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Ivan Meštrović and the Japanese Kozosha:
Sculptors Who Shared the Same Dreams

メシュトロヴィチと構造社——夢を分かち合った彫刻家たち

まずサブタイトルにある「分かち合った夢」とは、直接的には彫刻と建築の総合であり、古い体質を破ってより広い社会に芸術を浸透させたいという望みである。その夢が20世紀の初めウィーン中欧と日本で共有されたのだが、今回はこの夢の共有をある個人と一つの集団の関係として見ていくことになる。ウィーン分離派から日本の分離派へ、そして構造社という集団までの「つながり」を実際に裏付けられるのは、ほぼメシュトロヴィチ個人だけだからである。

ここで、メシュトロヴィチと構造社について概観しておく。

Ivan Meštrović (1883—1962)：17歳でウィーンに出て、同アカデミーでH・ヘルマーや建築家O・ワグナーに学ぶ。とくに後者の影響を受け、ウィーン分離派運動に参加した。愛国者で、彫刻と建築の総合を試みた記念像を多く作った。

構造社：昭和の彫刻団体。1926年、帝展の彫刻部に参加していた斎藤素巖と日名子実三が、単に裸婦像の制作を繰り返していることに飽き足らず、彫刻と建築の総合を目的として結成した。同年に加わった陽咸二の作品に象徴されるような、新しい都市空間の感覚を反映したアール・デコ風の抽象的な作品、社会風刺的なテーマの彫刻作品も目立った。斎藤は、浮彫、図案工芸などにも注力して「彫刻の社会化」を目指した。また同社は、29年の構造社展から「総合試作」と称する会員の共同制作(大規模な建築模型)を発表した。

因みに、冒頭で触れた日本の分離派とは、分離派建築会のこと、第一章で平和記念博覧会について触れる際に詳しく紹介する。構造社は平和記念博の際に、この分離派建築会に触発され、関東大震災の混乱の中から反アカデミズムの運動として生まれたのである。

さてメシュトロヴィチも構造社の中心メンバーも、社会と結びついた芸術を指向しながら、結局は国家とその権力に翻弄されてしまう。

ウィーン分離派は彫刻について新しい作品の展示を模索し、メシュトロヴィチは彫刻と建築との総合を試み、それはクロアチア人やセルビア人の民族的解放をテーマにしていた。彼は新しい南スラヴ人国家の建国運動に参加するものの、現実のユーゴスラヴィア国家のセルビア中心主義に直面して落胆するしかなかった。

一方、構造社の中心メンバー3人の彫刻家だが、それぞれに社会との関係に違いがある。その3人

とは、脱アカデミズムの東洋的天才＝陽咸二、社会観がエモーショナルだった日名子実三、独特のアカデミズムと良心の芸術家＝斎藤素巖である。そして日名子は戦時中国家に協力し、終戦の直前に死去した。一方斎藤は戦争を生き延びたものの戦争に協力したことを悔いることになる。

今日メシュトロヴィチの夢をどう再評価するか、それ以上に構造社の夢と苦悩をどうわれわれが受け止めるか、その点について最後に述べてみたい。

本稿は、国家を超えた思想と文化の交流、そして日本社会と美術の関係性を、彫刻また建築の表現活動を通して考察した一つの試論である。

The synthesis of sculpture and architecture: In the service of society or the state?

To say that the Croatian artist Ivan Meštrović and the sculptors of the Kozosha group shared the same dream is to express their desire to and their accomplishment in synthesizing sculpture and architecture. This is not to break the traditional divisions among the arts, but to join these disciplines so that a new art can permeate all levels of society. At the beginning of the 20th century, this dream was common to both Central Europe (especially in Vienna) and Japan. In this paper, I consider the relationship of the individual and the group to that common dream. Forming the background of the connection between the Expressionism of the Viennese and the Japanese were Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962) and the Secession movement. In Japan, their influence led to the formation of the sculpture society Kozosha.

Let's take a look at what is written about Meštrović and Kozosha in the *Japanese Encyclopedia* and in the *Encyclopedia of Japanese Fine Art* on the Internet.

Ivan Meštrović (1883 – 1962)

Meštrović, with the financial support of a benefactor paying for his education, goes to Vienna at the age of seventeen. Hermann Helmer and Otto Wagner teach him there. He became associated with the Secessionist movement under the influence of the latter. Combustible patriot, he made many memorial monuments that united sculpture and architecture; he is considered to be the Yugoslav Michelangelo (Shunyu Mitamura, Japanese Encyclopedia, Shogakukan).

The Kozosha society of sculptors

Kozosha refers to a group of sculptors from the prewar period. At the Teiten exhibition organized by the Imperial Academy in September 1926, Sogan Saito and Jitsuzo Hinago not satisfied by the predominant tradition of making only sculptures of naked bodies, exhibited a new style of work in an attempt to synthesize sculpture with architecture. Joining them that same year Kanji Yo exhibits a cubist influence and Art Deco style in abstract sculpture in new urban space as well as in proletarian art.

The appearance of the workers movement and sculptures with current social themes were present. Saito is dedicated to group sculptures, ovulatory forms, ornamentation, and decoration of architecture, monuments, craft design, and commercial art; in other words, he tried to infiltrate sculpture into everyday life.

At the Kozosha Exhibition in 1929, an experimental work was described as a “Co-operation Work.” This was a monumental work on a high architectural level. Inside of that architectural space are exhibited some other objects, such as the incense engraving showing the art of craftsmanship, suggesting that the development of sculpture leads to architecture and craftsmanship. (Gen Adachi, Contemporary Art Leksikon, Ver 2.0, Artscape, DNP Art Communication).

The Japanese secession was related to architecture, specifically to the Society of Secessionist Architects. Relevant in this context is the Memorial Exhibition of Peace that the young architects organized. In 1920, at the Tokyo Imperial University Department of Architecture, six graduates formed the first association to advocate the architecture of modernism; Sutemi Horiguchi, Mayumi Takizawa and Mamoru Yamada were members of particular note.

Though Meštrović and the main members of Kozosha were in different environments, they made a similar effort to overcome traditional barriers in their country. In this sense, both were in the same position. I would like to end with a more detailed overview from today's perspective of Meštrović's

dream, and at the same time our current attitude toward that dream and the challenges of Kozosha. This is not a study of the history of sculpture or art history, but an essay on the exchange of ideology and culture (regardless of national differences and boundaries), and how to look at the connection between Japanese art and society while focusing on the problem of expression in art and architecture.

I. The acceptance of Meštrović, secession and German Expressionism in Japan

1. The Viennese Secession and Japanese acceptance of Meštrović

On August 18, 1915, after the outbreak of the First World War, the cultural section of *Yomiuri*, the Japanese newspaper with the largest circulation, ran an article titled “Rodin and Meštrović.” The article stated that the Meštrović's solo exhibition in London attracted many visitors. The artists working in the academic style critiqued, but for the works of expressionism there were words of praise. “In his works, like a flame of fire, we feel enthusiasm, caused by the burning, rare anger of the people's (collective) memory”¹. Attention should be paid to this mention of an enthusiastic collective memory.

Many studies have been written about the fact that Meštrović acted not only as a Croatian sculptor, but also as a sculptor for all Slavs. My previous article about the Vienna Secession and Meštrović² explored this subject in detail.

The creation of Yugoslavia and Meštrović as the artist of the Slavs

Events in the Slavic states were of great interest to the Japanese, who saw in the struggles of those nations' similarities to their own.

The movement to unite the southern Slavs began after the outbreak of the First World War and grew into a political movement. However, the leaders of the movement disagreed on a resolution. Prime Minister Pašić of Serbia wanted to unite all areas where Serbs lived and provide them with access to the sea; his goal was to create a “Greater Serbia”. In contrast, Croats sought an exit from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This group, with Croatian intellectuals at its center, founded the Yugoslav Committee. They argued for the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the unification of the South Slavs, and they sought to develop good relations with England, France, and Russia. In July 1917, both sides met and crafted the Corfu Declaration, which allowed an independent state to emerge under the Kingdom of the Serbs. While this agreement was intended as a strategic preparation for the creation of a unified state, it was disturbed by the great turmoil that began in the summer of 1918, when it became apparent that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy had ceased to exist³.

In Japan, Meštrović was, at that time, considered a Serbian sculptor because he had exhibited his work at the Serbian Pavilion at the International Art Exhibition in Rome (1911).

The real Yugoslavia, on the other hand, was quite different from what Meštrović had dreamed of. The Treaty of Versailles signed after World War I sought to surround Soviet-Russia with anti-Soviet countries, and the newly created Yugoslavia had chosen the path of centralization of power into Serbia instead of federation and decentralization. The Constitution of the centralist regime was adopted in 1921 on St. Vitus's Day, a date which gives it the name the *Vidovdan Constitution*. From that time, fewer of Meštrović's sculptures had political connotations.

Meštrović's Vidovdan Temple (c.1906-13) consists of a series of monuments to the South Slav victims of the Turkish invasion. The Vidovdan series of sculptures by Meštrović consists of a series of monuments to the South Slav victims of the Turkish invasion. This series is often compared to Franz Metzner's works. Metzner's influence on Meštrović was third in significance after that of the Viennese

Secessionist Gustav Klimt and Rodin, with Rodin he produced and exhibited works for some time. As for the Meštrović's concept of a monumental Vidovdan temple, the resemblance has been pointed out to Metzner's *Slave* (1908). Of course, there are differences, too. The Vidovdan series feels like an awakening closely related to a national consciousness, and Meštrović's expression complements that concept. He does not present a hero, as Metzner does, who lives alone in isolation, but warriors who commiserate and mourn.

Meštrović's expression was largely influenced by Auguste Rodin, Aristide Maillol and Antoine Bourdelle (in that order). However, Rodin's impressionism did not suit the ideological concept of the Vidovdan sculptures; therefore Meštrović turned instead to Metzner's monumentalism. Finally, when Meštrović had mastered Metzner's repertoire, skillfully adapting the Greek elements, the result was the Neo-Slavic style⁴.

