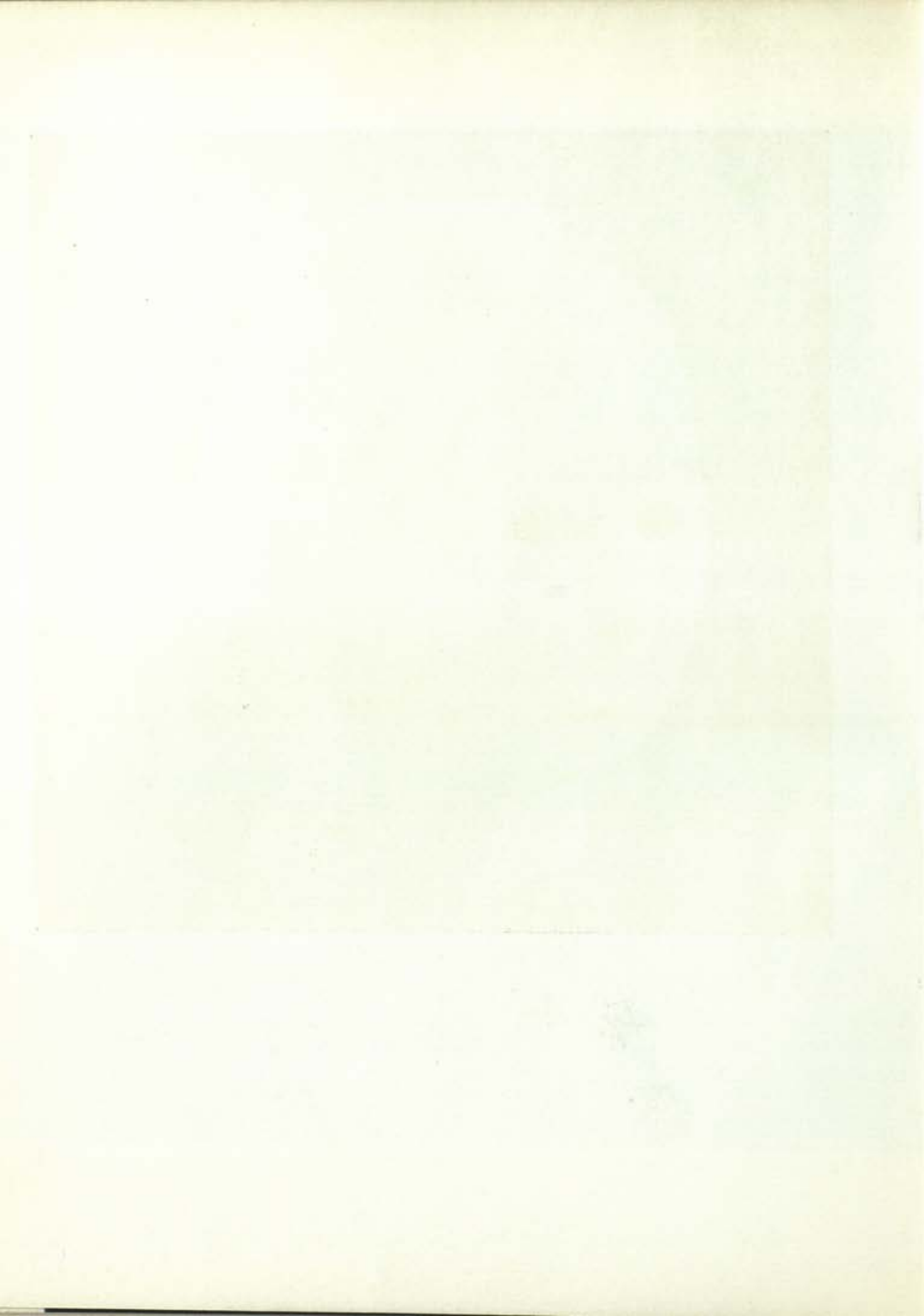








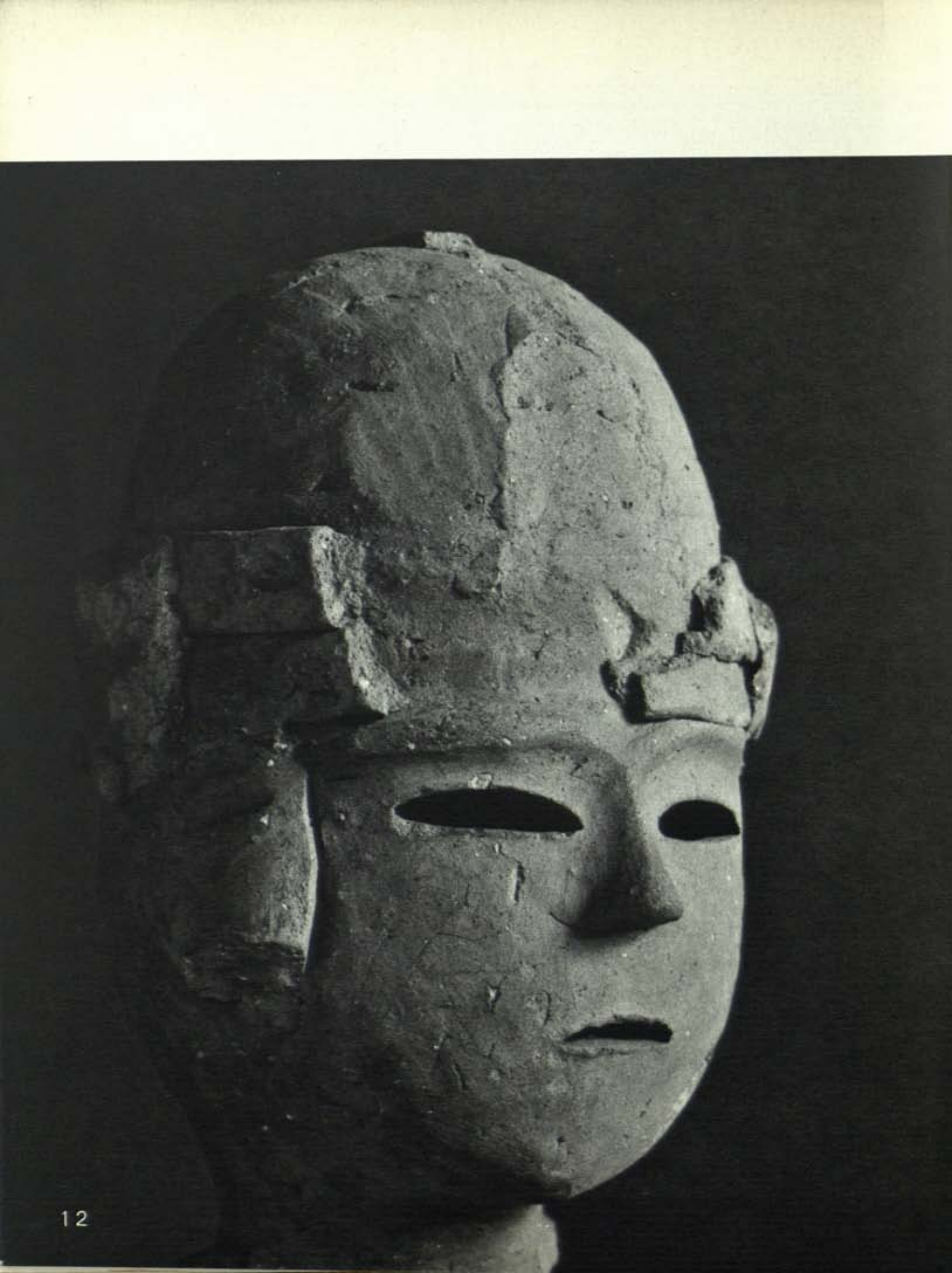




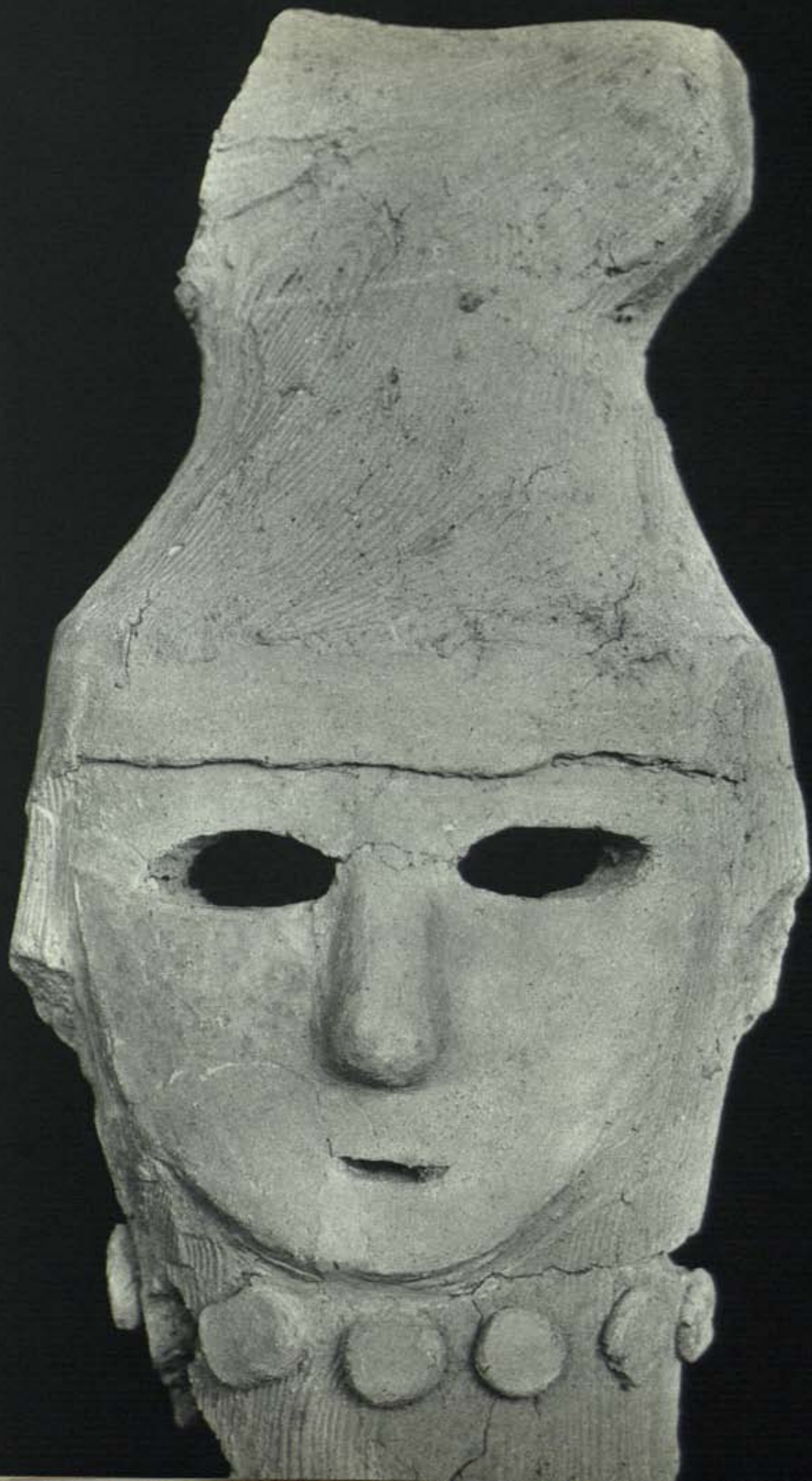








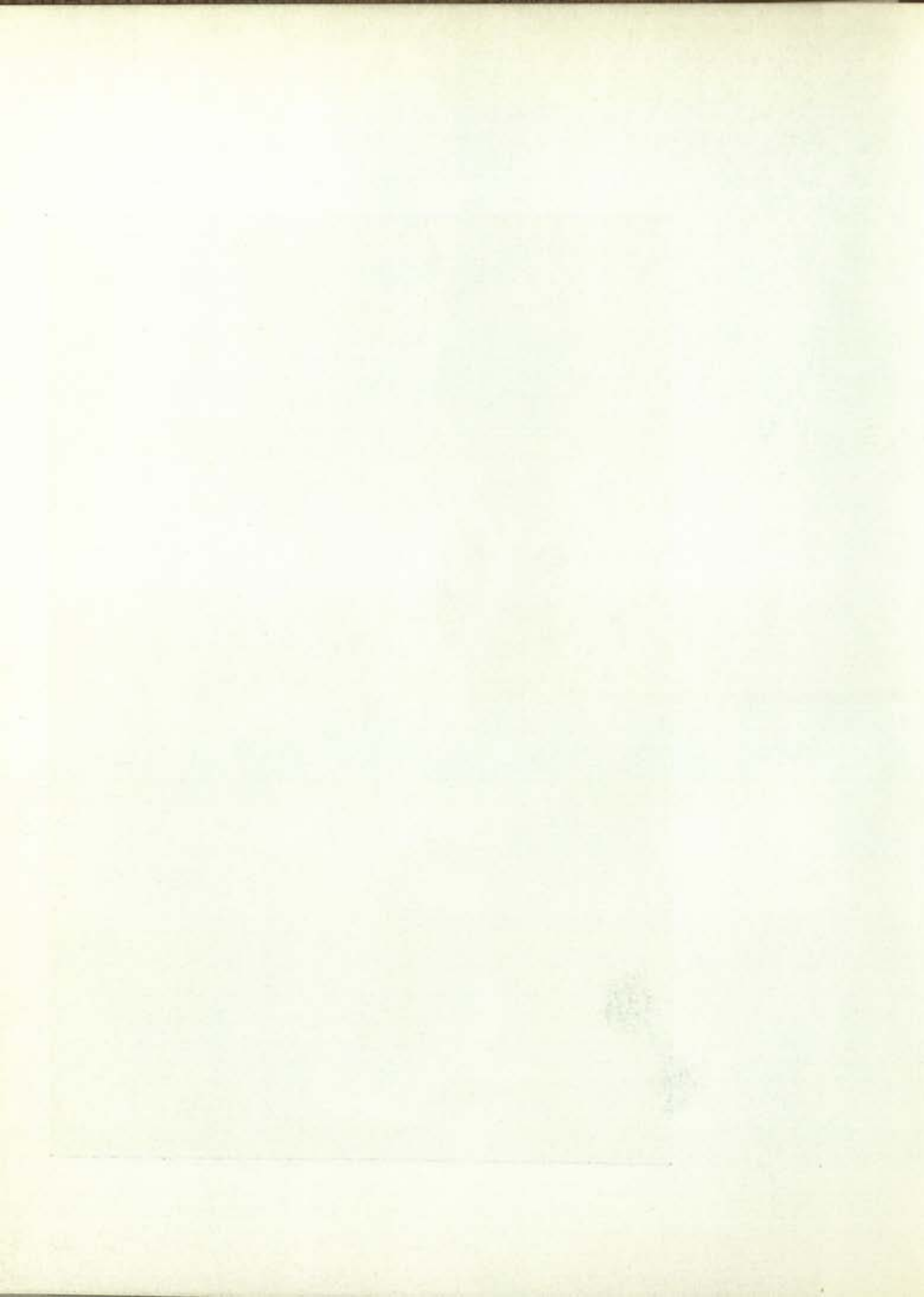






































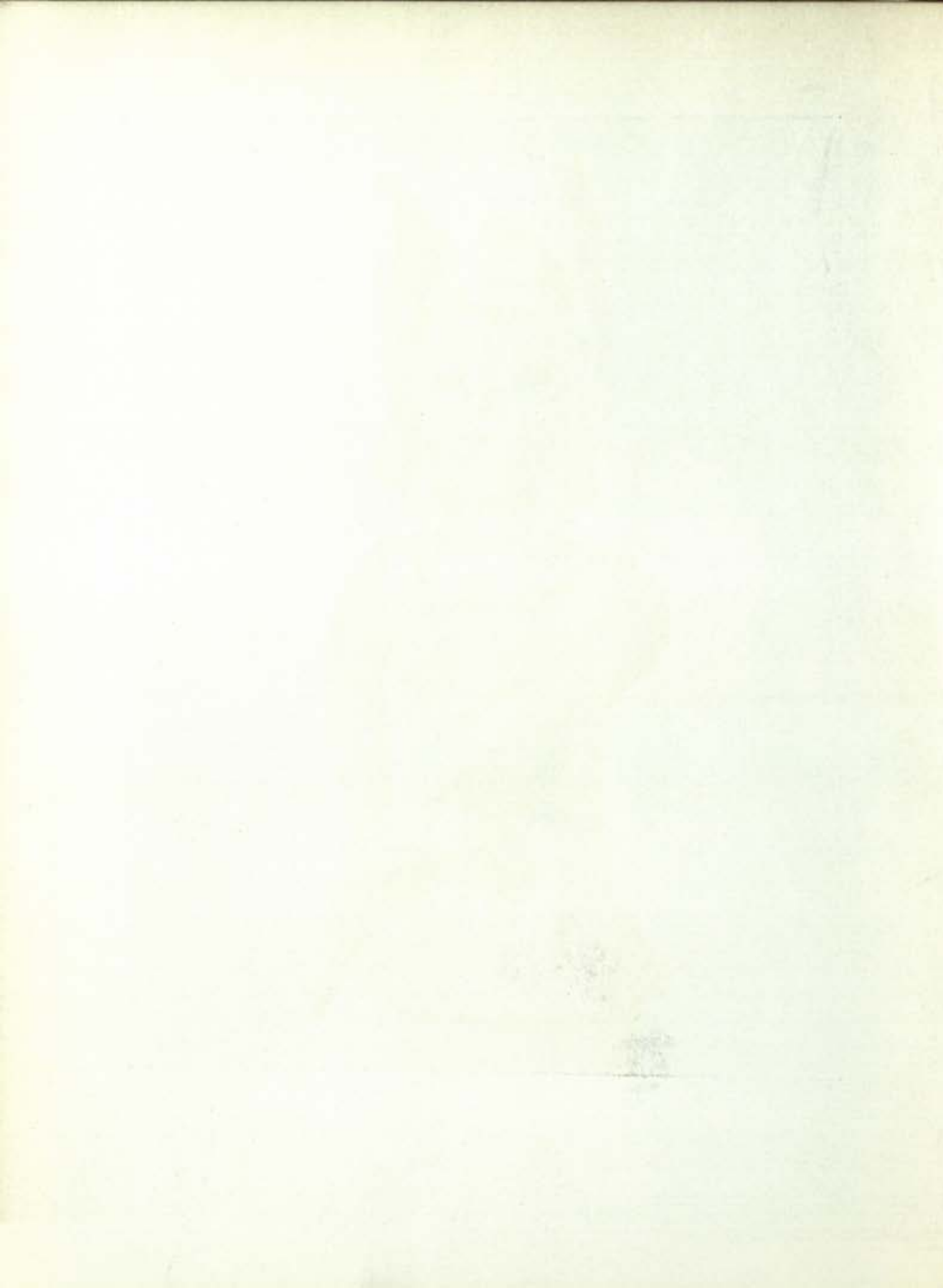






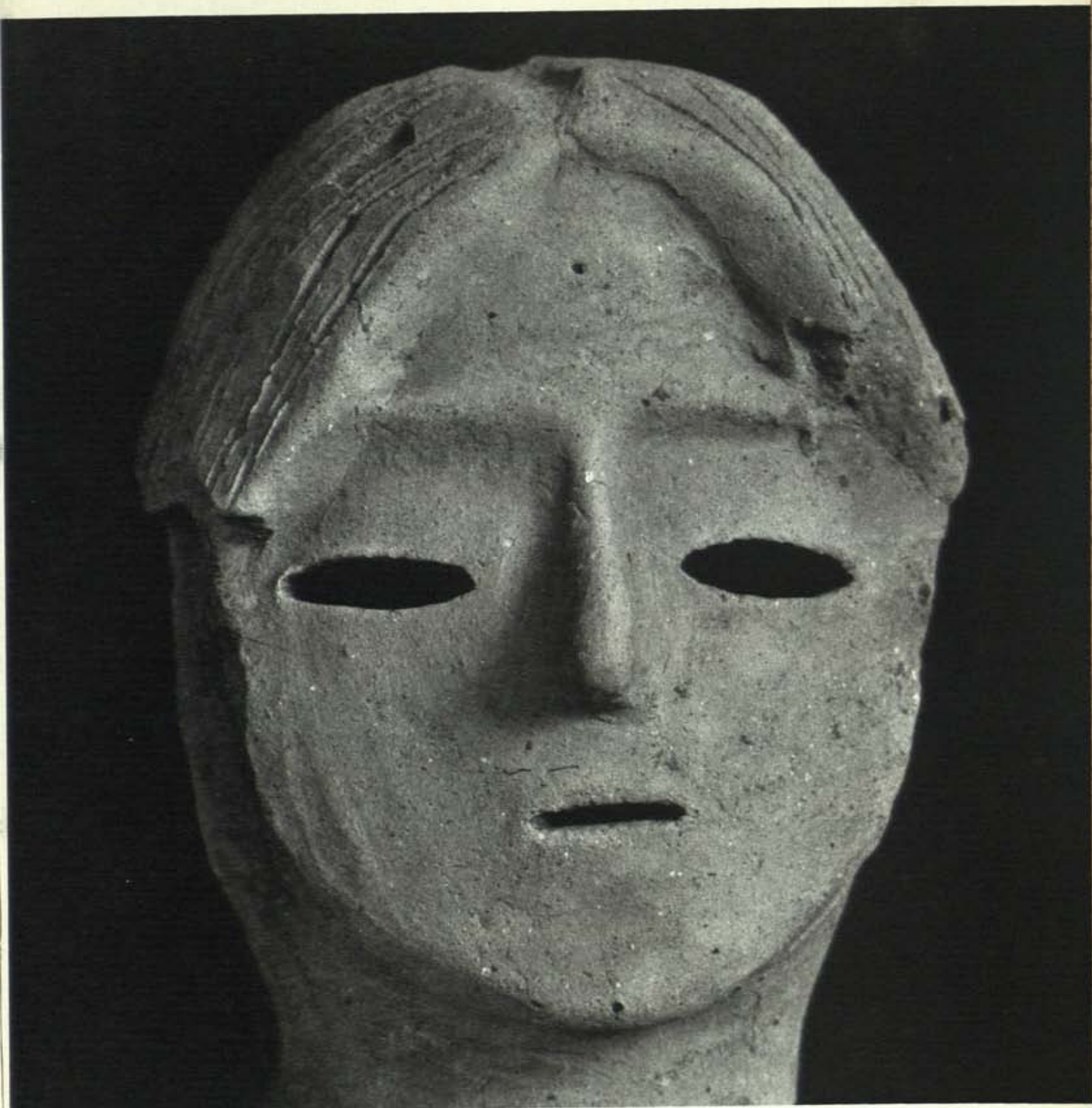






























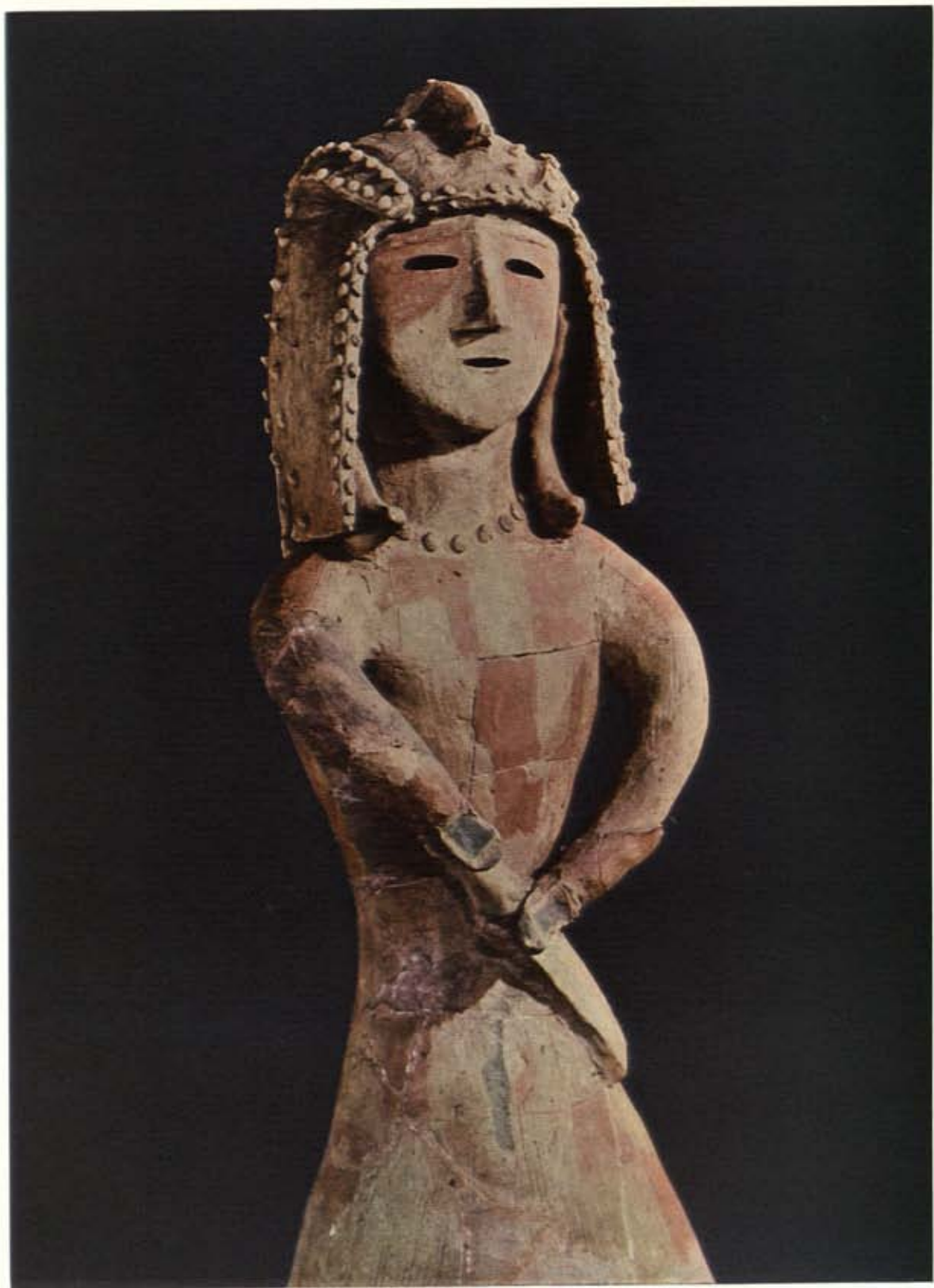






























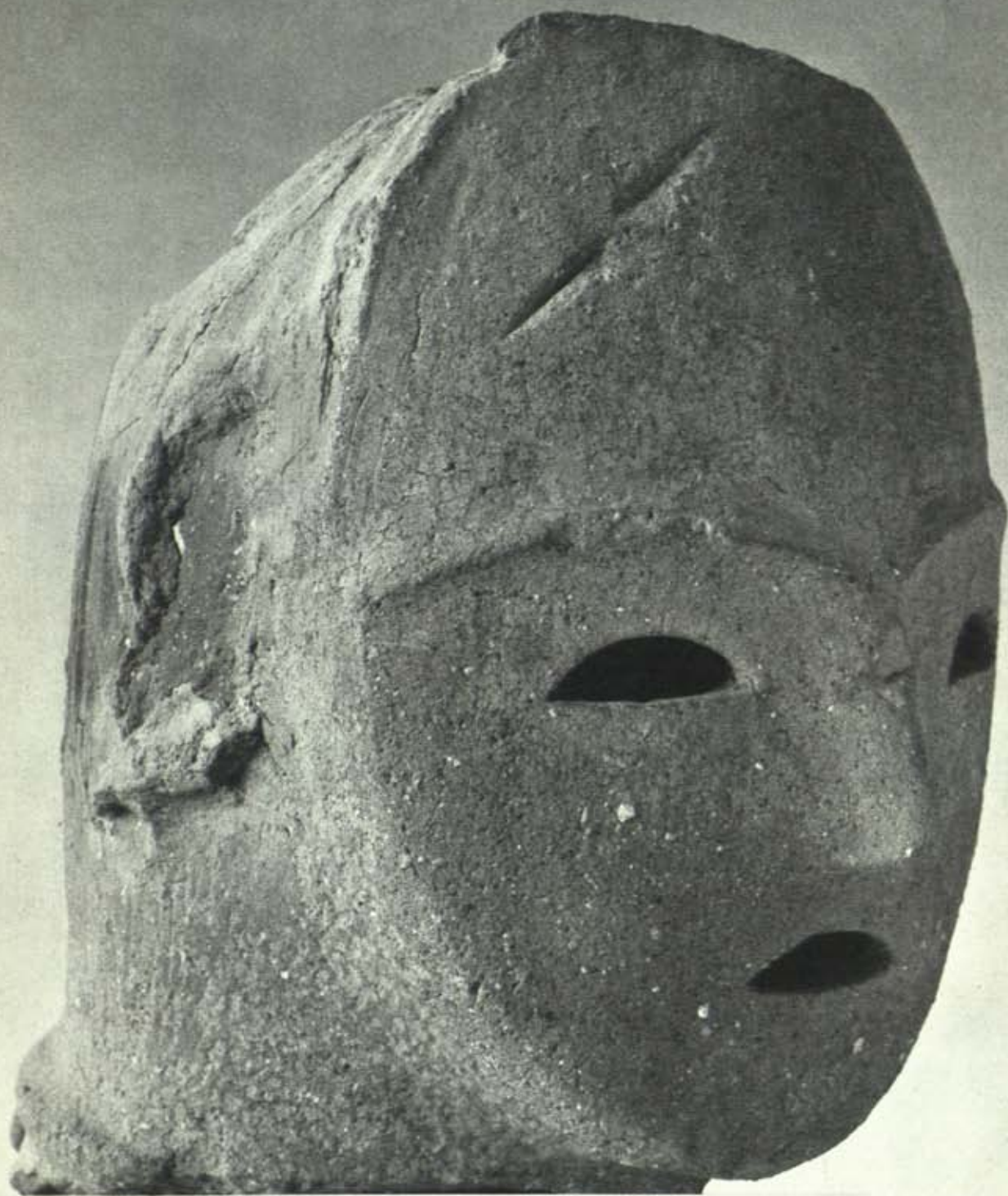


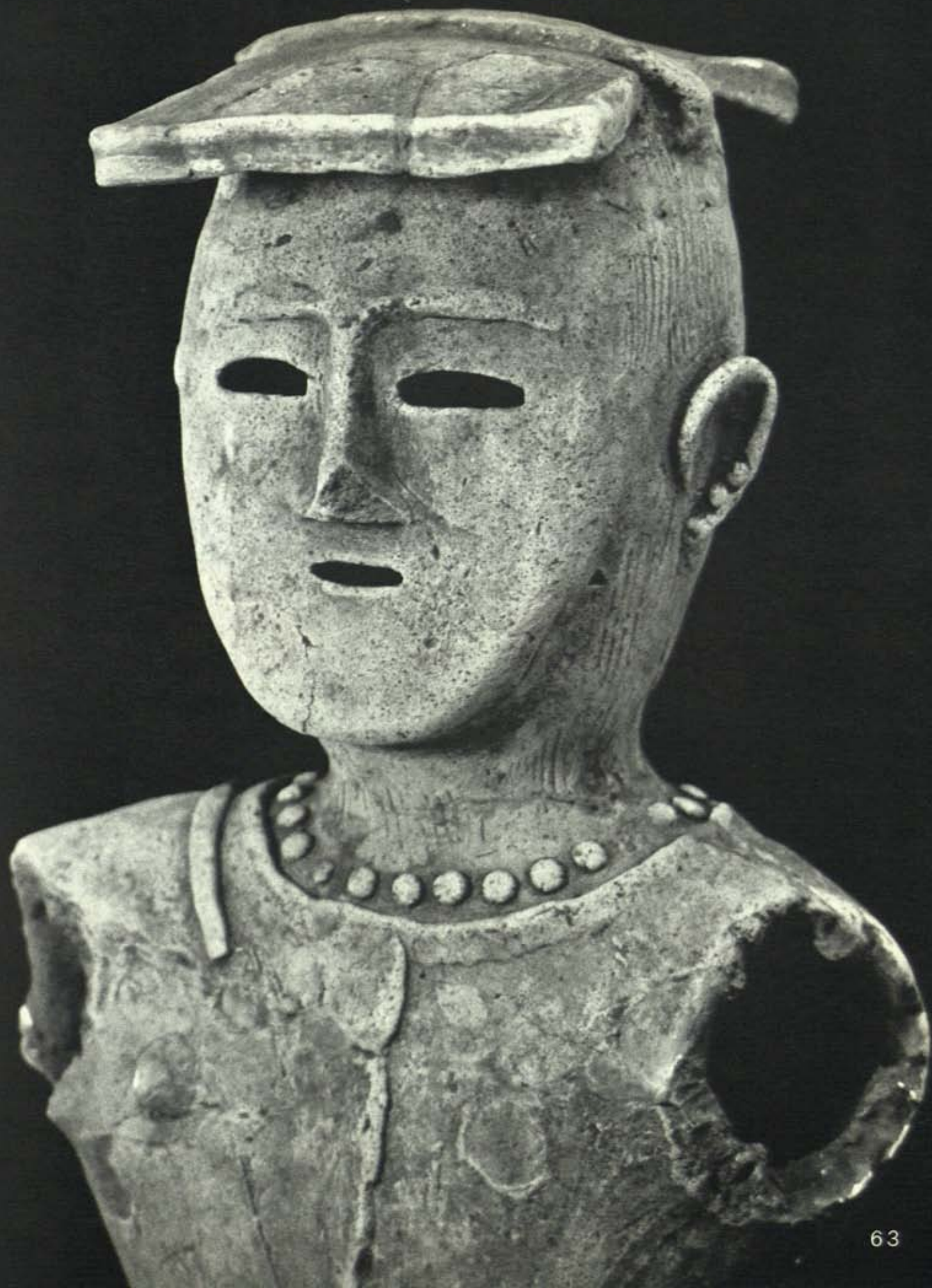




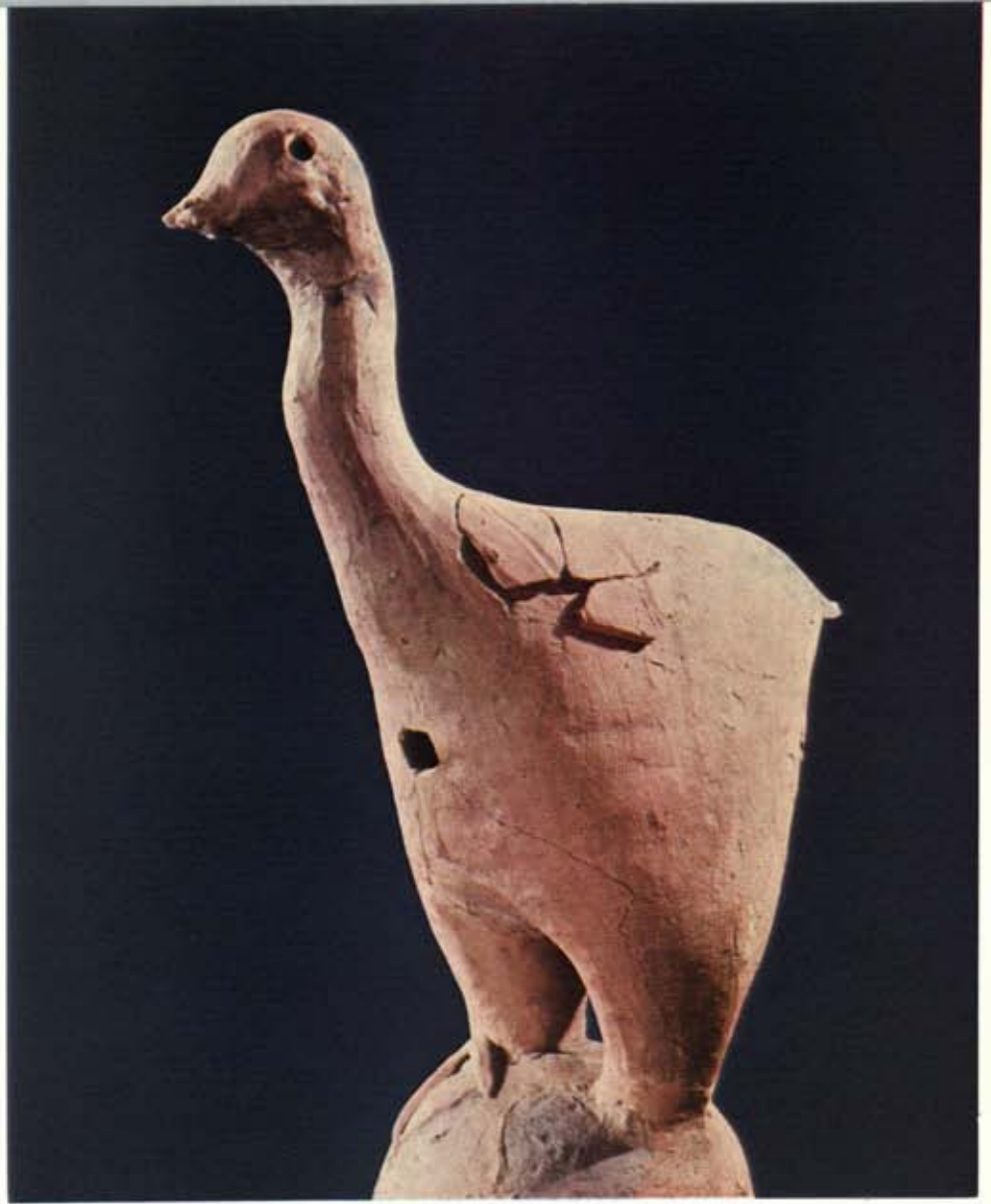


















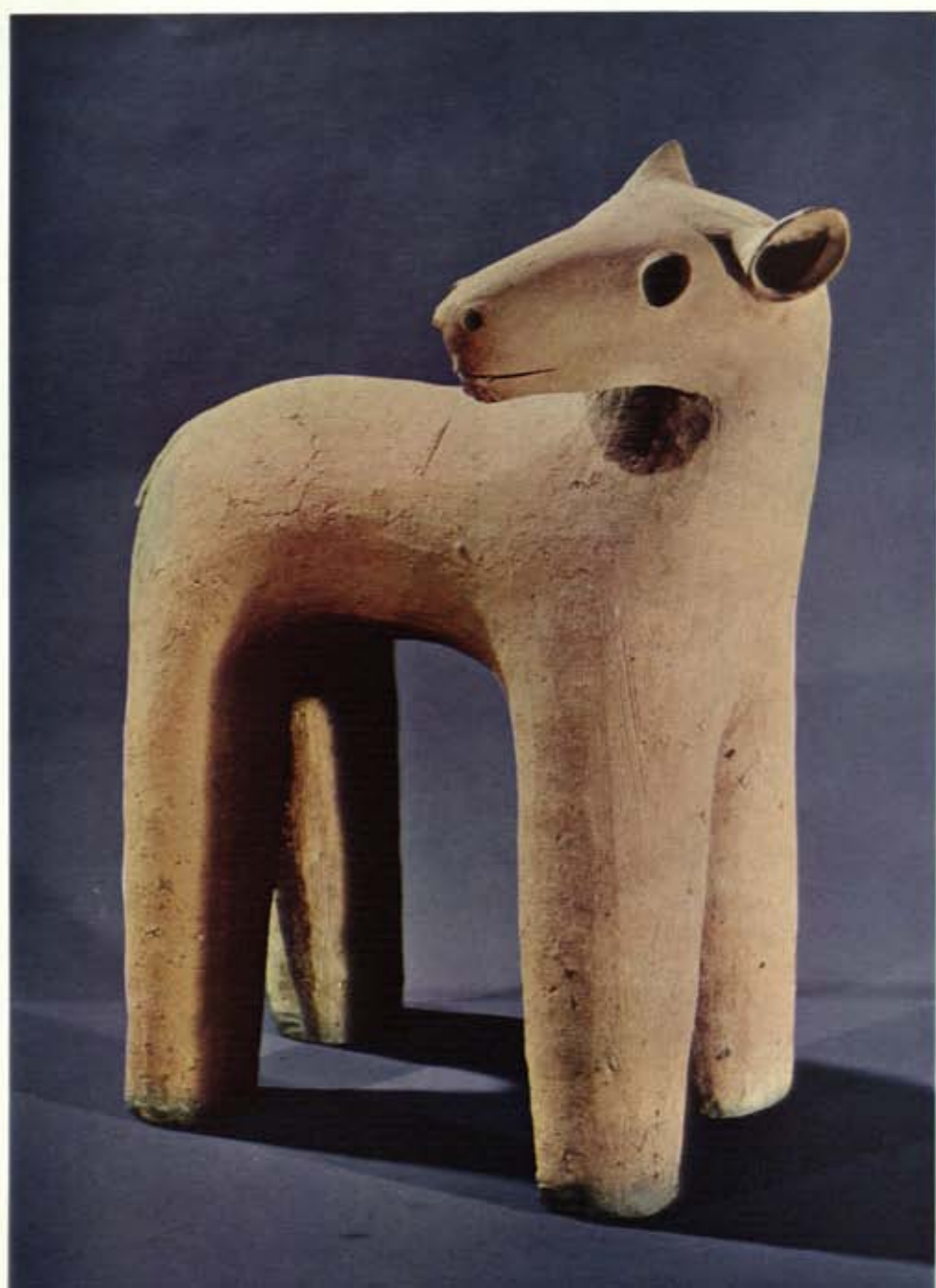












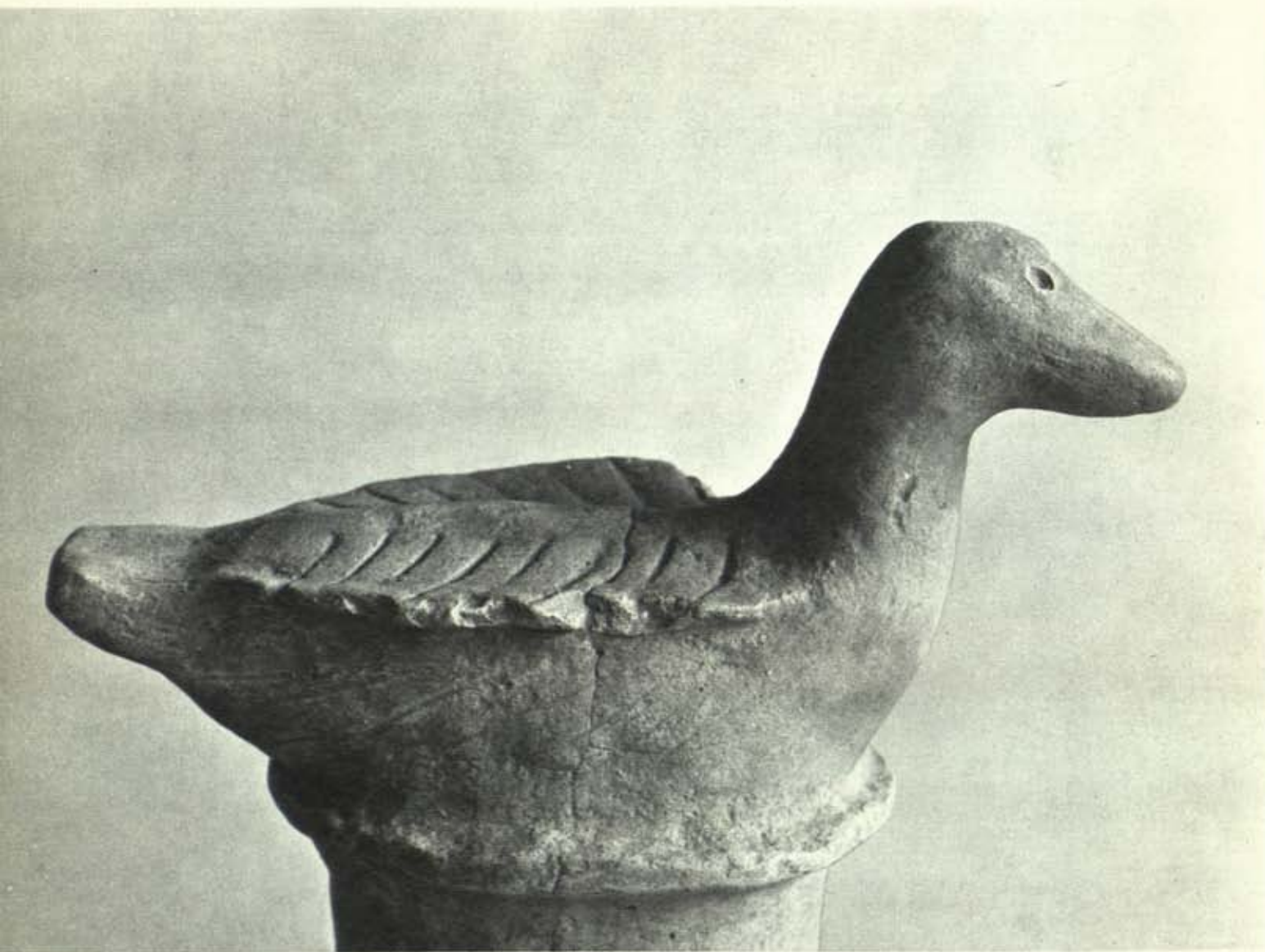






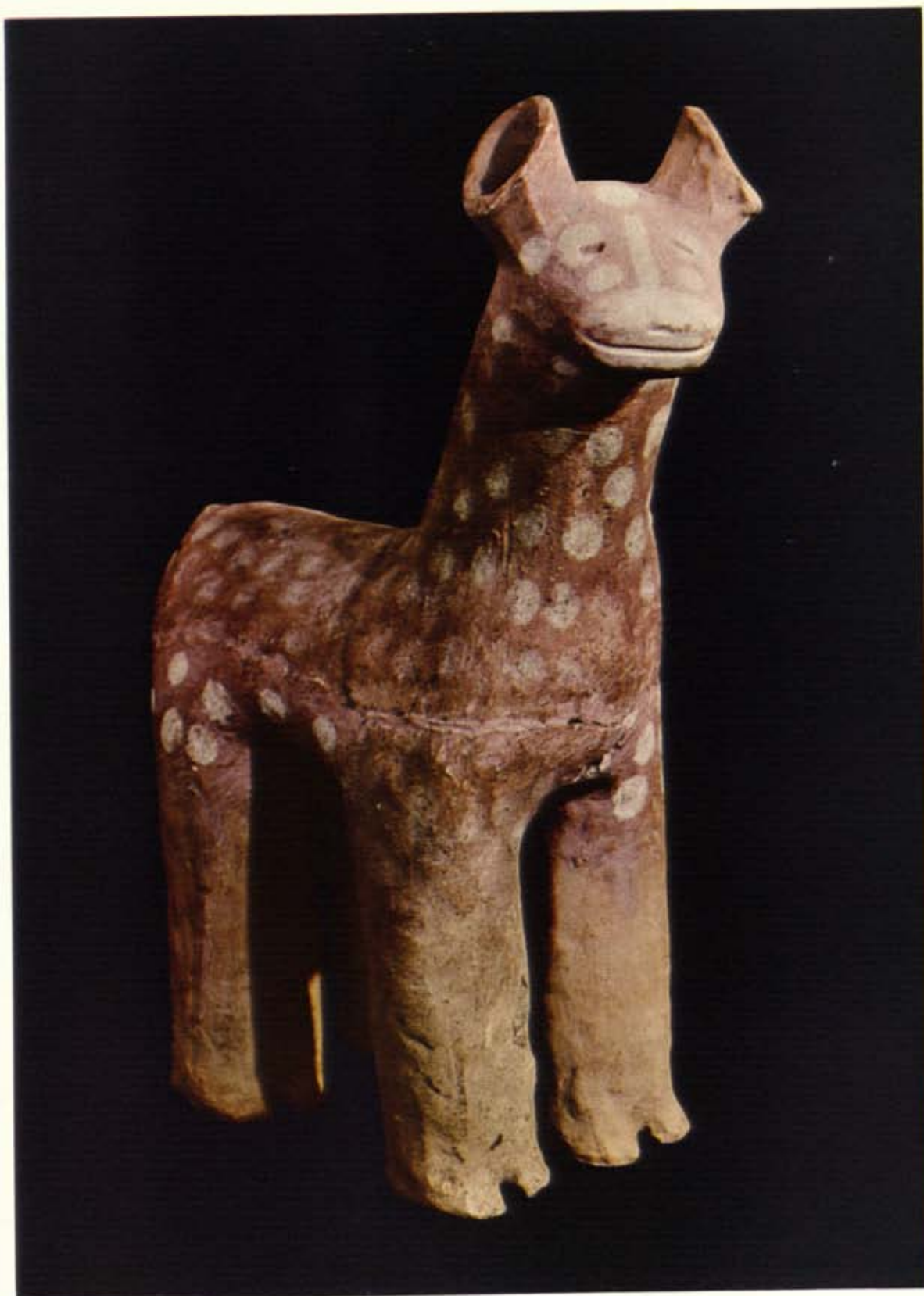












NOTES ON THE PLATES

Plate A. Man and Woman Dancing. From *Kōnan-mura, Ōsato-gun, Saitama Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 63.9 and 56.6 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

The basic Haniwa cylinder here grows easily and naturally into these animated dancing figures. The top of the cylinder is drawn straight up into a tubular extension rounded off for the head, with no hint of a neck; the face is marked by a strikingly exaggerated nose, a long coil of clay which extends from the upper part of the head straight down between the perfectly round puncture-hole eyes and reaches almost to the equally round mouth. With one hand lifted and the other in front, each figure is full of the action and melody of a rousing dance. Surely the artisan responsible for these had himself on many an occasion engaged in such a dance, and his familiarity with his subject matter is here responsible for his clarity of expression.

Plate B. Man Seated Cross-legged, Wearing Miter. From *Takaku, Taira-shi, Fukushima Prefecture, Tōhoku Region*. Height: 91 cm. Collection: Iwaki Higher School, Fukushima Prefecture. Important Cultural Property.

The elaborate miter, the upper garment, and the gauntlets which this seated man wears all bear a red-dyed diamond pattern. His hair has been parted in the middle and worked into two long braids. He wears a large ornamental dagger at his waist together with the leather *tomo*, the archer's wrist protector. With his crossed legs and hands brought together before him, his sincere expression leads one to guess that perhaps he is in a posture of worship before the gods. The lower portion of the body (that is to say, the two crossed legs, which have been added to the largely cylindrical figure) is far out of proportion, but the eye hardly notices this fact, thanks largely to the supporting base cylinder. The same size as the upper portion of the body, this base contributes visual as well as actual physical balance, and prevents the abbreviated limbs from appearing ridiculous.

