

The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and Archaeology in Japan

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Abstract

Research regarding Japanese archaeological history up until now has been advanced with a central focus on investigation and research in the Japanese archipelago (the *naichi* [“domestic territory”] or Japan proper.) Meanwhile, archaeological research in the *gaichi* (“overseas territories”)—areas outside the Japanese archipelago that were temporarily made territories of Japan—has hardly been taken up as a matter of consideration. This paper, taking archaeological history to be a part of modern Japanese history, summarizes the significance of research in the overseas territories.

The “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” was a concept that came to be espoused in 1932 for the sake of establishing the framework for a new order in East Asia, and throughout East Asia there was archaeological research carried out in connection with the policy. Following the annexation of Korea in 1910, the post of Governor-General was established on the Korean Peninsula, and research was conducted throughout the region, with research locations established in Pyongyang, Gyeongju and Buyeo under the Government-General Museum of Chosen. Research on Han dynasty tombs in the Lelang region is specially noted.

With the establishment in 1932 of Manchukuo in northeastern China, the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society, organized in Japan proper, independently carried out archaeological research. The northern region of China was called Hokushi (“North China”), and the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society took on research in this region as well, researching sites that included Han dynasty tombs and the Yungang Grottoes. In the southern region of China, research on matters such as artifacts excavated at Yinxu in the Nanjing area was carried out by Japanese scholars as well.

That is to say, in the early Showa period (1926–1945), following the Sino-Japanese war that began in 1937, archaeological research was conducted primarily by Japanese official scholars in colonies that were occupied under the framework of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere; and this point is verifiable as a characteristic feature in the archaeological history of the era.

Introduction

Currently, there is a move to develop research on the history of Japanese archaeology based on new perspectives and methods.¹ That trend is steadily enriching the academic field of Japanese archaeology as a science, while simultaneously offering advancements in the direction of the systemization of Japanese archaeology.

As is well known, historical study of Japanese archaeology has maintained, examined and systematized historical documents by persons such as Jiujiro Nakaya,² Seiichi Wajima,³ Kenji Kiyono,⁴ Yukio Kobayashi,⁵ Yoshiro Kondo,⁶ Tadashi Saito,⁷ Mitsunori Tozawa,⁸ Masaki Kudo⁹ and Akira Teshigawara.¹⁰ Meanwhile, views on those archaeological studies are regularly being published every year.

Based on this state of archaeological studies, the author has continued exploring the history of Japanese archaeology using the approach of linking it to the development of modern history in Japan.¹¹ During this time, the author has especially focused on how archaeology in the Showa period (1926–1989) developed based on a connection with the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere.

The term “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere” is said to have been coined by Yosuke Matsuoka, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the second cabinet of Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe formed in July 1940. However, its roots lie in the declaration for the establishment of a New Order in East Asia announced on November 3, 1938, by Konoe’s first Cabinet. The declaration of a New Order in East Asia was presented as Japan’s desire to build a new order that would enable attainment of permanent security in East Asia.

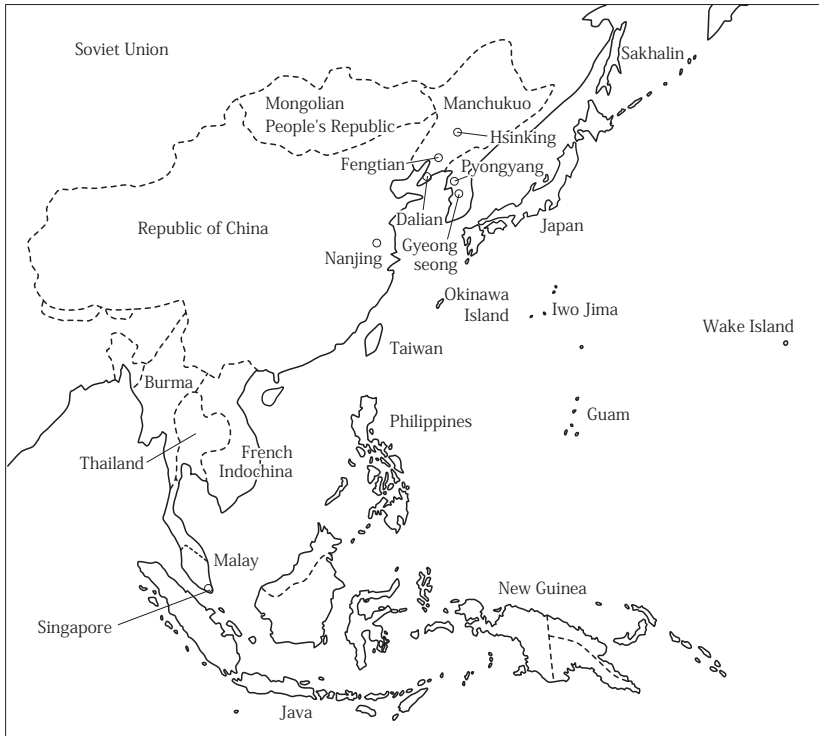


Fig. 1 Thematic Map of Japan and Relevant Asian Countries During Pacific War

Matsuoka's subsequent concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere stated that, under the rule of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Japan's immediate diplomatic policy would seek to form a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere including Japan, Manchuria and China. Thereafter, that concept established Japan's path forward.

The formation, development and collapse of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere were closely related to the colonial rule of Japan's Imperialism, and overlapped with the 15 Year War.

In *Dai Toa Kyo-eiken no Keisei to Hokai* ("The Rise and Fall of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," 1975), Hideo Kobayashi divided the campaign into stage 1 (1931–1937), stage 2 (1937–1941) and stage 3 (1941–1945), and presented a comprehensive approach to understanding it.