In the European world of sculpture at the beginning of the 20th century, Meštrović demonstrated his talent on the basis of secessionism, monumentalism and eclecticism. Meštrović also made his own sculptures distinct from those of other artists by incorporating the expression of "national" identity. Other artists showed nationalist tendencies, but Meštrović's expression of Slav nationalism on the international stage was unprecedented.

Meštrović in Japan: The Early Stages

In Japan, Meštrović's influence dates to just after the First World War. He was first encountered by painters who were traveling through Europe and who visited the international exhibition in Rome and Meštrović's solo exhibition in London. His expressionism and feeling toward the South Slavs particularly attracted the Japanese.

Hakutei Ishii, a Japanese art critic and painter working in European style, saw Meštrović's work at the International Exhibition of Art in Rome in 1911 and rated it highly. He described the work in an art magazine: "His works reflect tremendous power . . . something primitive and at the same time, generous"⁵. Then, in "Novelties in Fine Art", he wrote that Meštrović's solo exhibition in London in 1915 had great resonance in the English art world⁶. Even before that, he wrote several articles on the subject in various newspapers, including *Yomiuri*.

Another painter of the European style, Shinpu Takamura, used most of his travelogue about Europe in the Japanese magazine "Central Art" to acquaint the public with Ivan Meštrović's biography and sculptures. Takamura identified spiritual aspects in *Meštrović's work*: "All his sculptures are of the immortal life of Serbian women"⁷.

2. Meštrović in Japan: growing familiarity and culmination

German Expressionism and young Japanese sculptors

In 1920, the sculptor San Takeda gave a lecture at the Imperial Art School (currently the Tokyo University of Art). He maintained that Meštrović was "the most significant artist after Rodin... at a time...when everything was international in character, he was an artist with a truly strong personality from a small, mountainous, eastern country, and who expressed the core itself, the national temperament"⁸.

Looking at the relationship between Meštrović and Kozosha, we must consider three key moments: the 1920 founding of the "Association of Secessionist Architects," The Memorial Exhibition of Peace in 1922, and a major earthquake in the Kanto area of Tokyo in 1923, of which more will be said in the next chapter.

Association of Secessionist Architects

About the Association, the Encyclopedia of Fine Arts writes (following text is abridged): "At the

Imperial University of Tokyo, the architecture department, six graduates led the movement for modern architecture, the first of its kind in Japan. . . . After 1914, . . . an emphasis was placed on the need for buildings to be earthquake-resistant. As a reaction to this, the Association of Secessionist Architects was founded, which advocated the synthesis of architecture and art and sought new architectural solutions, distinct from traditional styles from the past. Its members (Kikuji Ishimoto, Sutemi Horiguchi, Masao Takizawa, and others) were unique, using forms such as curved lines and curved surfaces under the influence of German Expressionism”⁹.

When I speak of German Expressionism (which can be understood as a reflection of one's emotion in the foreground), I mean here an artistic movement in Germany in the early 20th century, which emerged as a reaction to Impressionism (in which the emotion is depicted as others see it).

It should be noted for the sake of clarity, that, as used in this paper, the term “expressionist” does not exclusively concern the Viennese secession, but instead is used to describe a style broadly practiced in Germany and other European countries; the above-mentioned Association of Secessionist Architects practiced in such a style.

Memorial Exhibition of Peace 1922

After the First World War, the Memorial Exhibition of Peace was held in Ueno (Tokyo). The favorable side of the “foreign” war was the development of capitalism in Japan, the absorption of the labor force from the provinces, and the accelerated concentration of the population in Tokyo that developed at an unprecedented rate. Architect Chuta Ito, the person mainly responsible for the organization of the exhibition space, in order to produce an original architectural structure within that space, gave the task to young members of the Association of Secessionist Architects. It was an unusual case because the young men in charge of the decorative program were more radical than the body of the organization itself.

When they started working on the architectural structure, “under the influence of Secession from the end of the century, a work of a unique style was created, similar to the Expressionism that suddenly appeared in Germany and the Netherlands after World War I, whose basic expression was the parabola”¹⁰. For example, the similarity of the Wedding Tower by J. M. Olbrich and Iketo (Torch in the Garden Fishpond) by Sutemi Horiguchi is evident; also notable were Horiguchi's technical pavilion and the pavilion of electric appliances. The inner space of the latter had no pillars as a support, and its appearance is Expressionist, which made the building an avant-garde structure.



Sutemi Horiguchi: Technical Pavilion and the Pavilion of Electric Appliances. Memorial Exhibition of Peace, 1922.
Source: <https://suzumodern.exblog.jp/17981196/>

Japanese publications on Meštrović

Koyosha, which published works related to architecture, released in 1923 a monograph on Meštrović's sculptures. In 1926, the same publisher issued another monograph, *Ivan Meštrović*, and the publisher *Central Art* (Chuo Bijutsusha) brought out the book “After Rodin.” This series of publications was the culmination of the popularity of *Ivan Meštrović* in the Japanese art scene. The author of *Ivan Meštrović* was Morinosuke Suwa, a man about whom little is known, but since his

approach to the subject is important, we will say a bit more about his work.

Morinosuke Suwa: Ivan Meštrović, Koyosha, 1926.

At the beginning of the book, Suwa discussed the circumstances of a culture that lagged behind the advanced European countries, the culture of a small country, Serbia. From ancient times, harsh natural conditions prevailed in this mountainous area where art had once flourished. Suwa observed, "I cannot help thinking that the fate of this country is very similar to the fate of the Korean state"¹¹. Of course, if we accept the differences in the conditions and the surrounding countries/nations, both countries had a period of artistic flourishing, but it was soon buried in a distant past. Therefore Suwa, speaking of the Balkan countries, compares this area with Korea. "This folk art, legends that have existed since time immemorial, have been destroyed by the vandalism of other nations or by invaders who broke the continuity"¹².

Suwa notes that Meštrović lived in such an area, and that, in the art world, his people Croats and Serbs occupied an important, perhaps the most important, place; Its ending is unclear. It seems to be saying that Meštrović is not concerned with the situation of the Slavs, but this does not seem to be the case. Could it be that, like the wind from the mountains, he carries the message of their plight elsewhere?

According to Suwa, Meštrović was the most important artistic figure in the European art world, but his attitude was of the author who only breathed life into old legends, as had the Italian Renaissance masters. In the obscured consciousness of today, there is a spirit that floats on the surface, striving hard with the true nature of the national spirit. He characterized the spirit as the consciousness of the period of contemporary times, which describes the legends of the Middle Ages and the legends of modernity.

This attitude, Suwa continues, was not influenced by current fashion, but by a longing and compassion for the people who, since ancient times, were bound by the same blood; as he fostered this forgotten world, these people took him to the edge of artistic fascination and determined the focus of his life. That path has become his, and then, nothing was carved deeply, he went step by step along the way.

Suwa considered what influences shaped young Meštrović. Probably the most significant was the knowledge and experience acquired at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna¹³. The memory of boyhood when Meštrović worked as a shepherd was lying somewhere in his subconscious mind, and awakened his longing for the people and their folk spirit. That is why the academic, informal friendship with Rodin, who by that time had gained international fame, and the new movement of Secessionism only suggested the way; Meštrović did not find his own expression in any of these styles. The spirit, a pure expression of youth, formed the author and definitively determined his artistic attitude.

Because of this view on ethnicity and history, Suwa asserted that Meštrović must be considered not a local, but a "national" artist. There was also a group of local artists. They mainly painted Slovenia, famous for its mountain landscapes and beautiful terrain. Unlike Meštrović, these were local artists who aimed only to paint the landscape more accurately. They were naturalists and impressionists. Their way cannot be said to be based on the development of national consciousness; their significance was very different. They arose from the world of French Impressionism. If we call this group local artists, it is appropriate to call Meštrović a "national" artist; "If, in the works of the first group, there is a longing for the earth, in Meštrović's works there was the feeling a longing for blood bonding"¹⁴.

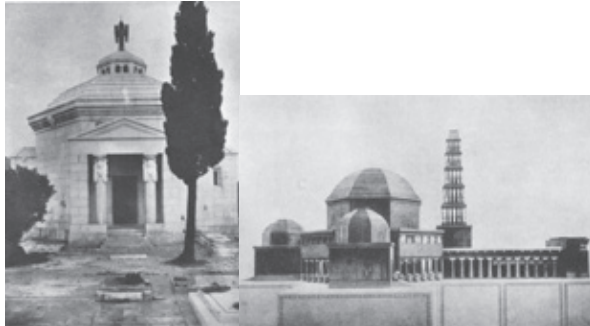
Territory and blood relations were, in fact, the main problem in the creation of Yugoslavia. In the Vidovdan series of Meštrović's sculptures, the blood relation was more important than the territory.

Speaking of Meštrović's architectural achievements, Suwa feels that it is important to point out the tomb of the Račić family in Cavtat. He asserts that everyone will surely feel that, as a whole, it is conceived as an organically harmonious blend of architecture and sculpture. As for expression, his

great ability as a sculptor is evident, but if we look at it analytically, it composed of a material that is characteristic of the area, and in the form of that sculpture, there is perhaps a Yugoslav spirit as well as a religious fervor burning with a strong flame. Suwa's admiration is profound: "It is not too much to say that this merger or harmony is achieved by his mastery" ¹⁵.

Sculptures in his architecture are not mere ornaments but can be viewed individually as authentic and valuable works in themselves. "Indeed, we will not exaggerate even if we say that the merging or synthesizing of sculpture as an ornament of architecture, and sculptures as such, has been achieved in modernity thanks to Meštrović" ¹⁶.

He was an artist, a patriot, and a believer, but at the same time, other religions, as well as the structural characteristics of the works, were of great interest to him. "For example, we find lines of concrete sometimes on the work, he manages to unite them in the end, refined and highly regarded as a material of the art he pursues" ¹⁷.



Ivan Meštrović: Tomb in Cavtat (left, 1922)
Source: Morinosuke Suwa, *Ivan Meštrović*, Tokyo, 1926.

Chikatada Kurata: "After Rodin" (*Chuo bijutsusha*)

Architect Chikatada Kurata was a member of the Association of Secessionist Architects, but he also studied the history of architecture. In "After Rodin," he wrote about Meštrović: "I enjoy the realization of great power and energy in his works. This includes his older work, a sketch for the famous Kosovo Temple, and more recent work in 1922, in Cavtat, near Dubrovnik, where a tomb was completed, in a fusion of sculpture and architecture. In this respect, it has similarities to Metzner" ¹⁸.