Plate C. Head of a Woman. From the *tumulus of the Emperor Nintoku in Sakai-shi, Osaka, Kyoto-Nara area*. Height: 20 cm. Collection: Bureau of Archives and Mausolea, Imperial Household Agency.

It would be difficult to find many Haniwa heads as superbly executed, and with such exquisite economy of effect, as this; the head of a woman shown in Plate 8 is one of its few possible rivals. Especially remarkable is the modeling from the area of the eyes down to the mouth and chin, and the sure, exact touch with which the cheeks are formed. When the Haniwa artisans reached perfection of this degree, they stood literally on the threshold of sculpture in every sense. Additional interest attaches to this head since it comes from the *tumulus* of the Emperor Nintoku. His was the most gigantic such burial mound erected in the entire protohistoric period, and is said to have been decorated with twenty thousand Haniwa cylinders alone.

Nintoku's reign is in the traditional chronology put at 313-99, which is probably to be adjusted to about 395-427. Thus this head dates from the early part of the fifth century, when the making of human-figure Haniwa had just begun in the Kyoto-Nara area. In addition, its presence today among the archeological artifacts in the collection of the Imperial Household provides unchallengeable evidence of authenticity. The Imperial *tumuli* have been strictly guarded against both pilferage and scientific excavation throughout most of Japanese history, and no doubt today they contain *in situ* large numbers of still totally unknown Haniwa. When, as in this particular case, the court officials charged with the preservation and upkeep of the Imperial mausolea have consented to the removal of a Haniwa specimen, its excellence provides a fascinating glimpse of the unrevealed treasures that await future generations.

Plate D. Man in Ceremonial Dress. From *Hōsen-mura, Nitta-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 124.2 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum. Important Art Object.

The wide brim of the rather unusual hat worn by this Haniwa figure is further embellished with beads. The elaborate earrings reach to the collar-line, and the face is somewhat too small for the size of the decorative hair braids which come down to rest on the shoulders, but it is saved by the large, vividly alive eyes. The sword at the waist appears to be of the simple pommel gilt-bronze variety. Also to be seen at the waist immediately below the left hand are three ceremonial accessories: a tiny curved knife in a little leather case, an incense bag, and, farthest to the rear, the archer's wrist protector of decorated leather.

Plate E. Horse with Saddle and Ornamental Bells. From *Shiraishi, Fujioka-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 117 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

Little can be said for the stolid, unimaginative legs which this figure shares in common with most Haniwa horses, but the head is finely done, especially the alert, fixed ears, which remind one of freshly severed bamboos. The ornamental saddle is shown in considerable detail, including the seat itself between cantle and pommel, elaborate bells on the rump and quarter straps, and more bells on the martingale. The stirrups are the common, annular-ring variety. One is reminded by such figures that continental importations and contacts gave rise to a suddenly increased importance for the horse in the second half of the fifth century, with consequent emphasis upon ornamental horse trappings to decorate these precious steeds so important to the aristocracy of the *Tumulus* period.

Plate F. Man in Military Attire. From *Akabori-mura, Saha-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 82 cm. Collection: Mr. Hisashi Sugiyama, Miyagi Prefecture. Important Cultural Property.

This Haniwa warrior wears full body armor in addition

to an imposing helmet, with prominent wings and somewhat smaller cheek protectors, and a rather unusual type of shoulder protector. Both armor and helmet have been rendered here in a somewhat slapdash style, and one misses, for example, such usual details as the warrior's gauntlet on the hand about to draw the sword. But what the figure lacks in these areas it more than makes up for in its dramatic movement, and in spite of other failings it brings to vivid life the act of drawing the sword from its scabbard. For this the round eyes and firmly set mouth are largely responsible. The traces of white and cinnabar pigments still to be seen on the armor and sword are typical of provincial Haniwa from the Kantō region during the last stages of the Tumulus period.

Plate G. Seated Man Playing a Lyre. From *Maebashi-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 72.6 cm. Collection: *Aikawa Archeological Museum, Iesaki. Important Cultural Property.*

This Haniwa musician sits on a chair and holds his five-stringed Japanese lyre (*koto*) in his lap as he strums it with his fingers. Otherwise he is quite formally got up, with a sword at his waist and gauntlets on his hands. The easy, relaxed line of his eyes and, above all, the exquisitely done mouth seem to suggest that he is totally wrapped up in the music that flows from his finger tips. His girdle bears a decorative design, while his forehead, nose, and cheeks still show elaborate make-up patterns. Many human-figure Haniwa tend to have a certain one-dimensional quality, but here the prominent and carefully modeled nose imparts a welcome if somewhat rare sense of volume and power.