Caryatids. A fragment design from Vidovdan temple-to-be 1908
perpetuum-m.blogspot.com

Kurata thought that Meštrović and Metzner deserved an equally high rating, but since Meštrović was little known in Japan, he quoted Sutemi Horiguchi's article from *Contemporary Art* (written six years earlier) about Meštrović's Caryatid:

When I saw Meštrović's work in *Architect* magazine ten years ago, it really surprised me, although I must say I do not love this work this. On both sides of the architectural structure there were several female figures; and at the end of the wall, spun like a spider's net, there was a group of sphinx-like women.

The Greek statues of women I have seen are exceptionally beautiful, but too slender, and they

raise concern about whether they can withstand the weight they bear. However Meštrović's statues were different. Those women with their lowered or lifted arms had a faint expression on their faces as if they were touched and their hearts displayed the anxiety they were trying to escape. This pain, naturally, was reflected on their faces.

The mix of emotions evident in the faces of these characters was not easy to produce. These characters were not easy. It was not the only thing that surprised me. There was another unusual beauty in the architecture. There were many individual sculptures, posed in the group as if on the drama stage. . . . The plan was to establish them in the architectural framework: everyone's face holds a frightening expression, but with organic connections a rhythmic harmony of beauty emerges. Such beauty was often seen in ancient religion. However, here it seemed not so old-fashioned; in the use of the female figure as a bracket, although drawn up in the form of sphinxes, there was not a breath of the style of the old masters¹⁹.

Kurata believed that a common theme ran through Meštrović's large body of work: "In all his works, the local spirit of the Serbian people is expressed, and his eternal pursuit of their country is deeply impressed. When you look at them, you feel the tears and the primitive power that flows out of them like a torrent. No matter how the form is forced and twisted, it only reflects the power of the author's personality"²⁰.

Although both Suwa and Kurata regarded Meštrović's work highly, Suwa seemed to understand it better.

II. The establishment of the sculpture society Kozosha and the attempt to synthesize sculpture and architecture

1. Critics of Teiten academism

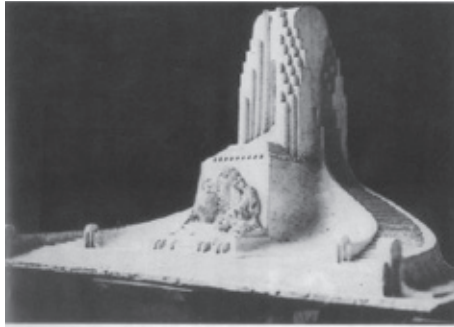
Sogan Saito, working initially as a member of the jury for Bunten, the art exhibition of the Ministry of Education, won the Bunten Prize in 1917 and was a member of the sculpture committee of Teiten, which arose from the defunct Bunten in 1923. His activity in Teiten ended in 1925 with a big break in Teiten, from which he distanced himself, with an objection to the practice of not accepting new talents during internal conflicts.

The direct cause of Saito's break with Teiten in November 1925 was the collapse of the sculpture society Todaichosokai. In 1919, Fumio Asakura assembled the young sculptors of the Imperial Arts graduate school and founded the society. The first exhibition of the society (1921) was concerned with the harmony of nature, of flowers and trees, with sculpture; it attempted to break the conventional model. However, according to Saito, "no small number of those who claim to be artists and work for the glory of fame, or for the need to live"²¹ came to impose their ideas on the group and attack it, thereby dissolving the society. In the background of this conflict, there was another conflict between Fumio Asakura and Uichiro Ogura. This "disagreement among artists characterized by a great deal of difference in attitude towards the social environment"²² should also be taken into account.

In 1927, after Sogan Saito withdrew from Teiten and founded the sculptors' society Kozosha, he said to the readers of an artists' review: "Although it involved many people, the old group lacked scope. Teiten was not capable of anything but a series of very trivial acts"²³. In this way, he wanted to point out the great effort that the group had invested in expelling members like Hinago, Yo, and Ogishima, as well as many other talented artists. Later, within Kozosha, Yo turned to crafts, and Ogishima to commercial art, but in 1923, before its collapse, the sculptors' society Todaichosokai dismissed Yo, arguing that his works had violated its conventions. Ogishima created Japan's first home-made

mannequin by sculptor; it is possible that Asakura felt that it was produced by the artist just to make a living. Only the arrangement of flowers and trees, and consideration of the alignment of sculpture with architecture, were agreed on by Sogan, Hinago, and Asakura; it may have been the last thing they agreed upon.

Hinago sought ways to more freely synthesize sculpture and construction structures and link them to the art of sport; he wanted to make memorials as well as medals for achievements in various fields. In commemoration of an earthquake disaster memorials, Hinago in 1924 released the work in the exhibition for the reconstruction of the metropolis. Sculptors like Hinago and Saito worked on architectural monuments and structures that memorialized various disasters. One of these, Hinago's *Tower of Death* was certainly a true architectural masterpiece. Evident in this model is a relationship with his later work, the tower called *Eight Corners of the World*.



Jitsuzo Hinago: *Tower of Death* (1924)
Source: Toshikazu Hirota, *The World of Jitsuzo Hinago*, Tokyo, 2008, p.34.

2. Establishment of Kozosha and Japanese society

The founding of Kozosha in 1926 was initiated by the academic nonconformists Hinago and Saito, but the immediate triggers were the Memorial Exhibition of Peace and the strengthening of the social consciousness of artists after the major earthquake in Tokyo.

The Memorial Exhibition of Peace after the First World War: architecture and sculpture

Architect Mamoru Nakamura assessed the works in this exhibition(1922) as follows: “Using the knowledge of the architecture of modernism, the young architects have craftily combined architecture and sculpture. This would be a good recipe for future architects and sculptors”²⁴. Saito's critique of statues by Eisaku Hasegawa depicting a man and a woman displayed in a technical pavilion, said: “The wrinkles of cloth and overgrown hair, shaped as in a work by Meštrović, were realized in a simple way,” and added that the work conveyed the power of expression of Meštrović”²⁵.



Eisaku Hasegawa: *Statue of a Man* (1922)
Source: Eisaku Hasegawa, *Introduction to Plastic Art*, Tokyo, 1927, pp. 62-63.

Since that time, new developments had taken place in architecture. At the time, city architecture in Tokyo was in full swing, and suddenly there arose the need for a new attitude toward the architecture, and this tendency was increasingly growing. However, the sculpture was, as before, focused mainly on realistic nudes, portraits, and the like, and did not depart from these borders.

The major earthquake in Tokyo, the establishment of Kozosha and “sculptures for society”

In 1923, a major earthquake occurred in the Kanto area of Tokyo. The construction of temporary barracks that followed was a massive undertaking, and because of this, ornamentation in architecture flourished. In the aftermath of the Korean massacre (In the turmoil of the Earthquake, the Korean Japanese and the people misunderstood as Koreans were killed by the authorities and private vigilant groups. The exact number of victims is unknown. It is estimated that thousand to several thousand people were dead due to these killings), and the case of Osugi (a case in which the police killed a famous anarchist named Sakae Osugi during the disorder resulting from the earthquake), insecurity was widespread among citizens. In these circumstances, artists, regardless of style or age, and themselves concerned about the future, wanted to do what work they could to earn money by using their skills²⁶. However, Hinagao was fascinated by the structural part of the architecture more than the ornament itself, which may be related to the name Kozosha (*Kozo* = structure, *sha* = society). The sculptor and poet Takamura felt that the emphasis should be placed on structure, insisting that Sculpture is made by being structured in his article “Ten clauses of sculpture” (1926); it is very likely that Sogan Saito was familiar with this approach to the concept²⁷.

In 1924, In the Exhibition of Drafts for the Imperial Capital Reconstruction, Hinago began working on the architecture of the *Tower of Death*; and Saito's Tomb, exhibited in 1923 at the 2nd Exhibition of Todaichosakai Tokyo, showed a clear focus on architecture. Finally, Saito and Hinago, fighting for the synthesis of architecture and sculpture, founded the Kozosha in 1926. In his article “Sculpture as Applied Art” (1928), Saito advocates the ideology of Kozosha and is critical of the attitude towards standard education which provided only limited knowledge of the fusion of architecture and sculpture to the sculptors; he also felt that the making of medals was neglected.

The text of Saito's manifesto is long; it is summarized with a list of salient points.

As a matter worth considering, applied sculpture in Japan has developed incorrectly. Half the guilt can be attributed to the teachers of art because it lies in their mistakes.

Simply put, the work of sculpture abroad is acquired by making copies of classical works, or of masters' works from the period of modernism. It is a study of the human body as it is in Japan, but access to the themes and modeling methods reveals a degree of opacity which makes the Japanese approach different. Such access is marked by a noticeable connection with architecture, a composition which involves not only sculptures on the theme of naked bodies, but also statues with clothes. Such compositions, because of the folds in the clothing, individual styles, as well as group sculptures, give the artists a headache (.....), and these issues must be addressed.

What remains to us is the work on the curved surfaces and the relief, as well as any type of direct contact with the architectural ornamentation — that, is, woodwork, because this is a beginner's step toward casting — but I thought, of course, also of metal sculpture. By studying the variety of materials, the young sculptor asks which of them best suits their needs — and continues to work with it when he chooses.

In Japan only the modeling of the naked body has been done. There has been no learning about or working in other kinds of compositions—or, more precisely, there have been no experts who could convey such knowledge. If someone had mastered the necessary knowledge, they could sculpt the body . . . Due to lack of knowledge in making ornaments, however, it would not be possible to make a sculpture that looked like a work of art by tastefully applying ornaments.

The best examples are the statues of Teiten that sadly prove the point. They wander in vain, the eyes of society turned away from them. Their destiny is that they will soon be forgotten and dismissed.(.....)

Stuttering talents that would otherwise be without limit, correcting their “curse” and forcing them into a uniform mold, seems to advocate for general human weakness²⁸.

The Kozosha’s slogan should also be taken into account: “Sculpture as Applied Art,” which was one of the goals in a system that aimed for structure.