Plate H. Man in Full Body Armor. From *Kyōizumi, Mōka-shi, Tochigi Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 131 cm. Collection: *Tokyo National Museum.*

The armor worn by this warrior figure has been executed in a fairly abbreviated fashion, though traces of white and cinnabar pigments are still quite plainly visible. His impressive helmet, with its long cheek protectors, is decorated with large studs, but he does not appear to wear a shoulder protector. As in the figure illustrated in Plate F, he is shown about to draw his sword, and also as in the earlier example the face is the most remarkable thing about the figure; he seems here to be about to speak to us. It is tempting to speculate that perhaps this was intended to represent a young man of the upper classes wearing military armor for the first time, in some kind of coming-of-age ceremony comparable to the capping or *toga virilis* ritual of later ages.

Plate I. Farmer with Hoe over Shoulder. From *Hōsen-mura, Nitta-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 85.5 cm. Collection: *Mr. Shinji Imai, Gumma Prefecture.*

This figure of a peasant carrying his hoe over his shoulder and wearing a high, almost square hat is a simple one, but the eyes are wonderfully alive. Above all the striated surface of the clay, with its rich, warm tones, provides abundant visual interest. The peasant shown has his hair plaited in simple braids suited to his station; perhaps the

figure is intended to be dancing, as many of the Haniwa clearly are.

Plate J (top). Water Fowl Craning Neck. From *Sakitama, Gyōda-shi, Saitama Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 84.2 cm. Collection: *Mr. Jirō Tajima, Saitama Prefecture.*

Working with his simple materials and the techniques they imposed, the Haniwa artisan nevertheless felt bold enough to attempt such ambitious problems in three-dimensional composition as this unusual bird, with its plump body, long neck, and small head, each part balancing the other to result in a remarkably pleasing total effect.

Plate J (bottom). Head of a Cock. From *Ishidagawa, Ōta-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 18 cm. Collection: *Mr. Shinji Imai, Gumma Prefecture.*

Strength and force of execution are the keynotes of this rooster's head, especially in its notable comb and beak. In fact, it resembles in many respects the Haniwa animal figures produced in the old Kyoto-Nara culture area somewhat before such figures begin to appear in the Kantō region, which has given rise to speculation that perhaps, even though this comes from the Kantō, it was produced there rather in advance of the development of the tumulus cult and the subsequent production of Haniwa figures. At any rate, it is a valuable specimen for the history of Haniwa development, and is remarkably close to the stone cock's head of Fig. 25.

Plate K (top). A Panting Dog. From *Kami Takeshi, Sakai-machi, Saha-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 46.3 cm. Collection: *Tokyo National Museum.*

This Haniwa dog wears a small bell on a collar around his neck; as he pants busily, his tongue lolling from his open mouth, it is easy to imagine a moment of rest in the midst of a busy hunt, which the Haniwa artist has here preserved with that faithfulness to realistic detail which characterizes almost all Haniwa animal treatments.

Plate K (bottom). Dog Looking Back. From *Kami Takeshi, Sakai-machi, Saha-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 52.5 cm. Collection: *Mr. Yasuji Saga, Kanazawa. Important Cultural Property.*

The affection and comradeship that existed between man and his dog in protohistoric Japan are easy to sense in this charming Haniwa figure. Nothing but real affection for the animal on the part of the artisan could have resulted in this remarkable vignette.

Plate L. Deer with Dappled Fur. From *Shimo Hōjō, Kurayoshi-shi, Tottori Prefecture, Chūgoku Region*. Height: 37.3 cm. Collection: *Faculty of Art, Tottori University. Important Art Object.*

The white pigment representing the dappled pelt of the deer, as well as its cloven hoofs, show the customary attention to detail to be observed in the Haniwa animal figures. Unfortunately, here only the legs and body are original, the neck and head being later reconstructions.

Plate 1. Head of Man Wearing Crown with Bells. *Place of excavation unknown. Collection: Mr. Kōji Masaki, Osaka.*

Here the unglazed clay surface has been left exceptionally rough and casually finished. The male figure represented wears a crown decorated along the top edge with tiny bells, while at his neck a two-strand necklace may still be made out. The mouth is done hesitatingly, but the artist has more than made up for this in the fully modeled nose.

Plate 2. Woman with Ornamental Sash across Shoulder. *From Minosato-machi, Gumma-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 88.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.*

This figure appears to be a female shaman or priestess; she wears an elaborate ritual outfit including earrings and a necklace which combines spherical jewels with the "curved beads" or *magatama* so precious in protohistoric Japan. Across her right shoulder she wears an ornamental sash dyed with a triangular pattern. Her right hand, with a jeweled bracelet at the wrist, rests at her breast, while her left is outstretched, perhaps offering a cup of *sake* in a ritual gesture. The eyes and mouth, simple as they are, bring the face so much alive that the whole figure seems to be about to move in some impressive ceremonial rite. The world of the Haniwa is a world of the burial tumulus, and, by and large, by this token it is a world of quiet and rest; but often, as here, the figures of the female religious officiants are full of action.

Plate 3. Man with Upheld Hands. *From Isezaki-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 32.5 cm. Collection: Mr. Hisashi Ōkura, Tokyo.*

This male Haniwa figure is in a rare pose, both hands raised in the air, wrists decorated with bracelets bearing small bells. He wears a hat much like a modern beret, a tubular upper garment with collar, fastened in the front right-over-left, and a necklace of spherical beads. His eyebrows have become what is virtually a great bridge across his entire face, and the puncture-hole eyes are not very well matched for size. But once again the total impression is not by any means as unnatural as one might expect; as so often in the art of the Haniwa these vagaries only contribute to the charm of the whole.

Plate 4. Woman Wearing Necklace of "Curved Beads." *From Unemezaka, Kamakura-shi, Kanagawa Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 28.4 cm. Collection: Archeology Seminar, Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University.*

The arms and headdress have been broken from this female figure, but otherwise the upper portion is fairly well preserved. She wears a ceremonial sash from her right shoulder crossing down onto her left side and what must have been a priceless necklace consisting entirely of the precious "curved beads" mentioned under Plate 2. The *magatama* was an ancient symbol and a potent charm, found as early as the Jōmon period, and by the Tumulus period it is known in a great variety of materials, including many types of stone and even glass. No doubt the woman here is a female shaman engaged in her ritual functions. The

nose is low but excellently executed. The slightest rise has been given to the eyes, and this, together with the careful, long slit of a mouth, imparts an air of solemnity to the face and a sense of quality to the entire figure.

Plate 5. Man Wearing Miter. *From Hachisu, Isezaki-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 124.6 cm. Collection: Aikawa Archeological Museum, Isezaki. Important Cultural Property.*

Usually the Haniwa figures have a tendency to abbreviate the lower portions of the body, and examples like the present one with its equal attention to both upper and lower sections are comparatively rare. Even more remarkable is the notable sense of stability in this robust male figure in full ceremonial attire, his full trouser-form skirt bound about the knee with decorative thongs and the lower portions smartly jutting out in a pronounced crease on either side. The similar figure of Plate 9 is a worthy companion for this piece and affords instructive comparisons. Both wear the hair in heavy braids that cover the earring-decorated ears and fall to the shoulder, while the tubular upper garment is fastened in two places in right-over-left closings. Both stand lightly on their bases, which helps to convey a sense of aristocratic dignity and bearing. Here the figure wears a tall, miter-like hat, and covers his hands and wrists with protective gauntlets, while a sword and the archer's decorative wrist protector are seen at his waist.

Plate 6. Woman Wearing Coat with Wave Pattern. *From Hachisu, Isezaki-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 127 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum. Important Art Object.*

Notable for the care that has been devoted to the entire length of the body, this female Haniwa figure is richly adorned with large ear-jewels as well as earrings, necklace, and jeweled bracelets. The upper garment has a wave-pattern common also in much later Japanese art, while the skirt-like lower garment is decorated with vertical stripes. With her tightly drawn-in waist, she presents the artist with a pattern of easy rhythms, which he uses to the utmost advantage in the easy flare of the upper and lower garments. Notable also is the skill with which the figure is balanced against the circular base on which it rests.

Plate 7. Man Wearing Hat with Bells. *From Kami Takeshi, Sakai-machi, Saha-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 109 cm. Collection: Mr. Yasuji Saga, Kanazawa. Important Art Object.*

This figure, its skullcap-like hat adorned with small bells, is rather similar to that of Plate 28, though the latter has a somewhat different type of headdress. Both carry swords, the one rounded, the other square, and the archer's wrist protector is missing in both cases. Both are representations of fairly young men, and probably intended to be of roughly the same age. That in Plate 28, with its wide herring-bone-pattern girdle, pays a certain amount of attention to the details of the garments worn, but in the Haniwa of Plate 7 little care has been spent, and the closure of the upper

garment is simply hinted at by the bow thongs that fasten it.

Plate 8. Head of a Woman. From Yanagimoto, Tenri-shi, Nara Prefecture, Kyoto-Nara area. Height: 16 cm. Collection: Mr. Gakunan Matsubara, Tokyo.

This is a specimen worthy to rank with the somewhat similar woman's head from the tumulus of the Emperor Nintoku (Plate C). This particular head is thought to have been removed from a tumulus in the Nara area, rich in ancient cultural associations, and as such it, like the head of Plate C, is a priceless source for the Haniwa standards of the Kyoto-Nara area in the earliest period of the art.

Plate 9. Man in Full Ceremonial Dress. From Jūjō, Misatomura, Kodama-gun, Saitama Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 155.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

This figure of a man in full ceremonial dress forms a worthy companion to that of Plate 5, which it resembles in many ways. The chief differences are in the headdress, which here appears to be a decorative band worn tightly around the forehead, and the metal-worker's pincers which this figure wears at his waist.

Plate 10. Seated Man. From Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 74 cm. Collection: Mr. Hisashi Ōkura, Tokyo.

This piece has much in common with that illustrated in Plate 41, the only important differences being that here the hands are held in front (as is also the case with the female shaman of Plate 27) and that the figure here is seated on a stool or chair, while in the figure of Plate 41 the hands are at the sides and he is seated cross-legged on a square mat or cushion, much like the modern Japanese *zabuton*, a square, padded cushion now placed on the *tatami* floor of the Japanese room. In spite of these differences, the two figures are extremely close in style and feeling. Both are male, and each wears a conical headdress much like the modern Japanese farmer's thatched rain-hat. Above all, they share a feeling of austerity and sadness, emphasized by the almost total lack of attention to the details of their clothing, which is only hinted at. In place of sculptural detail, both figures have been heavily decorated with bands of thick cinnabar painting, employed liberally on their faces and hats as well as on the garment areas. The triangular painting on the face is still particularly prominent on both figures, and has led to much speculation. It or similar designs are found on a considerable number of figures (see also for example Plate 33), and though it has at times been speculated that this might represent facial tattooing, it is rather more likely that it was simply make-up serving as a status-indication in protohistoric society.

Plate 11. Woman with Raised Arms. From Tokiwa-chō, Mito-shi, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 74.6 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

The crescent-shaped eyes slope downward the merest trifle, and their contrast with the similarly shaped but far tinier mouth pervades the entire figure with a serene charm. Heavy painted make-up covers the entire face and extends to the

collar of the upper garment. Perhaps she is a religious dancer, seen here in the act of performing a liturgical dance before the gods.

Plate 12. Head of a Man. Place of excavation unknown. Height: 25.6 cm. Collection: Miss Chiyoko Ogasawara, Osaka.

The modeling tool has here left all too visible traces on the cheeks and forehead of this male head, but they are more than offset by the fine nose and the almost unique sense of realistic "volume"—for though this head may leave much to be desired in the way of technical polish, it would be difficult to improve upon its sense of firm, plump flesh. It must be the product of a rarely talented artisan, whose sure if somewhat hasty touch is also evident in the mouth and eyes.

Plate 13. Man Wearing Decorated Trouser-form Skirt. From Enkōji, Kumayama-machi, Akaiwa-gun, Okayama Prefecture, Chūgoku Region. Height: 82.5 cm. Collection: Mr. Haruo Fujiyama, Okayama Prefecture.

There is something which irresistibly echoes *l'art nouveau* in this charming male figure, with his tight skull-cap head-dress and his sketchily executed hands. Perhaps he is meant to be dancing. But in striking contrast to the abbreviated attention paid to the upper part of the figure, the swelling trouser-form skirt (*hakama*) which he wears has received more than its due, right down to the details of its tick-tack-toe design. This is an extremely unusual Haniwa figure and added interest attaches to it when we remember that it comes from Okayama Prefecture, far from the Kantō Plain where such genre Haniwa figures found their greatest development in the last portion of the Tumulus period.

Plate 14. Head of Man with Necklace. From Saitama Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 25 cm. Collection: Mr. Takeo Uchida, Tokyo.

This male figure, with its tall headdress and prominent necklace, is rather carelessly done, and not even especially well preserved, but there is still enough here to suggest the hand of a master at work. In the eyes and mouth especially, here rendered with significant additions to the usual simple puncture-hole technique, there are elements that make it possible to associate it with the style of other, better preserved figures, notably that of Plate 15.

Plate 15. Man in Iron-cuirass Armor. From Kami Chūjō, Kumagai-shi, Saitama Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 64.2 cm. Collection: Mr. Yoshio Negishi, Saitama Prefecture. Important Cultural Property.

This is the only known Haniwa warrior figure wearing the cuirass or corselet (*tankō*) armor, made of horizontal, overlapping iron strips riveted together. The whole is a figure exceptional for its lifelike sense of volume, which extends from the helmet down to every detail of the armor, and includes even the jeweled necklace. The face is in its broader details not an unusual one, and can be matched by many other Kantō Haniwa figures, but it wins out over the vast majority of them in its detail work. The delicate

additions to the eyes and mouth are especially noteworthy; they are similar but more carefully executed than those in the preceding plate.

Plate 16. Head of Man Wearing Helmet with Cheek-pieces. *Place of excavation unknown. Height: 27 cm. Collection: Anthropology Seminar, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University.*

Though only the head of this figure survives today, it is virtually certain that originally it was part of one much like that of the fully garbed warrior of Plate 23 and, like him, wore full body armor.

Plate 17. Man in Full Body Armor, with Quiver on Back. *From Kugō, Ōta-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 131.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum. Important Cultural Property.*

Many Haniwa warrior figures wearing full body armor are known today, but it would be difficult if not impossible to assemble a group of four figures more superb in every detail than this and those of Plates 18 and 19 and Figure 17. The faultless attention to detail in each of these figures makes them virtually priceless sources of information on the armor and other military garb of protohistoric Japan. As discussed in the text, it is possible to arrange them into a set of two pairs, showing ceremonial military attire and combat dress. Even thus arranged, they are by no means identical, but have enough in common to make it more than possible that they are the work of the same artisan.

Plate 18. Man in Full Body Armor, with Quiver at Waist. *From Serada-mura, Nitta-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 135 cm. Collection: Tenri Reference Museum, Nara Prefecture.*

For another example of a warrior figure in much the same style and attire, see also that illustrated in Fig. 17 in the text. Otherwise, the Haniwa of this plate goes together with those of Plates 17 and 19.

Plate 19. Man in Full Body Armor, with Quiver on Back. *From Gōdo, Ōta-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 125.7 cm. Collection: Aikawa Archeological Museum, Isezaki. Important Cultural Property.*

This fine warrior figure goes together with those of Plates 17 and 18, and with Fig. 17 in the text.

Plate 20. Head of Warrior Wearing Studded Helmet. *From Fujioka-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 20 cm. from the chin up. Collection: Mr. Seison Maeda, Kanagawa Prefecture.*

Both this and the somewhat similar warrior head of Plate 22 are badly preserved, but enough survives to show that they come from figures of exceptional character and aristocratic mien. Perhaps both are by the same artisan.

Plate 21. Man Wearing Sword with Spherical Pommel. *From Shingō-mura, Sashima-gun, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō*

Region. Height: 77.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

Here, as is fairly common in standing figures which grow out of cylinder bases, no great care was exercised in providing the upper part of the figure with precise detail. Nevertheless, the man has a firm, balanced pose. The prominent braids and round pommel sword no doubt indicate a person of considerable importance.

Plate 22. Head of Warrior Wearing Helmet with Projecting Front. *Place of excavation unknown. Height: 19 cm. from the chin up. Collection: Mr. Seison Maeda, Kanagawa Prefecture.*

This is in a sense a companion piece to the somewhat similar warrior head of Plate 20, with which it shares a common air of character and aristocracy.

Plate 23. Man in Full Body Armor Drawing Sword. *From Minosato-machi, Gumma-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 112 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.*

The Haniwa artist has caught this fully dressed warrior figure just as he makes to draw his sword from its scabbard; he wears full body armor and an elaborate helmet with large cheek-pieces, plus wide shoulder protectors. Other figures are known showing this same action-filled moment, as for example that of Plate F, but in the present specimen the arm reaching for the sword has been executed with an uncommon sense of strength. The detail of the trouser-form skirt on this Haniwa, however, cannot stand comparison with that of such examples as those of Plates 17-19. These last three provide also an informative contrast with the warrior figure of this plate, as well as with those of Plates F and H.