3. Kozosha: co-operative work, different from Vienna's secessionists

Both Tokyo and Vienna aimed for the successful synthesis of architecture and sculpture, and both had in common the search for a topic suitable for this synthesis.

At the 23rd exhibition of Viennese secessionists, praises were bestowed on Max Klinger's memorial sculpture *Beethoven*; it was considered the most successful piece.



Max Klinger: *Beethoven* (1902)

source: <https://www.google.co.jp/url?sa=i&source=images&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjx9MbJg6nbAhVHV7wKHfU4Aw4QjB16BAgBEAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.medienkunstnetz.de%2Fworks%2Fbeethoven%2F&psig=AOvVaw3YdIYXqPWWOfT-dl-iXxeV&ust=1527618244531741>

Klinger was both a sculptor and an art theorist, and he wrote not only about each individual work but also about the circumstances, with an accent on the situation surrounding artistic creation. His texts were included in the exhibition catalog²⁹. One theorist observed: “Klinger would accept nothing less than ideal conditions for the emergence of a memorial work of art”³⁰. However, the work can be evaluated in a number of ways: first, at the level of synthesis with the material itself; second, in considering the role of space as a shrine; and finally, as a synthesis with other artistic fields, such as music³¹.

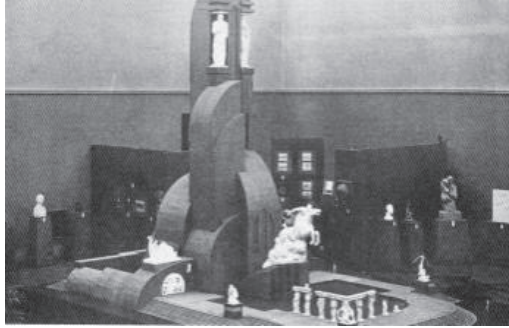
About the experimental work of Kozosha, Chikatada Kurata, the architect and author of “After Rodin”, said that it was only superficial ornamentation; there was no idea within it that would point to architecture and require a better, and deeper understanding of this area. This view has a place in the ideology of rationalist modernism. On the other hand, Kenji Imai, an architect familiar with the situation in northern Europe, thought of the Kozosha artists differently: “The Kozosha Society is really trying to understand the development process of architecture”³². In Sweden in those years, the focus was on traditional and cultural circumstances; therefore the architecture developed in a national-romantic style. In other words, from the point of view of modern rationalism, Kozosha's experimental work was described as trivial, while in Romanticism, distanced from rationalism, “progressive enthusiasm” was observed.

Indeed, among the main sculptors of Kozosha, different aspirations can be seen. The oriental spirit was apparent in the first experimental work of Kanji Yo, in the 3rd Kozosha exhibition; “His search for an Asian style involved understanding the architecture of Chuta Ito”³³. In the 4th Kozosha exhibition, Hinago presented a work that involved a “high number of curved surfaces reminiscent of Viennese and

Japanese secessionist styles, specifically recalling the work of Mamoru Yamada”³⁴.

At the 3rd Kozosha exhibition, Saito, Yo and Hinago set up an entrance to what was called the Temple of Art (with birds and flowers at the top and a shield of evil on either side, as in a real temple). The critic Hidenobu Kamiizumi praised the work, comparing it to *Beethoven*, yet he also offered frank criticism: “The harmony of architecture and sculpture cannot be expected without a clear definition of themes. There has to be an understanding of the separate ideas before harmony can occur”³⁵.

In contrast, the sculpture *The Age of Athletics*, the “synthesis” work from the 4th exhibition, successfully expressed the popularity of athletics during that era³⁶.



The synthesized work of the 4th exhibition, *The Age of Athletics* (1930)
Source: Catalogue of the Exhibition of Kozosha, Tokyo, 2005.

The artists of Kozosha chose a rich topic and built a monumental structure on the theme. The work involved supporting pillar-like figures, wall surfaces embellished with relief, etc.; the job was divided and worked in sections. For this reason, according to one critic, a lack of coherence and strength was evident³⁷. In practice, it was more difficult to make multiple authors, with different personalities, act as one than had been predicted. This project marked the end of the co-operative work. At the 5th exhibition of Kozosha, the term “co-operation” was changed to “synthesized work.” According to Hinago, “We were advancing a step further than the experimental period. Now the same work will be done in the same way by two or three, or just one author”³⁸. They continued to create collaborative work, but within a smaller range, and the dynamism was lost. There was no more of what seemed the very essence of the joint work. The problem was not in choosing the style of a common theme, whether, for example, the work should be based in rationalism or romance, but in the financial nature of the endeavor (which will be later discussed).

III. Later development of Kozosha: differences the sculptors had with the people and the state

In the period of Japanese history from the end of the First World War (1918) and the beginning of the Second World War (1941), there is a kind of gap. After the First World War, Japan experienced a military-economic boom. However, just over 20 years later, before the beginning of the Second World War, the survival of the state was in danger.

From Kozosha, founded in 1926, its sculptor's branch separated in 1944.

The Kozosha, whose activity had become more focused on society than on the state, came under the influence of the state again when it turned 18 years old. Among its members were people serving the state.

The discussion now turns to the movement of Kozosha from the overall point of view of Japanese art, and to the experience of the Kozosha founders, Sogan Saito and Jitsuzo Hinago, as it had evolved over 18 years. To understand these changes better, we will look at the works of Kanji Yo and their connection with the work of Ivan Meštrović.

1. Rodin's influence: academism and relationship with society; movements in Kozosha

The end of the First World War marked a turning point in Japanese sculpture. Rodin had died in 1917, but his attitude toward sculpture had a lasting impact on Japan. After returning from his studies in France, a sculptor and poet Kotaro Takamura translated from French and published the book *Rodin's Words* (1916), and by 1920 he had published a sequel. The book soon became “a kind of bible for young people interested in sculpture”³⁹.

There were movements in the Kanten (the state exhibition), as well as in non-government associations. In 1919, one year after the end of the First World War, the Bunten (exhibitions under the auspices of the Ministry of Education) changed its name to Teiten (exhibitions under the auspices of the Imperial Institute of Art), and there were many new faces within the jury. One of them, Taimu Tatehata, became a professor at the Art School in Tokyo in 1920. The next year at the same school, Fumio Asakura and Seibo Kitamura arrived as new faculty. “It was a period of mature expression for all three sculptors; they were involved with the Kanten and were still part of the mainstream power that rested its ideology on solid sculptures of the gullible human body”⁴⁰.

However, fierce confrontations would later occur within the group. There were three types of conflicts. The first, personal in nature, the confrontations occurred between Fumio Asakura's group and others. The second involved a conflict of opinions about the importance of sculpture versus the plastic arts and about which deserved priority. The third was a generational conflict. Such disruptions in the main currents of sculpture would influence the establishment of Kozosha.

At this point, although not directly related to Kozosha, there were other, non-governmental associations such as Nihon-bijutsu-in, Nika-kai, and Kokugo-kai. Rodin's influence on them was great. The artistic spirit flowed from Rodin to Bourdelle, and within these streams, the Japanese attitude and understanding of modern sculpture was created. Apart from Rodin's influence, the tendency to associate with “the natural aspects of the world” also contributed to the Japanese attitude. This was, in turn, complementary to the rich Japanese tradition of Buddhist sculptures. However, the question of whether Japanese sculpture should “limit itself only to such traditional tendencies”⁴¹ arose. In Japan, for example, the idea of abstract expressionism in sculpture only took shape after the Second World War. Consideration should be given to the possibility that even in the pre-war period, there was no trend close to abstract expressionism in Japan since there was no understanding that the human body could be the conceptual basis for sculpture.

Movements within Kozosha

In 1932, on the first day of Kozosha's 6th exhibition, Sogan Saito, a leading man, pulled out of the group. From that time, on Kozosha, which hitherto had been secure in its organization and prosperity, began to burst at the seams. Saito's withdrawal was of a financial nature, because he had taken on the responsibility of all the expenses. Later, because of internal conflict, three more members withdrew: Jitsuzo Hinago, Miezo Shimizu, and Sadayuki Ameda. After that, a decision was made that Kozosha be temporarily disbanded; renamed the “New Society of Kozosha”. The following year Saito returned, and the Society was again called Kozosha.

In 1935, in relation to Saito's return to Teiten, Kozosha became confused and began to fall apart. The very fact that the man who first rebelled against academism, who had founded Kozosha and raised it to an enviable level, had “returned” to academism, shocked the members of Kozosha. Kozosha's public announcement concerning the matter read as follows:

In May of this year (1935) there was reorganization at the Imperial Academy, and Sogan Saito was elected the new member of Teiten. However, it happened when Teiten, which found itself in

the blind street, in cooperation with other non-governmental associations and with the consent of the government, tried to reorganize itself, and that did not in any way mean that Kozosha had changed his present concept and attitudes, wanted to confirm its former critical appeal to Imperial Academy⁴².

Soon, however, the sculpture department, engaged in disagreements with various members of Kozosha (Saito, Yo, Saburo Hamada and others) found itself in a serious situation.

Finally, although there were only ten members in the art department, Saito's relationship with it became more complicated, which ultimately led to a division into two departments: the department of sculptors and the department of artists.

From the department of art, the "New Society of Kozosha," which still exists today, was formed in 1936. The sculptor's department held their own exhibitions and was finally disbanded in 1944.

The best period of Kozosha's work was "the time when it produced the syncretic works and the fusion of sculpture and craft works, and when Hinago was still working (until 1932) — when Kozosha was in the startup period"⁴³. In 1935, as Saito accepted the duty of Teiten reform (the so-called "Matsuda Reform"), Kozosha lost its most important member; that was a great turning point for the group. Saito had gathered the best artists, on the other hand, from those whose works are not handed over to the jury, quashed the qualification for exposure without testing. Saito, however, just wanted to train sculptors in a position where they could operate independently. He did not complain about the Imperial Academy itself.

Kozosha made some impact in its effort to synthesize sculpture and architecture. This work started with that group, and it ended with it as well, without expanding. In the thirties of the twentieth century, Le Corbusier appeared, and with him a new modernist architecture. Because of the simplicity of city centers and squares, there was no longer a need for sculptures or architectural decoration. As one historian noted, "It does not matter whether their work was successful or not, but thanks to their work, Kozosha gave the sculpture world of its time a new consciousness"⁴⁴.

2. Kanji Yo: Early influence and later deviation from Meštrović

Yo was born in 1898 in Tokyo; his ancestor was a translator with China. His work at the Bunten exhibition in 1918 received an award from the first Teiten exhibition; beginning in 1919, he received an award for several years in a row. In 1922 he received special recognition. One critic of the time saw in his work the influence of Meštrović: "The carving is very effective, in the function of ornaments and without excessive loss of material. Among European artists, we could compare him to the Serbian sculptor Ivan Meštrović, whose influence is felt . . . in the simplicity and power of expression, a direct sense of size, and appropriate application of technique; there is nothing left to wish for"⁴⁵. The critic adds, "Yo did not pay too much attention to the details, but wanted to give his sculpture life, breathe its spirit and stay as simple as possible."

During the sixth Teiten exhibition in 1925, in his work *Three Unemployed*, he exhibited curves in the Art Nouveau style. This is seen later in *Salome* (1928), but in terms of the minimal use of details, there is no change. "Abandoning to put the volume nature at the core of the work, it was exhibited with elegant rounded lines that are exposed on the surface, and he invested a lot of effort to make it smooth"⁴⁶. When Yo resolved the doubts about volume, says art critic Masayoshi Honma, it brought to light the true beauty of the work. *Salome*, the legs still have a thick sense of volume, but the whole is rather elongated stretching too thin⁴⁷.

The legs still have a thick sense of volume, but the whole is rather elongated stretching too thin.

Yo's *Salome* can be usefully compared to the thematically identical piece by Ivan Meštrović. While Meštrović uses the volume to express the sad destiny of his people in his works, for Yo volume does



Ivan Meštrović: *Salome* (1914)

Source: https://www.google.co.jp/url?sa=i&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=images&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwiB_N_04dXZAhXPQpQKHT3YAjEJjR6BAGAEAY&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.fine-arts-museum.be%2Fnl%2Fde-collectie%2Fivan-mestrovic-salome&psig=AOvVaw3dBcJQAXfske1i3MeOYDWD&ust=1520359303634262



Yo Kanji: *Salome* (1928)

Source: <https://www.google.co.jp/url?sa=i&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=images&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwi308Gd49XZAhXEnpQKHRHhBvoQjRx6BAGAEAY&url=http%3A%2F%2Farchive.fo%2FKXrfa&psig=AOvVaw2hMYFVZgbsrlwmzromAwFB&ust=1520359653406360>

not serve to express a feeling (like mourning), and he rejects it for such purposes⁴⁸. By adding decorative elements in Art Deco style to an organic, inwrought, curved, Art Nouveau line, a type of form upon which Japanese art is originally based, and by playing with a combination of ornament and flat surfaces, Kanji Yo introduced a Japanese phrase to a Western theme and created an unusual and original sculpture⁴⁹.

In terms of the significance of volume, it is certain that Yo departs from Meštrović. However, the artists shared views on the quest for national expression and on those characteristic elements of the Czech and Croatian artists of the Secessionist movement. (As we will mention later, Jitsuzo Hinago also sought a national expression.)

In comparing Yo with Meštrović, a posthumous letter to Yo from a fellow artist is revealing. In 1935, due to respiratory organ disease, Kanji Yo died at 37 years of age. Saburo Hamada, a Kozosha “comrade” who himself was influenced by Maillol and Meštrović, wrote Yo: “Your realistic style, in conjunction with the essential nature of the sculpture, creates your characteristic oriental style. . . . From the 'West and East,' or more precisely, Edo-style, an intricate symphony is created under your baton”⁵⁰.



Kanji Yo: *Incarnation of Buddha* (1929)

Source: http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-05ZIHueU7tI/UaH8bM_8F2I/AAAAAAAAAMU/mXT2w09xeSs/s1600/kanji.jpg

3. Jitsuzo Hinago during the Second World War

Jitsuzo Hinago was born in 1893 in Oita. In 1918 he enrolled in the Tokyo Art School, and finished as the best in his class; in 1919 he participated in the Teiten exhibition. His work did not receive the prize. Later, his work was recommended for Teiten and was exhibited without a jury examination.

Hinago, who had retired from Kozosha in 1932, returned to Teiten in 1933 when Asakura was away, but when Asakura returned to Teiten in 1935, Hinago, under the slogan “Down with the academic style!” ousted the Daisan-bukai association. The hostility he felt toward Asakura lasted throughout his life. It is assumed that “Hinago could not satisfy Asakura's naturalistic realism, nor did such a style correspond to his character”⁵¹. However, the conflict between Asakura and Hinago was, in fact, a conflict both of generations and of their efforts to find their own artistic style. Later, in opposition to Teiten and Asakura, the tower of *Eight Corners of the World*, Hinago's representative work, was installed on the square (today's Heiwadai-koen Park in Miyazaki city) or public space as a public art piece⁵².

Of significance in the period between 1926, the year Kozosha was established, and 1932, when Hinago withdrew from the organization, and in the years until his death in 1945, is Hinago's characteristically emotional approach to society and to the people. Even in 1925, he organized an exhibition of plastic art for the “proletariat”⁵³. In 1940, he constructed a monumental object that he used to speak to the world about the origin of the Japanese state.

His attitude towards society was consistent and simple. He believed that “If we try to reach up and straight out of the world, and yell from the top of our lungs, this will certainly bring us salvation,” and “Because of the sufferings we have experienced, we should not be bitter to people, but be true to ourselves and re-examine our actions; I think that is at all times an invaluable law”⁵⁴.

It seems that Hinago had a consciousness of the oriental spirit. The period of his life between 1927 and 1929 was spent in Europe. He said, “I wanted to come here. I do not just spend time watching and learning about Europe, but also seeing what the Japanese would notice in Europe. When I lived in Japan, I was not aware of the beauty of Japanese expression, but in Europe I understood it. Europe was in blind alley, looking for the oriental in both ideology and art. . . . Japan now occupies the highest place in science and art”⁵⁵. However, his letters from Europe did not mention much about “Asia” except Japan.

The power of Hinago's expression can be seen still today in the symbol that he designed for the Japanese Football Club in 1931. It is not known exactly why a simplified rendering of a holy raven from an old legend was chosen as a symbol.



Jitsuzo Hinago: *Symbol of the Japanese Football Club* (1931)
Source: <https://matome.naver.jp/odai/2140144631575047101>

Hinago did not explain his choice of imagery. There are three interpretations; the first is that the design is meant as a sign of respect for Kakunosuke Nakamura, the founder of the first soccer club in Japan; a holy three-legged raven appears on the great temple in Nachi, Nakamura's hometown. According to a second interpretation, when the Emperor Jinmu attacked the eastern provinces, a three-legged raven showed the way. According to the third interpretation, in Chinese classical literature a three-legged raven is the sun god, and thus this figure represents the sun. The meanings of the three-legged raven are multiple: it is a symbol of the birthplace of the first soccer club in Japan, the formation of the state, and the Japanese affinity to the Chinese classics.

In 1931, the Japanese Kanto army occupied all of Manchuria (the northeastern part of China). Six years later, in July 1937, an incident occurred at Roongdo Bridge that marked the beginning of the Japanese-Chinese war. Hinago, and, as we will see later, Saito, found themselves in a difficult position.

The following text is Hinago's article published in the newspaper Yomiuri in 1940, one year before the Pacific War broke out:

Historically, plastic arts that flourished in the first half of the 8th century and in the Tokugawa era (1600-1867) degenerated, but at the beginning of the Meiji era (1867–1912) they were revived. This was because the Japanese, thanks to European concept and expression, succeeded in bringing art to a rather enviable level. However, since France was the center of plastic arts, the change came by way of the direct import of French art, from molding to ideology.

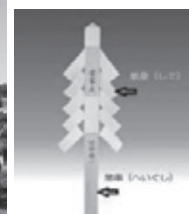
That's why today's Japanese carving and engraving suffers. . . . Famous artists create for their own glory, as it is today, they should create because of their people When we talk about national art, it is necessary, clearly, to move away from the exposure of naked bodies at exhibitions. Let us put into the sculpture the awareness of Japanese art and transfer it to future generations⁵⁶.

In that same year, he had constructed the tower called *Eight Corners of the World*. According to Hinago's own statement⁵⁷, this construction was raised on the occasion of a commemorative ceremony in Miyazaki Prefecture for the 2,600 year anniversary of the foundation of Japan, with the aim being to show the spirit of *hakko-ichiu* (which literally means eight corners of the world, with a sense of under one roof, suggesting universal brotherhood) to be immortalized in a large building as a place for spiritual exercises for the imperial nation. As for the form, Hinago heaped shields (to defend the Emperor, as mentioned in the *Nihon-shoki*, the oldest Japanese chronicle) and imitated heihaku (paper or silk ribbons offered as gifts to the gods). There are four signs on the front: *hak-ko-ichi-u* (eight-corner-one-home), and there are four deities fashioned in pottery: the deities of soldiers, fishermen, farmers, and tradesmen (each 4.5m in height).

Katsuroku Aikawa, then governor of Miyazaki Prefecture, would later comment on the construction of the tower, “These are the words that Jimmu, throning the Emperor at the temple of Kashihara in Nara, said: Eight corners of the world hold one roof, the home, the whole world”⁵⁸. The governor invited architects to submit plans for a recreation of the tower. Hinago answered the call, and according to Aikawa, said to him, “It would be a great honor if I could design the governor's architectural idea, a bigger honor than to become a member of the Academy of Art. I do not need any reward, just let me do it”⁵⁹.



Jitsuzo Hinago: *Eight Corners of the World* (1940)
Source: <http://www.miyazaki-city.tourism.or.jp/tourism/spot/20.html>



Heihaku



Jitsuzo Hinago: 4 deities on the *Eight Corners of the World*
Source: <https://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/pasokondaisukiyo/14907949>

Today, it is necessary to take great care with the interpretation and use of the phrase *hak-ko-ichi-u*, because the image of “militarism” and “aggression” are too strongly adhered too much to the word, after the war it is forbidden to use from the GHQ in official document.