Plate 24. Head of Man Wearing Decorated Hat. *From Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 32 cm. Collection: Mr. Keiji Takakuma, Tokyo.*

This is a spectacularly different Haniwa head, difficult to classify either as sculpture or as clay modeling, notable as much for its completely unrealistic angularity and one-dimensional quality as for the firmly scored lines which radiate from mouth and eyes and repeat their firm motif on the decorated headpiece. Few other Haniwa are known with such remarkable surface decoration, especially in facial areas. Still, space has been found on the narrow sides of the face for ears with earrings, and large flat jewels adorn the neck. Light entering the upper portion of the figure must have brought the puncture-hole eyes to life in a spectacular if eerie fashion. See also Plate 43.

Plate 25. Man in Body Armor Wearing Cap with Cheek Protectors. *From Haga-gun, Tochigi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 59 cm. Collection: Mr. John D. Rockefeller, III, U. S. A.*

The full body armor of this warrior figure is a little unlike that on most other known examples; perhaps it is meant to show a version of the lower protective corselet worn under the body armor and here projecting beyond the armor proper in three overlapping layers. Though he also wears shoulder protectors, he is without weapons, and

in place of a helmet he wears a kind of tight-fitting cap with large cheek protectors. Nor is his facial expression any less out of the ordinary than are the other portions of the figure.

Plate 26. Man Wearing Shoulder Armor. From *Sekishiro-machi, Makabe-gun, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 54.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

Fastened at the throat of this figure, where it is decorated with large, flat beads, is a peculiar piece of armor combining the functions of a neck and shoulder protector, decorated with vertical stripes. The garment worn underneath this unusual protective device flares out at the bottom, and prominent braids, as so often, reach from the head to the shoulder line. It is a figure full of local, provincial color that goes well with its place of origin.

Plate 27. Seated Female Shaman. From *Ōkawa-mura, Ōra-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 68.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum. Important Cultural Object.

Jeweled accessories form an important part of the costume of this maiden in the service of a protohistoric shrine. In addition to her two-strand necklace she wears beads at her wrists and ankles, while at her waist is suspended, along with an incense holder, a metal mirror decorated with five small bells. A decorated girdle is tied in front and the ends allowed to hang down in front. She sits well back on her chair, her eyes slightly lifted to the heavens, as she goes about her solemn work of serving as intermediary between man and the unseen powers. Her tiny feet are of course ridiculously out of proportion, but the remarkable thing is that we hardly notice this, for the longer one looks at this Haniwa, the less artificial its conventions appear to be and the more natural and realistic the entire figure becomes.

Plate 28. Man with Broad Ornamental Girdle. From *Ōkawa-mura, Ōra-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 112.2 cm. Collection: Aikawa Archeological Museum, Isezaki. Important Cultural Property.

This figure, with its wide decorative girdle and its prominent herringbone device, differs from that of Plate 7 largely in the amount of attention devoted to the details of the clothing. In the figure of Plate 7 only the barest hint is given, while here the details of the garments are done fairly explicitly. Otherwise the two have much in common, both representing young men of roughly the same age.

Plate 29. Woman with Three-layer Coiffure. From *Kyōzumi, Mōka-shi, Tochigi Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 39.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

This is one of several Haniwa that show only the upper half of the female figure, and without great attention to the details of the clothing worn, though the breasts can clearly be observed. It is quite reminiscent of the style of the figure in Plate 63, though here the clothing is even more rudimentary than in that case. The present figure is not perhaps a particularly fine example, but is remarkable

both for its three-layer coiffure, and for the almost one-dimensional face, which in spite of any shortcomings of the figure as a whole nevertheless does have beautiful lines.

Plate 30. Woman Wearing Coat with Decorated Hem. From *Suzumenomiya, Utsunomiya-shi, Tochigi Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 59.5 cm. Collection: Anthropology Seminar, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University. Important Cultural Property.

Unfortunately little is left of the coiffure here but the fan-shaped arrangement at the back of the head. The hem of the upper garment is decorated with an unusual triangular pattern, while the breasts can be clearly made out beneath the cloth. The collar too appears to bear ornamentation of some sort. Both arms are held stiffly along the sides in what is probably a formal posture. Though the damage to the coiffure now no doubt detracts in a considerable way from the total impression made by the head, it remains full of serene, quiet beauty. The heavy facial make-up is probably being worn in connection with religious festivities.

Plate 31. Man Wearing Coat with Bells. Place of excavation unknown. Height: 39.8 cm. Collection: Anthropology Seminar, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University.

The upper garment here is remarkable both for its high collar, which appears to have been decorated with needlework, and for its left-over-right closing. Right-over-left closings are much more common, and perhaps there was some functional or ceremonial distinction between the two varieties. In addition he wears a necklace of spherical beads strung closely together and a kind of tight-fitting crown; of further interest is the row of small bells which decorate the figure about the waist.

Plate 32. Man with Broad Sash, Wearing Sword. From *Shiraishi, Fujioka-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 115 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

Exaggeration and violation of normal proportions are the most prominent features of this figure, with its top-knot hat, enormous, complex braids, tiny hands and arms, and enormous flaring coat and trouser-form skirt. Nevertheless, there is strength and determination in the firm pose of the smallish arms and strong individuality and personality in the whole figure, in spite of the way in which the artist has played fast and loose with normal representational conventions. The wide girdle at the waist with its triangular pattern appears to be decorated with some variety of stitching at both edges. A round-pommel sword is also worn, while the curious object also hung from the waist and seen at the figure's left is the archer's wrist protector, of ornamentally figured leather. Tiny bells decorate the ties that bring the trouser-form skirt together at the knees.

Plate 33. Enthroned Man Wearing Crown. From *Hachimanbara, Gumma-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 75 cm. Collection: Tenri Reference Museum, Nara Prefecture. Important Art Object.

This figure sits on a high throne or seat, his left hand grasping the thong-decorated sword at his waist, his right raised in a stately, even imperious gesture. The upper garment, here decorated all over with a polka-dot device, has no indication of a central opening, as is also true of those pieces shown in Plates 10 and 41. Perhaps this kind of textile design had some ceremonial purpose as well as being decorative; at any rate it reminds one of the small circular crests used today on formal Japanese attire. To the splendor of the garments he adds an elaborately decorated crown, and long thick braids decorated with thongs, as well as a necklace. The face carries elaborate make-up, including a striking T-shaped pattern painted on the nose and forehead, the whole no doubt indicating a person of high status performing important ceremonial or ritual functions.

Plate 34. Woman Holding Musical Instrument. From *Kyōizumi, Mōka-shi, Tochigi Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 32.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

Perhaps this is the work of the same artisan responsible for the piece illustrated in Plate 41, for there is much in common between the two, and they come from nearby tumuli. Here the figure is remarkable for being completely unadorned with either earrings or necklace, and appears in fact to be represented unclothed, for the breasts are clearly visible. In place of detailed plastic work, the face is treated with the familiar puncture-hole eyes and mouth and the addition of heavy bands of make-up. Only the upper portion of this female figure, with her mortar-board-like coiffure, has survived, and one is tempted to speculate if perhaps the lower section too did not resemble that of Plate 41. At any rate she holds a castanet-like musical instrument of split bamboo in her hand and seems to be singing or perhaps even dancing.

Plate 35. Head of Boy. From *Gōdo, Ōta-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 14 cm. from the chin up. Collection: Mr. Shinji Imai, Gumma Prefecture.

The simple nose here is little more than a roll of clay attached to the surface of the figure, and the eyebrows are the only other touch which has been added to this otherwise completely unadorned face. The eyes are not completely balanced, but if anything this contributes to the appeal of this mild, childlike face.

Plate 36. Head of Woman Carrying Jar. From *Sakitama, Gyōda-shi, Saitama Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 26 cm. Collection: Saitama Archeological Museum, Gyōda.

This woman carrying a water-filled jug on her head has had her eyes placed remarkably high up in her forehead, which together with the retracted chin at once attracts attention. It is an interesting attempt at a bit of plastic sketching from life. One can almost imagine the Haniwa artisan, who must always have been working against time, pausing in the midst of his modeling of more stereotyped figures to produce this hurried, playful sketch of a woman bringing him water as he worked.

Plate 37. Woman Holding Jar. From *Hokoda-machi, Kashima-gun, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 68.5 cm. Collection: Anthropology Seminar, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University.

This female shaman wears decorative sashes across both shoulders, and offers a cup of *sake* held in both outstretched hands. Many female Haniwa figures are found which appear to be offering a vessel, but cases like the present one in which the container itself has survived are rare. Such figures are common especially in the Tōhoku area and in Shizuoka, where they no doubt enjoyed considerable popularity as tumuli adornments. Here the lines of the face are firmly modeled, and even somewhat severe.

Plate 38. Head of Man on Cylinder. From *Ryūgasaki Park, Ryūgasaki-shi, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 47 cm. Collection: Anthropology Seminar, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University.

This and the similar piece illustrated in Plate 40 are examples of the least sophisticated of all Haniwa techniques, in which the basic Haniwa cylinder has been simply and with the least possible effort transformed into the human figure. Here it has been rounded off to provide a head and neck, the latter decorated with a rudimentary necklace, while the nipples too have been given prominent attention.

Plate 39. Woman Carrying Jar on Head. From *Takato, Takahagi-shi, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region*. Height: 50 cm. Collection: Anthropology Seminar, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University.

It is possible to pick out in this figure something of the technique of that of Plate 38, in the basic development from a cylinder worked into neck and head shapes, and also even something of that of Plate 40, especially in the way the face has been set into the cylinder; but actually this figure is in its physical and garment details far more sophisticated than either of these, and represents a much more advanced development beyond the simple cylinder. Here, as often in these fairly rudimentary female figures, the prominent treatment afforded the breasts is notable. In order to make room for the jar which she balances, her coiffure is arranged far on the back of her head, a pleasingly realistic touch. There is a world of difference between a simple figure of this sort and, for example, one of the elaborate and faithfully detailed figures of fully dressed warriors, but the present figure is in no way less pleasing or inferior for all this considerable difference in treatment.

Plate 40. Human Mask on Cylinder. Place of excavation unknown. Height: 42 cm. Collection: Anthropology Seminar, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University.

This forms a good companion piece for the somewhat more elaborate cylinder illustrated in Plate 38, though it is less a head than simply a mask. Both of them are, in spite of their stark simplicity, full of movement and action; one is led to speculate that perhaps they were

intended to represent laughing or perhaps even dancing figures.

Plate 41. Man Wearing Hat, Sitting Cross-legged. From Kameyama, Mōka-shi, Tochigi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 74 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

This male figure shares most of its elements of style and feeling with that already described in Plate 10. Here too our attention is at once drawn to the air of austere loneliness which the lack of surface detail imparts, as well as to the impressive cinnabar decoration. Here also, and unlike most other human-figure Haniwa, the mouth has been rendered somewhat larger than the eyes, which if anything heightens the somewhat eerie air of these two figures. See also Plate 34.

Plate 42. Head of a Man. From Okawa-mura, Ōra-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 15 cm. Collection: Mr. Kiyō Kinoshita, Tokyo.

Here the eyebrows are not separate features that have been added to the surface of the face, but the result of delicate modeling about and above the eyes, with the purpose of adding to the naturalness of the face. The result is a clear, open impression, which is heightened by the light-brown clay with traces of white in which the figure is worked. The total result looks more like a modern Noh theater mask carved out of some light wood than it does like an earthenware object, and represents a considerable artistic accomplishment which in every way deserves the designation of sculpture.

Plate 43. Head of Man Wearing High Square Hat. From Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 19.2 cm. Collection: Mr. Hōshun Yamaguchi, Kanagawa Prefecture.

This is a relatively small head, with its strange square miter-like hat and striking geometrical painted decoration. It has much in common, in fact, with the head of Plate 24, and it is probable that heads of the latter variety represent a later type of formalized development that began with examples like that of Plate 43. The small triangular nose is placed dead center in the virtually one-dimensional face, set off by surprisingly enormous eyes and a small, firmly set mouth. The geometrical decorations of the hat are continued over the face.

Plate 44. Head of Man Wearing Circular Hat. From Gōdo, Ōta-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 20 cm. Collection: Mr. Shinji Imai, Gumma Prefecture.

This interesting head is quite similar to that of Plate 56, though there are differences in the head-covering worn by the two and also in the eyebrows, which in Plate 44 are indicated by a band of clay of considerable thickness set onto the head above the eyes. In both cases the large, almost triangular eyes on either side of the high nose impart great strength to the face.

Plate 45. Woman Wearing Necklace. Place of excavation unknown. Height: 34.6 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

This female shaman wears an elaborate coiffure that includes two coiled buns of hair, one fore and one aft, plus a double-strand necklace and a wide ornamental sash crossing in front of her and hanging down from her left shoulder. The prominent eyebrow line and, above all, the extremely exaggerated though slit-like eyes give the face a haunting quality inevitably reminiscent of the theatrical puppets of later ages.

Plate 46. Woman with Ornamental Sash and Necklace. From Sakitama, Gyōda-shi, Saitama Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 64.5 cm. Collection: Saitama Archeological Museum, Gyōda.

The extensive damage to the head and arms here is much to be regretted, for the figure shows a female shaman in ceremonial regalia, and was clearly an example of great artistic merit, if of rather severe mien. She wears what would have been a priceless necklace of the much sought after "curved beads," and an ornamental sash crossed on the breast and secured in back. The nose is remarkable, as indeed is the entire face, with its fine dramatic expanse between the eyes and chin. Perhaps the figure is intended to be chanting.

Plate 47. Man Wearing Necklace. From Hokoda-machi, Kashima-gun, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 40 cm. Collection: Anthropology Seminar, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University.

This is probably a peasant, wearing a hat that looks like an inverted pottery basin, and braids done up so that they look like modern bow-ties. There are traces on the left shoulder of something now broken off; perhaps this was a plow, such as can for example be observed in a similar position in the figure illustrated in Plate 60. If the conjecture that the figure represents a peasant is correct, it might be asked why he is shown with earrings and necklace. Perhaps the answer is that in Haniwa representations of peasants, they were naturally presented in their most elaborate, picturesque garb.

Plate 48. Head of a Smiling Man. From Takato, Takahashi, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 34.3 cm. Collection: Anthropology Seminar, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University.

The entire face here is built around the fine, full laugh in which the figure is indulging; not, to be sure, a very refined laugh, but at the very least, one from the heart. This expressive technique is known from other Haniwa also, as for example those of Plates 66 and 67, and capitalizes upon the contrast between the slit-like eyes, pulled down sharply at the ends, and the large, crescent-moon mouth. In many Haniwa figures special attention appears to have been paid to facial gestures of singing, wailing, and the like; in a word, emotions that could be clearly and completely handled through the manipulation of facial elements. Here as always the Haniwa face was virtually the sum total of its eyes and mouth, and when, as in these laughing faces, the mouth was widely exaggerated,

the result was the introduction of enormous action and movement to the whole face.

Plate 49. Man of Valiant Mien. From Gumma Prefecture. Kantō Region. Height: 58.5 cm. Collection: Aikawa Archeological Museum, Isezaki.

Only two Haniwa figures showing nude male figures (this and Plate 53) are known today, but probably they were fairly common. They wear tight fitting skullcaps with a topknot, and the simple hair-braids of persons of low social status. Portions of the present figure including the arms are broken off, but probably their reconstruction may be safely projected on the basis of the virtually undamaged figure in Plate 53.

Plate 50. Nude Female Figure. From Kyōizumi, Mōka-shi, Tochigi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 45.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

Many female Haniwa figures show the breasts and appear at first glance to be nude, but true nude representations like the present one are actually rare. Both arms are broken here, but probably the right rested on the breast and the left was outstretched. The figure most likely shows a low-status woman dancing and singing, and reminds one of the dance which, in Japanese mythology, Ama-no-uzume no Mikoto performed to lure the Sun Goddess out of the cave in which she had hidden herself. The thighs and hips are well done, as is indeed the total body line of this figure.

Plate 51. Man Laughing and Beating Breast. From Akabori-mura, Saha-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 56.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

Though little but the upper section of this Haniwa has survived it is still a very worthwhile piece, with its fine representation of a laughing person of low status, probably a peasant. The figure has a sickle at his waist; in the somewhat similar one of Plate 54 he has a hoe on his shoulder. Both these figures are similar in style and come from the same tumulus. The eyes and crescent-shaped mouths of both give an irresistible air of simple, uncomplicated mirth; one may even speculate that in these figures of happy, laughing peasants there was intended to be some association with or prescience of a bountiful autumn harvest.

Plate 52. Woman with Earrings and Necklace. From Shōnan-mura, Higashi Katsushika-gun, Chiba Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 71.8 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

The unusual headdress sported by this figure is less of a hat than an elaborate coiffure involving piling up the hair in buns on the top of the head, no doubt here represented in a somewhat stylized fashion. In addition, she wears an extremely simple necklace of only four beads about her unusually thick neck, and large earrings in contrast with her small face. Still, the total effect is hardly unnatural, a tribute once more to the eyes and mouth, especially to the skill of their execution and location.

Plate 53. Man of Valiant Mien. From Kami Takeshi, Sakai-machi, Saha-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 55.3 cm. Collection: Tenri Reference Museum, Nara Prefecture.

This nude male figure of a peasant or other low-ranking person is well preserved and makes it possible to suggest the correct reconstruction for the damaged portions of the somewhat similar figure illustrated in Plate 49.

Plate 54. Smiling Farmer with Hoe on Shoulder. From Akabori-mura, Saha-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 92 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

This is a fine companion piece for the Haniwa illustrated in Plate 51; here the agricultural tool carried on the shoulder is a hoe, in contrast with the sickle of the earlier figure. Both are from the same tumulus.

Plate 55. Singing Woman with Baby on Back. From Kyōizumi, Mōka-shi, Tochigi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 41.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

In this rare Haniwa figure with its extraordinary fidelity to plebeian life and manners, a mother has strapped her newly born child on her back papoose-fashion and comforts it with a lullaby as she goes about her work of transporting water from the spring to the protohistoric community. This is the art of artlessness; nothing else could have resulted in the feeling of life which here has survived both time and the considerable damage which the figure itself has suffered.

Plate 56. Head of Man Wearing Conical Hat. From Yonezawa, Ōta-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 20.5 cm. from the chin up. Collection: Mr. Shinji Imai, Gumma Prefecture.

This head is similar to that of Plate 44, from which it differs only in the type of hat worn and in the treatment of the eyebrows. Here the hat is a conical one, and the eyebrows the result of careful modeling of the area above the eyes, not of the addition of more clay as in Plate 44.

Plate 57. Man Wearing Miter with Lattice Pattern. From Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 142.3 cm. Collection: Mr. J. J. Klejman, U.S.A.

The extremely tall miter-like cap with its lattice-work pattern is striking here, as also are the elaborately plaited braids. Both hands are held stiffly out in front; the waist is drawn up tightly, the upper garment flaring out broadly below and decorated in front with a sickle; below this is a patterned trouser-form skirt. The prominent eyebrows are impressive, and the round face has a charming naïveté.

Plate 58. Head of a Man. From Sakitama, Gyōda-shi, Saitama Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 15 cm. from the chin up. Collection: Saitama Archeological Museum, Gyōda.

There is something almost pathetic about this remarkable Haniwa head; it seems to be about to speak to us, but the words die on its lips. The enormous eyes are

distinctive, as is in fact the somewhat skewed line of the entire head.

Plate 59. Head of Man Wearing Hat with Topknot. Place of excavation unknown. Height: 27 cm. Collection: Mr. Kōji Tokuda, Osaka.

This male figure, wearing a skullcap-like hat with a topknot and large braids, has a face remarkable for its strong line from the chin up to the temples, as well as for the bold, frank eyes and mouth. The nose is enormous, but somehow not too greatly out of place here.

Plate 60. Head of a Man. Place of excavation unknown.

This forms a good companion piece to the figure illustrated in Plate 47; here the plow on the left shoulder has survived in good condition. Surely the artisan was smiling when he set the hat at such a rakish angle.

Plate 61. Woman with Right Arm Raised. From Akabori-mura, Saha-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 72 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

This figure of a female shaman is quite damaged and little remains of its ornamentation except a portion of the necklace; originally it no doubt had a complete necklace of beads strung closely together and wore an upper garment, though this still permitted the breasts to be visible. A sash can still be seen thrown over both shoulders. The figure is probably intended to be dancing; the carefully done eyes are full of affection, but the complete countenance is a complex one, with certain elements that are equally as severe as the eyes are kind.

Plate 62. Head of a Man. Place of excavation unknown. Collection: Mr. Jirō Sasaki, Osaka.

The face is simplicity itself; it is, after all, little more than a few features worked on a flattened area of the cylinder, but it is none the less alive and interesting for all this. The prominent eyebrows divide the face virtually into two, which with the addition of the nose makes for a triangular effect. The large eyes are drawn down the least bit at their ends, and the mouth seems about to speak.

Plate 63. Woman with Necklace of Round Beads. From Kyōizumi, Mōka-shi, Tochigi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 31 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

Only the upper half of this figure has survived, and even here the arms have disappeared, but what remains is still a more than worthwhile example of the art of the Haniwa. It is from the same tumulus as the example of Plate 29, and in the same style. The breasts are visible beneath the thin upper garment with its right-over-left closing. The necklace is a simple, non-ceremonial piece with round beads. Most notable is the way both eyes and eyebrows, but especially the latter, slope to the right and rise to the left. This, plus the half-pursed mouth, lends an air of irresistible shyness to the whole figure. The somewhat full, plump chin and jaw lines also play their part in contributing to this effect.

Plate 64. Young Hawker. From Sakai-machi, Saha-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 74.5 cm. Collection: Mr. Gakunan Matsubara, Tokyo. Important Cultural Property.

The goshawk at rest on the young hawker's wrist here wears a small bell on his tail, which will make it easier to locate the bird should he become lost during the hunt. The hawker himself is elaborately got up, though his innocent face betrays his years, and is full of the joy of hawking for birds and small game in the open countryside.

Plate 65. Crouching Male Figure. From Hokoda-machi, Kashima-gun, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 53 cm. Collection: Anthropology Seminar, Faculty of Science, Tokyo University.

Perhaps the lower sections of this unusual figure as it survives today have been restored; but at any rate it appears to be a remarkably contorted figure of a man looking straight ahead and wearing a peculiar type of hat. One is reminded of both the pose and the headdress of the figure of the entertainer wearing a zoomorphic hat (Fig. 22), and perhaps the present figure too represents an entertainer or acrobat of some sort. At any rate, the arms are exaggerated in thickness almost beyond any resemblance to the real thing. Perhaps their original purpose was to support the rest of the fairly heavy figure. Whatever it represents, the piece is a remarkable one among the Haniwa in general for its heavy, massive feeling.

Plate 66. Smiling Man Carrying Shield. From Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 99.8 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

Both this and the following figure are in many respects similar; each is a laughing figure wearing an unusual hat and holding a shield. In the figure illustrated here the shield has been highly abstracted, and all that appears is a flat, rectangular appendage to the figure, decorated with a simple geometric device. But comparison with other examples (e.g., Plate 67) makes it clear that what is shown here is simply a highly degenerate version of a shield being brandished.

Plate 67. Man Carrying Shield. From Yabuzuka-hommachi, Nitta-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 48 cm. Collection: Mr. Toshiharu Ogue, Tokyo.

This is another laughing male figure brandishing a highly abstracted shield, to be compared with that of Plate 66. Here the shield at first glance looks more like a corset, and its surface decoration has been simplified into a set of vertical stripes.

Plate 68. Man Carrying Shield. From Yatabe-machi, Tsukuba-gun, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 61 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

This and the somewhat similar Haniwa of Plate 69 are in effect the result of the additions of facial features and shields to the basic Haniwa cylinder, the faces combining puncture-hole eyes and mouths with prominent ad-

ditions of clay for nose, eyebrows, and ears. The heavy shield which the figure here holds, with its geometric surface decoration, appears to cover his entire body from the neck down. The total effect of such figures is in a way less that of sculpture than of drawing or painting.

Plate 69. Man Carrying Shield. *Place of excavation unknown. Collection: Tenri Reference Museum, Nara Prefecture.*

This is another of the basic cylinders with the addition of facial features and a shield, to be compared with that illustrated in Plate 68. Here the flaring trumpet shape of the cylinder head is exceptionally prominent, and has been left virtually untouched in working out the face. The shield too is little more than an appendage to the cylinder surface.

Plate 70. Head of Woman with Hair in Horizontal Buns. *From Isezaki-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Collection: Mr. Hiroo Ōmichi, Osaka.*

The large buns in which this lady has coiled her hair have been placed on the top of her head, but here the artist has rendered them in a highly stylized fashion, so that they are reduced more or less to a kind of mortar-board. In this way the coiffure lends support to the lines of the face as a whole. The trace of a broken portion on the forehead indicates where a comb was inserted vertically into the coiffure. Many of the human-figure Haniwa show a great variety of facial make-up patterns, but here the large triangle with its apex somewhere above the bridge of the nose is somewhat unusual.

Plate 71. Man Looking Up. *From Miyake-mura, Shiki-gun, Nara Prefecture, Kyoto-Nara Area. Height: 40 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.*

Human figures from the old Kyoto-Nara cultural area dating from the last stages of the Tumulus period are rare in any case, and rarer still are those like the one illustrated, with its strong feeling for and echoes of the old, aristocratic tradition which once centered in this area. The garment shown is rather unusual, with its tie-closings at the collar line, and the front wrapping around from the right all the way to the left shoulder. The necklace is an elaborate one, the precious "curved beads" alternating with circular and tubular ones. The face is small but of a frank, winning expression, and the entire figure a beautiful specimen of the older, aristocratic Haniwa tradition.

Plate 72. Head of a Female Deer. *From Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 18 cm. Collection: Mr. Keiji Takakuma, Tokyo.*

The female deer here is shown alert, ears poised, obviously searching for something, perhaps food. The snout has been finished so as to leave visible wave-like lines on the surface. Every effort has obviously been exerted to give the finished figure a sense of pliant flexibility, in keeping with its model. In this it contrasts

pleasingly with examples of Haniwa stags, for in the male of the species one finds no such attempt. It is interesting that the careful observation of nature by the Haniwa artisans and their efforts to give it faithful representation extended even to the differences between male and female animals.

Plate 73. Wild Boar. *From Kami Takeshi, Sakai-machi, Saha-gun, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 50 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum. Important Cultural Property.*

This is a minor clay masterpiece; it would be difficult to imagine any type of sculpture in any medium whatsoever giving better expression to the powerful shoulders, long snout, and small, beady eyes of the fierce wild boar. The legs as they appear here are of course rather too long, but it should be remembered that they were made so purposely, in order to allow them to be pressed into the earth of the tumulus.

Plate 74. Wild Boar Being Shot at with Arrow. *From Abiko-machi, Higashi Katsushika-gun, Chiba Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 63 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.*

Though the legs have been destroyed, this figure is still a most remarkable one. Both the deer and wild boar were important food sources for man in protohistoric Japan, and the boar at least has continued to be hunted down to modern times. This Haniwa gives us a vivid action picture of a type almost without parallel in conventional sculptural techniques; in effect it shows an arrow in flight, shot in haste after the fleeing boar. In the low modeling of the arrow on the flank of the animal there is all the strength and power that are the particular property of primitive art everywhere.

Plate 75. Horse with Ornamental Bells. *From Chūjō, Kumagai-shi, Saitama Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 87.5 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum. Important Cultural Property.*

The only detail of the gear on this Haniwa horse that is not explicitly clear is, oddly enough, the central part of the saddle itself, and exactly what kind of seat was used here between cantle and pommel can only be conjectured. Otherwise elaborate detail has been provided, including the annular-ring stirrups, the circular metal bit decorations with their six small bells, and even the small jingle bells decorating the cruppers. The five large harness bells decorating the martingale are rather unusual. The post-like legs, so out of keeping with the rest of the fairly naturalistic treatment, are of course disturbing, but it is well to remember in viewing all Haniwa figures of this sort that it was necessary to press them well down into the soft earth of the tumulus, and that when placed in such a position the here objectionably stolid legs would provide valuable support for the figure, and at the same time be themselves partly hidden.

Plate 76. Chick. From Shiraishi, Fujioka-shi, Gumma Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 14.8 cm. Collection: Mr. To-shiro Mifune, Tokyo.

This newly hatched Haniwa chick bends its entire tiny body forward in its eager pecking for food, as it busily follows the mother hen around a protohistoric farmyard. One can virtually feel the tiny, soft feathers on the head, and sense the bright yellow of the beak.

Plate 77. Hen. From Kyōizumi, Mōka-shi, Tochigi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 54 cm. Collection: Tokyo National Museum.

When the Sun Goddess Amaterasu hid herself in the Rock Cave of Heaven, indignant at the enormities of the wicked deity Susa-no-o, the eight myriads of gods met to devise means of supplicating her. One of the schemes used to lure her out was thought up by Omiokane-no-kami, who "with profound device and far-reaching thought" gathered a number of cocks and set them to crow before the cave in which the goddess had taken flight. In addition to these mythological connotations, the chicken also of course had a role in the protohistoric domestic economy. The fine execution of this Haniwa figure is a good tribute to the interest of its artisan in the bird and to his careful observation of nature.