It would not be fair to simply criticize Hinago on the basis of today's values. Even if he did not agree with the Japanese attitude of conquering the world, he could not oppose it at that time. The problem, in particular, is that the structure consisted of “stone for building, purchased from various provinces (2,000 pieces) and stones from China”⁶⁰. In recent times, representatives of the National Museum of the Japanese Invasion Resistance in Nanking came to Japan with a claim for damages. It can be understood that within the construction are stones donated from Taiwan and Korea, at that time Japanese colonies, and even from America, because its involvement in the war had not yet begun. However, from China, with whom Japan was currently waging war, is it at all likely that the stones were donated?

In fact, directives on the procurement of stones from China came from defense minister Seishiro Itagaki, who commanded the governor of Miyazaki as follows: “each division should take two pieces, one near the field encampment, and the other from the first queues of the boundary line of the still uninhabited area”⁶¹. The defense minister told the troop commander to send him “the rocks from the battle front.”

Hinago himself mentioned the use of Chinese stones in the monument but offered no reflection on it.

Sogan Saito

Sogan Saito was born in Tokyo in 1889. In 1912, he completed Tokyo Art School and became a professor in a local school. After his father's death he went to Europe and studied sculpture. He did not go to France, where there were many sculptors from Japan at that time. Instead he went to the more traditional environment of England.

Aesthetics of the “traditionalist” (realism and romance)

Saito was 25 years old when he left Kobe in September 1913; the war broke out shortly afterward. Until he returned to Japan in 1916, he studied sculpture at the Royal Academy in London. It is not exactly known why he chose England, but in one of his articles, he writes: “It does not mean that I am particularly attached to the past; however, in my works there are elements that are not seen as contemporary”. At the time, most artists who left Japan to study in Europe went to France; however, Saito's rebellious nature prompted him to go to school in England, and for this reason he was considered to be a traditionalist.

In England, he studied sculpture with Henry Alfred Pegram (1862-1937). Pegram was one of the leading artists working in the new tendency of sculpture during the second half of the 19th century until the First World War, and his influence left a strong mark on young Saito. The new sculpture tendency was not a specific style, but was instead a liberation from the traditional and at the same time a search for a new style and expression⁶². This adjustment of approach brought a touch of freshness to the traditional scene. The dominant style in sculpture was realism, but also important was using sculpture as an architectural ornament where one model was used to make multiple copies of identical shapes, which made it interesting in a commercial sense. Additionally, aluminum, a material with novel properties for sculpture, was added to classical media during this period⁶³.

When Saito returned to Japan, he saw exhibitions that contained only naked female figures whose authors found inspiration in the European traditions of the past. He realized that this style of the past not only implied a tradition, but that the narrative was suggestive of romance⁶⁴. The Thais sculpture template (1929) derived from his favorite novel, a romance by Anatole France.



Sogan Saito: *Thais*(1929)
Source: Exhibition of Kozosha



Sogan Saito: *Thais* (fragment)
Source: http://www.city.kodaira.tokyo.jp/bijyutsu/002/images/img_2438_1_1.jpg.html

The most common criticism of Saito's works, at the time when he was in Kozosha until 1940, related to his “relationship with academism.” Saito's “stone carvings” which was supposed to be in the Teiten exhibition, was instead exhibited in Kozosha, and “Down with academics!” was his slogan. In fact, at least at the time when he founded Kozosha, Saito did not oppose academism either by style or by ideology⁶⁵. In the essay “Memories of 15 Years” (1939), he said, “Because I did not reject academism, there is no doubt that the rebellious spirit is thin in my way of life”⁶⁶. The reason for his denial of Teiten was its scope; he felt that the content had become too broad. Because of this, it cannot be said that Saito's academism is identical to Teiten's academism.

It is thought that modern Japanese sculpture achieved “Rodinism,” an expression of the inner life of man, without approaching it through the “academic” way. It has been claimed that there was no “academism” in Japan. However, a different opinion existed when Fumio Asakura became a professor at the Tokyo Art School, and his former students stayed in Teiten, reorganized from Bunten.

A style like that of the Tokyo Art School or Teiten may have been the first Japanese academic style. However, Saito, who thoroughly studied Western sculpture in England was technically pure, although his subject matter was a bit eccentric. His work even passed through a stage of realism. If so, the “academism that Saito had brought” could be “the first academism that appeared in Japan”⁶⁷. Certainly, Saito's academism played an important role during the war. In the war period, Saito had an

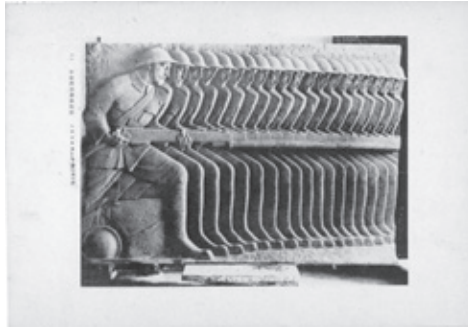


Sogan Saito: *Statue of Korekiyo Takahashi* (1940)
Korekiyo Takahashi (1854-1936) was Minister of Finance six times. When he tried to reduce the military budget, he angered the army. The young army officers rebelled and killed him in 1940.
Source: http://www.city.kodaira.tokyo.jp/bijyutsu/002/images/img_2414_1_1.jpg.html



Sogan Saito: Medal of East Asian Sport Festival on the occasion of a commemorative ceremony for the 2,600-year anniversary of the foundation of Japan (1940)

Source: http://prewar-sculptors.blogspot.jp/2013/01/blog-post_26.html



Ivan Meštrović: *In Memory of War Heroes*, relief (1918)

Source: The Collection of Statues of Meštrović, Tokyo, 1923)

The Saito's Medal could be influenced by the Meštrović's relief, if we see how they expressed a group.

active attitude towards war art, but, as he wrote in a 1944 article that appeared in Yomiuri, “regardless of any other aspects of war art, it is important that it be a true work of art — and it requires, of course, time and purpose”⁶⁸.

Kozosha was disbanded during the austerity imposed by the war in 1943 — and Saito, besides being the director of the Nihonbijutsuhoukokukai (an organization created to support the militaristic regime) sculpture department, worked as a controller of sculpture materials. After the war, Saito exhibited at the 1st Nitten exhibition *Return to Life (War, Hunger, Return to Life)*; at the 2nd exhibition, he exhibited the anti-war sculpture *We Throw Weapons*. It is important to recall that “in the postwar period (and after the Japanese defeat), it was not easy to deal with such issues”⁶⁹.



Sogan Saito: *We Throw Weapons* (1946)

Source: http://www.city.kodaira.tokyo.jp/bijyutsu/002/images/img_2402_1_1.jpg.html

Kozosha in the 21st century

The first provincial exhibition introducing Kozosha to contemporary audiences was held in Utsunomiya in 2005 (and later in several other provinces), and Kozosha, which was almost forgotten, was once again brought to the attention of the public. Following is a summary of comments by after the exhibition. They pointed out the historical role of Ivan Meštrović and Kozosha again, suggesting a

relationship between both of them:

Let's focus on the spread of Art Deco, which began with the International Art Exhibition held in Paris in 1925, and with other such trends in Europe and America.

In the development of modern Japanese sculpture, it is often only the influence of French sculpture that is considered, but we must not overlook the fact that it was the Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović, a sculptor who noticed the connection of sculpture with architecture and developed architectural and sculptural work, who was widely known and revered.

Even a group of sculptors called "Todaichosokai" (headed by Asakura),tried to arrange the exhibition space for plants, like a garden, and afterward the sculptors were interested in setting sculpture to create relationships within the space. In fact, from the 1920's to the 1930's, architects gained jobs making ornaments; even the demand for reliefs increased.In Kozosha's 3rd exhibition (1929) a huge monument entitled *Synthetic Work*, was created by the collaboration of all its members; this innovative work was the first-seen of its kind.⁷⁰

As we have already seen, it seems that, apart from a connection to Meštrović as an individual, there had been a connection between Kozosha on the one hand and German Expressionism, the Society of Secessionist Architects and the ideological concept of the Memorial Exhibition of Peace on the other. It should be noted that at a time when Japanese architects focused on a culture that was in a state of rest, similar to that of Korea and of the Balkan Peninsula, the sculptor Ivan Meštrović appeared. Then the Japanese attitude towards Asia changed. Judging from the strict criticism given to Hinago's *Eight Corners of the World*, it can be seen that in the first half of the 20th century, Japan changed its attitude to other East Asia cultures.

According to this strict criticism, Japan was no longer looking at the "Great Asia" that they had ruled and waged war on for 15 years. The term "Japanese vital line *Seimei-Sen*," within the edges of northeastern China or Manchuria, had always followed the country's vision of the future in areas outside of Japan proper. In the fully colonized countries, there was no shadow of this country of the future, in literature, art, Korean modern art, and above all, a surprisingly small number of art about cities.

An art historian observed in an art magazine (1997) that Japan was probably about to make Korea "its rural province," and perhaps he was right. To be able to modernize and go through intensive urbanization, Japan had to have a hinterland, and for that role, the best environment was that of the Korean people, people with an old cultural tradition. The Japanese language, as well as the costumes in Korean folk art, for example, could coexist with Japanese superiority and nostalgia⁷¹.

Even before Morinosuke Suwa compared Korea to the Balkan countries, praising Meštrović as an innovative sculptor/reformist, Meštrović's cavern in Cavtat was seen as an organically harmonious blend of architecture and sculpture; this comparison, then, implied that Korea also had the possibility of change. In 1926, the idea had certainly been considered in the architectural world.

The new state of the art, the movement toward the synthesis of sculpture and architecture, evolved in Europe. This development, however, followed the awareness of complex relationships and differences between nations and cultures. In that sense, it can be said that the real representative of the movement was Meštrović, the Croatian Rodin. Kanji Yo learned a lot from Meštrović; therefore, in his work, he, an expert on Chinese culture, added something oriental. Saito, thanks to his academism, continued to work during the war, but after that, he sometimes became aware of the activity during the war. Hinago, dominated by the desire to create, created a cultural monument for his country; however, as he did not object to the collection of stones from embattled China, his modernism may seem to be compromised by nationalism.