Plate 78. Duck. Place of excavation unknown. Collection: Mr. Kōji Masaki, Osaka.

This young duck is depicted with great realism; we are almost lulled into thinking that the outstretched hand will meet pliant feathers and down instead of the firm baked clay surface of the figure. It swims quietly around

the moat surrounding the tumulus, searching for food, and even the tiny ruff-like line caused when its feathers come into contact with the water has caught the attention of the observant artisan.

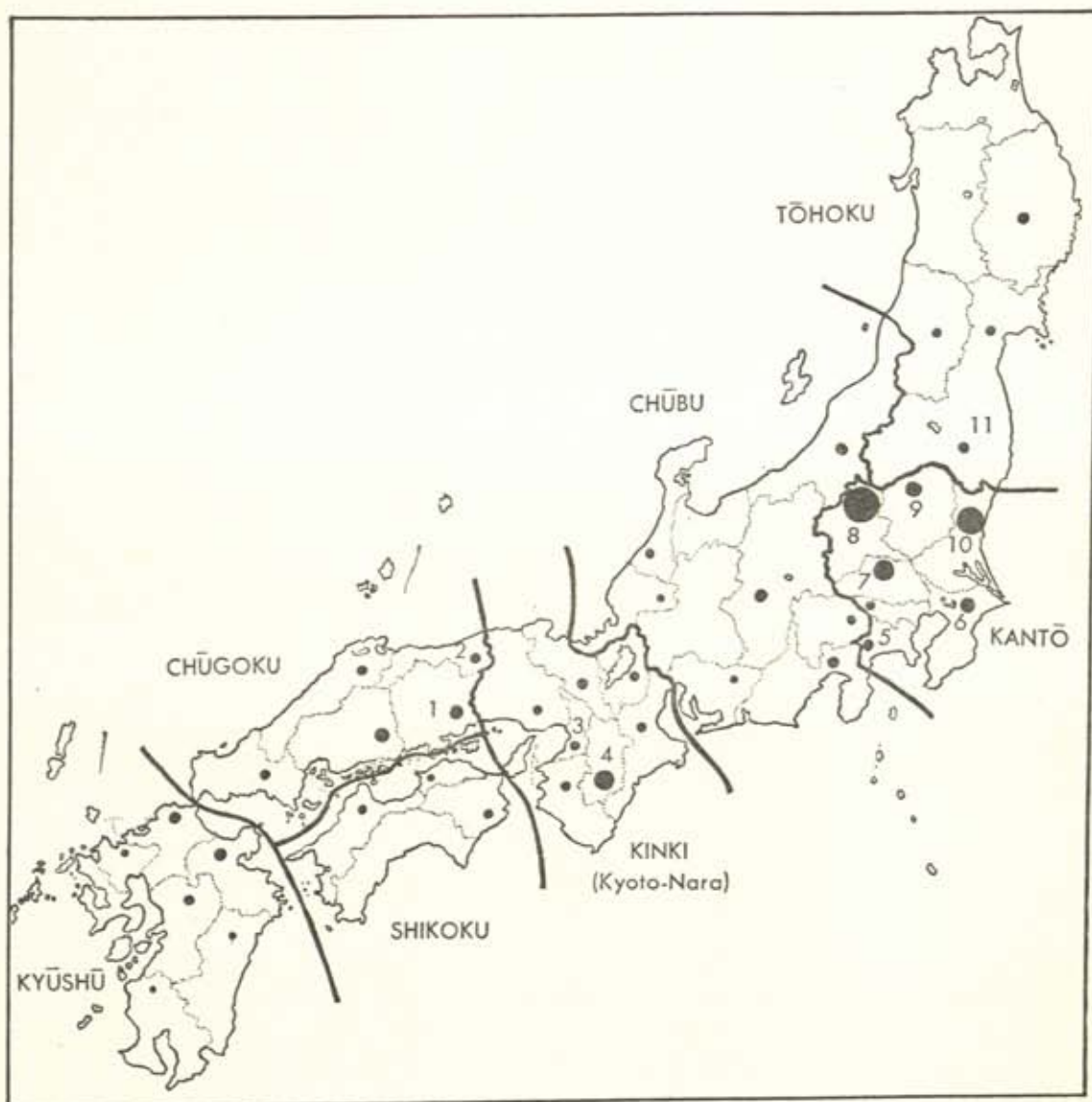
Plate 79. Goshawk Wearing Collar and Lead. From Kamikawa-mura, Kodama-gun, Saitama Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 40.3 cm.

There is strength in every detail of this Haniwa bird, from the strong beak to the thick neck and the firmly set tail feathers, brought out by the visible traces of strong spatula work and especially by the forceful striations which cover most of the figure. The collar about the neck of this goshawk and the lead attached to it show that it is one trained for the hunt.

Plate 80. Monkey. From Tamatsukuri-machi, Namekata-gun, Ibaragi Prefecture, Kantō Region. Height: 27.3 cm. Collection: Mr. Takeo Nakazawa, Tokyo. Important Cultural Property.

This is perhaps one of the most famous of all existing Haniwa figures, and justly so, for it is in every way a masterpiece among masterpieces. The mother monkey can be imagined amusing her fretful baby, whom she carries on her back in human fashion; her head is slightly set back on her shoulders as she croons caressingly to the child. The pose is as remarkable for its perception in observation as it is for its skill in execution. How much the Haniwa artist here has been able to accomplish with his simple plastic repertory—a few shapes, a roughly triangular facial area, a rudimentary nose, and three puncture holes—but how many far more elaborate sculptures have fallen short of the achievement of this remarkable figure!

Fig. 26. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF HANIWA FINDS BY MODERN PREFECTURES. The size of each black circle is proportionate to the number of finds made in that prefecture. Key figures indicate prefectures in which the Haniwa illustrated in this volume have been found, excepting only those whose places of excavation are unknown (namely, Plates 1, 12, 16, 22, 31, 40, 45, 59-60, 62, 69, and 78).



CHŪGOKU REGION

1. Okayama: Pl. 13

2. Tottori: Pl. L

KINKI REGION (i. e. Kyoto-Nara area)

3. Osaka: Pl. C

4. Nara: Pl. 8, 71

KANTŌ REGION

5. Kanagawa: Pl. 4

6. Chiba: Pl. 52, 74, 78

7. Saitama: Pl. A, J (top), 9, 14-15, 36, 46, 58, 75, 79

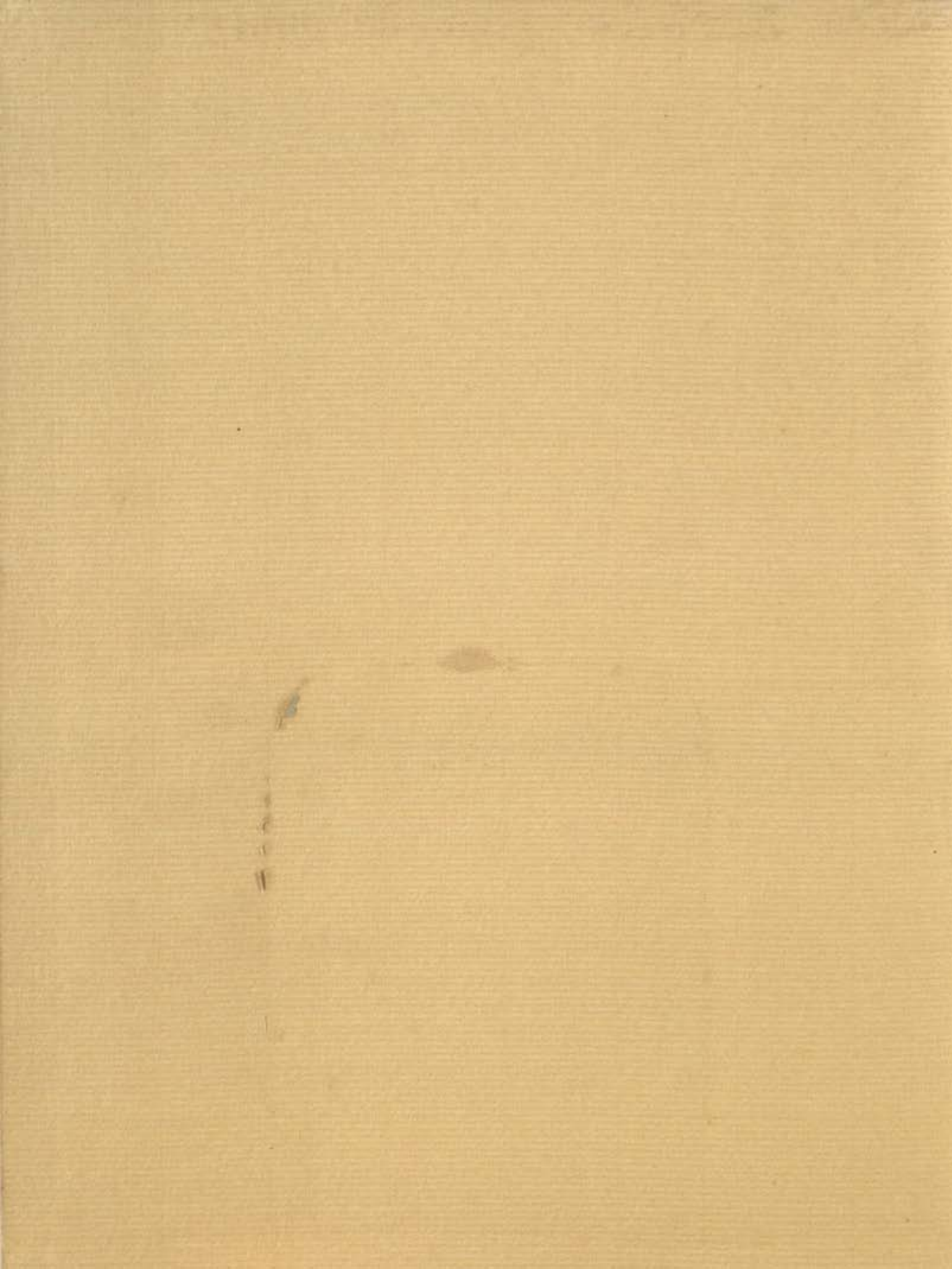
8. Gumma: Pl. D-G, I, J (bottom), K (top & bottom), 2-3, 5-7, 17-20, 23, 27-28, 32-33, 35, 42-44, 49, 51, 53-54, 56, 61, 64, 67, 70, 73, 76

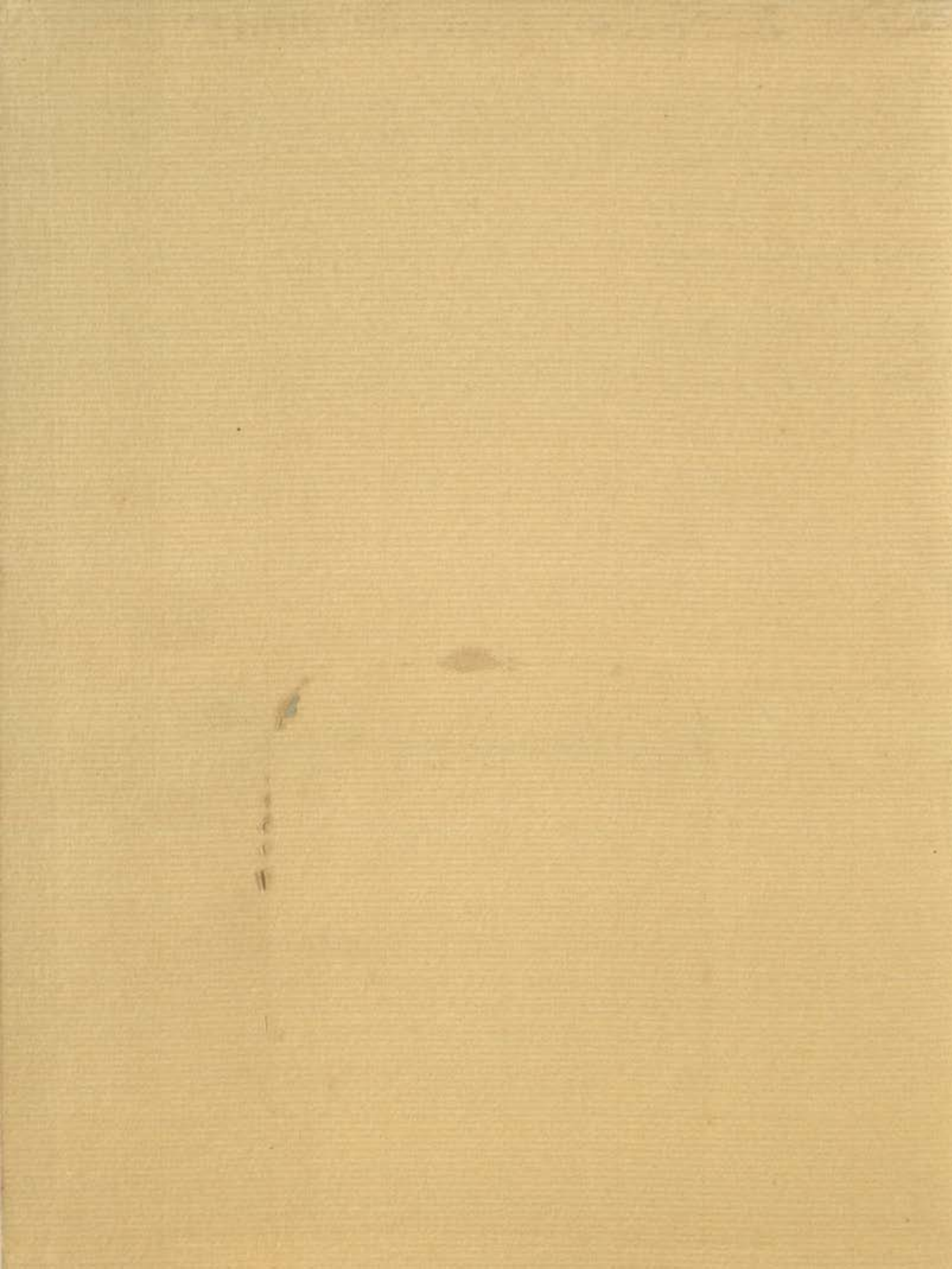
9. Tochigi: Pl. H, 25, 29-30, 34, 41, 50, 55, 63, 77

10. Ibaragi: Pl. 10-11, 21, 24, 26, 37-39, 47-48, 57, 65-66, 68, 72, 80

TŌHOKU REGION

11. Fukushima: Pl. B





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