In considering the role of the architect/sculptor at the time of Kozosha's dissolution, it becomes

clear that the exchange of opinions and culture that once crossed the border diminished, while at the same time the relationship between Japanese society and art became homogenous. These two were, in my opinion, inextricably linked. In order to record the characteristics of the whole Kozosha group, it is necessary to extend the problem not only to the problem of attitudes to other ethnic groups but also to the war itself.

IV After Kozosha

Ten years after the provincial exhibition of Kozosha, a book entitled *War and Art* was published, co-authored with Akihisa Kawada, in which it is observed that it was important to understand the contexts of the “synthesized work” of Kozosha:

How the sculpture should be related to the urban environment, how it should be placed within that environment, to find an expression that goes beyond the individual and becomes the group's; on the other hand, attention should be drawn to the fact that such radical exploration was, in fact, supportive of the militaristic regime, as evidenced later in the war with the *Eight Corners of the World*⁷².

If that criticism is correct, however, it only applies to Hinago, not to the entire Kozosha group. Kanji Yo and Ogishima (and some others) had already died in the war period, and in terms of Saito's work depicting Takahashi, we cannot necessarily claim that the artist supported the militaristic regime.

According to Akihisa Kawada, the Japanese-style painter Taikan Yokoyama and the Western painter Tsuguharu Fujita, both renowned practitioners of their style, co-operated in the execution of the war, and the newspapers *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* published war pictures as well. In that sense, co-operation in the war was not a problem only of artists individually, but also of the art world as a whole. Looking at the relationship between art and society for the period of the First and Second World Wars, it will be clear to us that it has changed greatly. Arguments presented by the art historian Akihisa Kawada are illuminating in this regard.

Beginning in the middle of the third and throughout the fourth decade of the last century, great changes, both politically and socially, took place. The towns were bright and colorful, but underneath the surface was a bad economic situation that led to strikes. The main “face” of the time was definitely no longer an elite handful of people, but an already impersonal, overwhelming mass. Theoreticians of art were aware that art was left somewhere in the background. The changes in the art world began with the left-wing block, followed by the folk-art movement and the search for beauty in the products of nameless craftsmen. In such a restless and changing period, Kozosha, the society of sculptors, was born. Besides Kozosha, there were artists who did not exhibit at exhibitions but were caught up in wall paintings. One of them was Tsuguharu Fujita. Still, as long as it concerned itself with the *tokonoma* (flower niches), Japanese painting could not cross the boundaries of traditional expression. “Everybody should show up at the exhibition and work together to turn the whole place into a big canvas; isn't that what contemporary style demands of us?”⁷³ said Ryushi Kawabata, who advocated a jumping over these boundaries. Later he became a war artist.

Incidents at national exhibitions

Probably the major reform, which began in 1935 with the reorganization of Teiten (Exhibition organized by the Imperial Academy) and then entangled the entire art world. With the cooperation of major non-governmental organizations such as Nikakai and Nihonbijutsuin, the Minister of Education Genji Matsuda rated the work of the exhibitions and found it as ineffective, given that a large number

of works and exhibitors were classified as exempt from the examinations, that was the privilege of the Veterans in the Imperial Academy. The name “Teiten” was changed to “Bunten” (Exhibition organized by the Ministry of Education). However, the result was just the opposite. The shakeup that arose after this reform caused a break between Bunten and non-governmental organizations of artists; because in fact few works submitted by artists who had not been tested failed to qualify. Matsuda's reform, intended to target social leadership, instead hit the artists. From the point of view of artists who were not subjected to examinations at Teiten, and who were now labelled as “not talented,” the question became the very meaning of talent, and whether it can so readily be recognized. It is no coincidence that the painters who later acted as war painters, at that time were in the group of authors who exhibited without official criticism ⁷⁴.

Narration and the battlefield

Even before the reform, there was an interesting debate concerning the question of the nature of talent and how it can be recognized. Some thought that the previous exhibitions were boring because no images that triggered reactions in the viewers; there were no story elements. For the artists, it was necessary to adapt to conditions, to cooperate with their peers, in order to produce art of interest to viewers.

For the artists, it was necessary to adapt to conditions, to cooperate with their peers, in order to produce art of interest to viewers. From the point of view of modernism, such a position might look retrograde, but for the artists of the 1930's, the desire was to produce art that tells a story without relying on the individual while remaining interesting to everyone. This desire reminds us of the attitude of later war painters. We could say that the war painter was born before the war ⁷⁵.

Painters and battlefields

Historically, the period of the incident in Manchuria in 1931 to the end of the Second World War in 1945 can be divided into three parts: the first from the Manchuria incident until 1937, years of conflict between the Japanese and the Chinese military; the second from the second Japanese-Chinese war 1937 to the end of 1941; and the third period spanning the war on the Pacific to the end of Second World War, which ended in defeat. However, this first period was not, at least for Japanese artists, a war period. There were artists who went to the battlefield in protest of the Manchuria incident as well as the Shanghai incident, but it was only a minority. The battlefield of Japanese artists was actually in the country. How could they stop the decay of art and return visitors to exhibitions? How could they find the charm and expression in art, which was dominated by film and theater, commercial and illustrative art, so as not to lag behind them? It could be said that the outbreak of the Japanese-Chinese war in July 1937 ironically offered a breakthrough and answered these questions. The number of artists who went to war increased day by day. By 1939, after two years of war, there were more than 200 artists on the battlefield ⁷⁶.

Two post-war approaches

At one point after the final defeat, how to understand the new reality given the fundamental decline in value in post-war society was a subject of discussion. Post-war artists had an answer to the question. A series of productions of a type called “reportage painting” that showed interest in the workers' movement and the popular movement, as well as criticizing the regime of the 1950s, were in political conflict with the ideas that supported the latest war art. However, the artists believed that in the extension of applied art, art could be the means of transmitting messages (whether pre-war proletarian art or war art).

On the other hand, most of the artists decided to dispense with “messages” in their works. From the time of the occupation until 1950's, works with fragments or motifs that reminded the viewer of

the faded human body were emphasized. These works rejected the intellectual for the visual, showing visitors all the ruthless meaninglessness of human existence, and they are also a strong reaction to war art, which continued to attach excessive meaning to the human body as a subject in its works.

Similar opposition to meaning in art, in Kawada's opinion, was also carried out among contemporary artists, who attempted to reject the material as a means of expression, as well as the substance and the process of its application. In the 1950s, painters depicted personal wartime experiences on the canvases, which proves that these two directions do not inevitably oppose one another. Naked bodies included in the imagery are also meaningless, however, in Kawada's opinion, at the same time served as a source of strong messages⁷⁷.

One can say that Japan addressed the questions posed by art — about its purpose, its relationship to society, the meaning of the story, the position of the human body within it, and so on. It was these questions that Kozosha raised and attempted to solve, so in that sense, the group made people think. Hinago's *Eight Corners of the World* was an experimental attempt to synthesize sculpture and architecture in the early 1940s. Because the narrative expression of the work is based more on legend than history, it would be very difficult to understand for the nations other than his own. Ultimately, this huge monument serves as a serious warning that the important issues which art presents should be solved at the level of realistic social / national consciousness. Saito, with only his characteristic academism and his acknowledgment of society in a somewhat realistic way, tried to hew to the very essence of art even during the war. In the history of Japan's art and history, his lifespan and work should be more valued.

Meanwhile, escaping from the occupation regime of Dalmatia and avoiding being used by fascist Italy for political purposes, Meštrović went to America during the Second World War. Although he remained in the United States after the war, he maintained a civil relationship with Tito's Yugoslavia. Today, his creative power and his understanding of Croatian peasant culture occupies a high place both in the history of art and in the history of Croatian society.

Notes

- 1 Meštrović Rodin of the Peripheral Country, *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 28. 8. 1915. (『寒国のロダン メシュトロヴィチ』、『読売新聞』、1915年8月28日付)
- 2 Yuko Ikeda ed., *Western Modern City and Art 4: Vienna*, Tokyo, 2016. (池田祐子編、『西洋近代の都市と芸術4：ウィーン』、竹林舎、2016年。) In this study, I introduced a paper by Barbara Vujanović, *The Sculptor Ivan Meštrović – Cultural and Political Diploma* of the 20th century. The paper, prepared for the Second Euroacademia International Conference: Re-Inventing Eastern Europe, Prague, 15-16 November 2013, discussed the context of meetings between Czech (Czechoslovak) politicians and artists. It provides a good example of how Meštrović's political activity during the First World War is valued today.
- 3 Cf. Nobuhiro Shiba, Yugoslavia, Enciklopedia Nipponika on Internet. (柴宜弘、ユーゴスラビア、ブリタニカ日本大百科全書(ニッポニカ)参照)
- 4 Cf. Isao Koshimura, Vienna and Zagreb, in Yuko Ikeda ed., *Ibid.*, P.463. (越村勲、ウィーンとザグレブ、池田祐子編、『西洋近代の都市と芸術4：ウィーン』、竹林舎、2016年所収、463ページ参照)。
- 5 Hakutei Ishii, *Pilgrimage of European Art (Part One)*, Tokyo, 1913, P.226. (石井柏亭、『欧州美術遍路』上巻、東雲書房、1913年、226ページ)
- 6 Cf. Report on the Art World Abroad (2), *Art Newspaper*, Vol.14 no.12, October 1915, P.29. (観堂学人、『海外美術界時報(二)』、『美術新報』14巻12号、1915年10月、29ページ参照)
- 7 Shinpu Takamura, Report Passing through Northern Europe, *Central art*, Vol.2 No.4, April 1916, PP.12-16. (高村真夫、『北欧通過記(一)』、『中央美術』2巻4号、1916年4月、12-26ページ)
- 8 San Takeda, Ivan Meštrović : Serbian nationality and art, *Monthly report of the association alumni of Tokyo Art School*, Vol.21 no.3, July 1922, PP.1-7. (武田繁、『イワン・メストロヴィッチ(セルビアの国民性と芸術)』、『東京美術学校校友会月報』21巻3号、1922年7月、1-7ページ)
- 9 Ryosuke Kita, Association of Secessionist Architects, *artscape.jp / artwork* on Internet. (喜多亮介、分離派建築会、artscape.jp/artword)
- 10 Yuko Saito, Study of Kozosha, *Geiso* No.16, 1999, P.47. (斎藤祐子、『構造社』、藝叢第16号、1999年、47ページ)
- 11 Morinosuke Suwa, *Ivan Meštrović*, Tokyo, 1926, Introduction. (諏訪森之助、『イヴァン・メストロヴィッチ』、洪洋社、1926年、序)
- 12 *Ibid.*, PP. 30-31. (同上、30-31ページ)。Moreover, Suwa indicated the following literature concerning Meštrović:
Ivan Mestrovic: Williams and Norgate, London (1919)
Art and Archaeology: Vol. XVII, No.5 (May, 1924)
Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration; XXVI, 4 (March, 1923)
Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration; XXVI, 9 (June, 1923)
Architectural Record: Vol. 57, No.2 (Feb., 1925)

- 13 Cf. *Ibid.*, P.36. (同上、36ページ参照)
- 14 *Ibid.*, P.38. (同上、38ページ)
- 15 *Ibid.*, P.50. (同上、50ページ)
- 16 *Ibid.*, (同上)
- 17 *Ibid.*, PP.50-51. (同上、50-51ページ)
- 18 Chikatada Kurata, *After Rodin*, Tokyo, 1926, P.20. (蔵田周忠、『ロダン以後』、中央美術社、1926年、20ページ)
- 19 *Ibid.*, P.22. (同上、22ページ)
- 20 *Ibid.*, PP.21-22. (同上、21-22ページ)
- 21 Cf. Toshikazu Hirota, *The World of Jitsuzo Hinago*, Tokyo, 2008, P.26. (広田肇一、『日名子実三の世界』、思文閣出版、2008年、26ページ参照)
- 22 *The Exhibition of Kozosha*, Tokyo, 2005, P.14. (構造社展、キュレーターズ、2005年、14ページ)
- 23 Sogan Saito, *Kozosha is born, Atelje Vol. 4 No.9, September 1927*, P.83. (斎藤素巖、構造社生る、『アトリエ』4巻9号、1927年9月、83ページ)
- 24 Yuko Saito, *Ibid.*, p.52. (斎藤祐子、前掲論文、52ページ)
- 25 Sogan Saito, Criticism of Sculpture of the Memorial Exhibition of Peace (continued), *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 28. 3. 1922. (斎藤素巖、「平和博の彫刻を評す(下)」、『読売新聞』、1922年3月28日付)
- 26 Cf. Toshiharu Igarashi, *Study of Art Movement Emerging in Taisho Period <Revised Edition>*, Tokyo, 1998, PP.292 ~ 300. (五十嵐利治『大正期新興美術運動の研究』改訂版、スカイドア、1998年、292~300ページ参照)
- 27 Cf. Hirotake Kurokawa/Tomomi Omura ed., *The Works of Sogan Saito*, Tokyo, 2007, P.30. (黒川弘毅・大村友美編、斎藤素巖の仕事：共同研究「小平市所蔵斎藤素巖遺作研究と作品の保存・活用について」、武蔵野美術大学彫刻学科研究室、2007年、30ページ参照)
- 28 Sogan Saito, Sculpture as applied art, *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 6. 9. 1928. (斎藤素巖「彫刻の実際化」読売新聞『読売新聞』、1928年9月6日付)
- 29 Cf. Yuko Ikeda ed., *Ibid.*, P.242. (池田祐子編、前掲書、242ページ参照)
- 30 *Ibid.*, 同上。
- 31 Cf. *Ibid.*, PP.244-5. (同244-5ページ参照)
- 32 The Exhibition of Kozosha, *Ibid.*, Tokyo, PP.46-7. (構造社展、前掲書、46-7ページ)
- 33 *Ibid.*, P.47. (同上、47ページ)
- 34 *Ibid.*, P.48. (同上、48ページ)
- 35 *Ibid.*, P.24. (同上、24ページ)
- 36 Cf. *Ibid.*, P.25. (同上、25ページ参照)
- 37 Cf. Houshu Takamura, Notes on the Exhibition of Kozosha, *Atelje Vol.7 No.10, October 1930*, P.103. (高村豊周、構造展覧会書、『アトリエ』7巻10号、1930年10月、103ページ参照)
- 38 Jitsuzo Hinago, Making a monument of loyal spirit, *A country of beauty Vol.7 No.9, September 1931*, P.19. (日名子実三「忠魂碑の製作」『美之國』7巻9号、1931年9月、19ページ)
- 39 Kazuo Kikuchi, *Rodin*, Tokyo, 1968, P.10. (菊池一雄『ロダン』中央公論美術出版、1968年、10ページ)
- 40 *The Exhibition of Kozosha, Ibid.*, Tokyo, P.12. (構造社展、前掲書、12ページ)
- 41 *Ibid.*, P.15. (同上、15ページ)
- 42 [Supervised] Shigeru Aoki [compiled] Tokyo Cultural Properties Research Institute [Commentary] Shuji Tanaka, *Modern Japanese Art-Catalog-Sculpture, Kozosha/Shinkozosha*, Tokyo, 2008, P.149. ([監修]青木茂[編纂]東京文化財研究所[解説]田中修二、近代日本アート・カタログ・コレクション 彫刻篇 構造社・新構造社、ゆまに書房、2008年、149ページ)
- 43 *The Exhibition of Kozosha, Ibid.*, Tokyo, P.122. (構造社展、前掲書、122ページ)
- 44 *Ibid.* (同上)
- 45 Koji Tanabe, Sculpture review of Teiten exhibition, *Yamato Shinbun* 13. 10. 1922. (田辺孝次、帝展の彫刻評、大和新聞、1922年10月13日付)
- 46 *The Exhibition of Kozosha, Ibid.*, Tokyo, P.261. (構造社展、前掲書、261ページ)
- 47 Cf. *Ibid.*, P.263. (同上、263ページ参照)
- 48 Cf. *Ibid.*, PP.266-7. (同上、266-7ページ参照)
- 49 Cf. *Ibid.*, P.267 (同上、267ページ参照)
- 50 *Modern Japanese Art-Catalog-Sculpture, Ibid.*, P.188. (近代日本アート・カタログ・コレクション、前掲書、188ページ)
- 51 From the land of perfection and originality, *Asashi Shinbun* 31. 7. 1998. (唯我独創の国から、朝日新聞、1998年7月31日付)
- 52 Cf. *Ibid.* (同上、参照)
- 53 Cf. Exhibition of sculptures for proletariat, 15. 5. 1925. <Evening publication>. (プロのための彫ソ展覧会、報知新聞、1925年5月15日夕刊、参照)
- 54 Jitsuzo Hinago, Tell the experience, *Konohana*, No.41, 1940. (日名子実三、体験を語る、『斯華』、41号、1940年)
- 55 Jitsuzo Hinago, Letter to Usuki Junior High School Reunion, *Oita Shinbun*, 22. 8. 1928. (日名子実三、白杵中学同窓会への手紙、大分新聞、1928年8月22日付)
- 56 Jitsuzo Hinago, For the leaps of nation! *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 16. 11. 1940. (日名子実三、民族の飛躍に役立て！ 読売新聞、1940年11月16日付)
- 57 Cf. Jitsuzo Hinago, *About Eight Corners of the World*, 15. 11. 1940. (日名子実三、八紘之基柱について、1940年11月15日参照)
- 58 Katsuroku Aikawa, Remembering memories, Tokyo, 1972, P.145 (相川勝六、思い出ずるまま、講談社出版サービスセンター、1972年、145ページ)
- 59 *Ibid.*, P.138. (同上、138ページ) Jitsuzo Hinago also admitted that he offered to make it himself. Cf. Jitsuzo Hinago, Tower of Eight Corners of the World, *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, March 24, 1939. However, Seibo Nishimura, who created the atomic bombing memorial monument of Nagasaki after the war, cooperated earnestly in war more than Sogan Saito during wartime. And Kotaro Takamura, who continued to insist on respecting individual personality of the artist before the war, was cooperating in the war fighting for the nation although for a relatively short period.
- 60 Jitsuzo Hinago, *About Eight Corners of the World, Ibid.* (日名子実三、八紘之基柱について、前掲記事)
- 61 Association for Considering the Tower of Hakkoichiu ed., *Testimony of the Stone: new version*, Miyazaki, 2015, P.78. (八紘一字の塔を考える会編、新版石の証言、みやざき文庫115、鈺脈社、2015年、78ページ参照)
- 62 Cf. H. W. Jason, *19th century Sculpture*, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York, 1985, P.240.
- 63 Cf. Hirotake Kurokawa / Tomomi Omura ed., *Ibid.*, P.26. (黒川弘毅・大村友美編、斎藤素巖の仕事、前掲書、26ページ参照)

- 64 Cf. *Ibid.*, P.29. (同上、29ページ参照)
- 65 Cf. *The Exhibition of Kozosha, Ibid.*, P.121. (構造社展、前掲書、121ページ参照)
- 66 Sogan Saito, Memories of 15 years, *A country of beauty* Vol.15 No.4, 1939, PP.24-5. (齋藤素巖、十五年の思い出、『美之国』第15巻第4号、1939年、24-5ページ)
- 67 *The Exhibition of Kozosha, Ibid.*, P.121. (構造社展、前掲書、121ページ)
- 68 Sogan Saito, For the Orient of tomorrow, *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 18. 3. 1936. (齋藤素巖、明日の東洋のため、読売新聞、1936年8月18日付)
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- 70 Catalog "Modern Japanese sculpture", Tokyo, 2007. (『日本彫刻の近代』カタログ、淡交社、2007年)
- 71 Cf. Drawn "Greater East Asia", *Museum of Japanese Art*, 20. 11. 1997, P.1078. (描かれた「大東亜」、日本美術館、小学館、1997年11月20日、1078ページ参照)
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- 73 *Ibid.*, P.175. (同上、175ページ)
- 74 Cf. *Ibid.*, (同上、参照)
- 75 Cf. *Ibid.*, (同上、参照)
- 76 Cf. *Ibid.*, P.176. (同上、176ページ参照)
- 77 Cf. *Ibid.*, P.183. (同上、183ページ参照)