His establishment of three stages was an ambitious endeavor, treating first the economic and military aspects that hinged on military occupation, then unification of the monetary system, and then the evolution of industry and development policy.

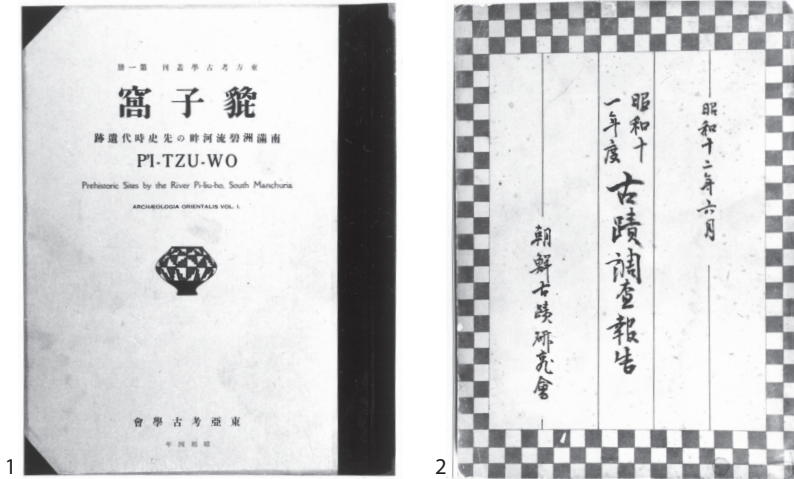


Fig. 2 1 *ARCHAEOLOGIA ORIENTAUS* (Series A-1, 1929)
2 *Koseki Chosa Hokoku* (Research on Ancient Sites: an Annual Report, 1937)

While inspired by research on the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere epitomized by Kobayashi, this paper attempts to look at how the world of archaeology in Japan behaved with reference to a number of materials that touch on the author’s own views.

The approach of linking archaeological trends in Japanese archaeological history to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere is highly unusual. Traditionally, and even today, research on archaeological history within Japan proper is predominant. In most instances of discussion on archaeology outside Japan, retrospectives by academics who directly furthered “outside” archaeology and assignation of meaning are commonplace, and statements based on the awareness of those involved are central.¹² Without a doubt, archaeology “outside” of Japan was developed by the best minds and technologies in Japanese archaeology at the time, and their academic outcomes can be judged above reproach.

A look at Japanese archaeological history from the perspective of archaeological research by Japanese people can be categorized by two approaches: an archaeology of a narrow region focused on the Japanese archipelago, and archaeological studies targeting a broad region defined by the concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Archaeology outside Japan spanning the Meiji period (1868–1912), Taisho period (1912–1926) and into the Showa period (1926–1989) takes an archaeological view that casts archaeological sites as colonies. Perhaps it can be called the equivalent of targeting locales such as British India.

An especially typical illustration is the state of archaeological studies under colonial rule in the Korean Peninsula through the Taisho period to the first half of the Showa period, following Japan's annexation of Korea on August 22, 1910.

Archaeology outside of Japan was the archaeology of colonies, pure and simple. In particular, the field collectively called archaeology of East Asia progressed along with the New Order in East Asia and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Archaeology of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was launched in the colonies as a national policy.

Just as modern history studies in Japan are deeply entwined with the issue of colonies, this relationship in Japanese archaeological history cannot be ignored.

A point of view now being called for is an approach to the archaeological history as a perspective on Japanese archaeology that surpasses the locality of archaeology in places such as the Korean Peninsula, Mainland China and Taiwan.

Archaeology in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was a process in which archaeological studies of East Asia peaked and then declined. It should be explored as an aspect of the historical study of Japanese archaeology in the first half of the Showa period.¹³

According to a perspective that divides archaeology in the Showa period into an early stage (1926–1945), middle stage (1946–1965) and late stage (1966–1989),¹⁴ the early stage exactly corresponds to the New Order in East Asia and Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

This paper selects several matters that shaped the archaeology of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as an historical aspect of Japanese archaeology in the early Showa period and considers their significance.

1. Korea and the Society for Studying Historic Sites in Korea

The signing of the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty on August 22, 1910 led to Japan's annexation of Korea, and the Governor-General of Korea was established on October 1. With the installation of the Governor-General and simultaneous jurisdiction given to the First Regional Office of Domestic Affairs, a research system for historic buildings and ruins was developed. Its central figure was Tadashi Sekino, who had already gotten the endeavor underway. It was completed in 1913 and results compiled in the *Chosen Koseki Zufu* ("Collection of Ancient Korean Sites and Monuments," 15 volumes) and distributed within and outside Japan.

In addition, Ryuzo Torii studied ruins primarily related to the Stone Age for a research project for the Domestic Affairs Bureau of Academic Affairs, Office of the Governor General, from 1911 until 1920.

This study was a major tour accompanied by a team consisting of technicians who took survey photos, interpreters and even military police. It was said to be more than a simple trip to gather data¹⁵; at the time, a study under direct control of the Governor-General was unusual.

In 1915, the Museum of the Korea Governor-General's Office was opened. It publicly displayed history and materials from the Stone Age to the Joseon Dynasty. Starting the following year, research on historic sites throughout the Korean Peninsula was conducted according to an annual plan. Research committee members included Tadashi Sekino, Katsumi Kuroita, Ryu Imanishi, Ryuzo Torii, Shogo Oda, Saiichi Tanii, and later, Yoshito Harada, Kosaku Hamada, Sueji Umehara and Ryosaku Fujita. The results were published annually in the *Koseki Chosa Hokoku* ("Research Report on Ancient Sites"). The *Koseki Chosa Tokubetsu Hokoku* ("Special Research Report on Ancient Sites") was also published.

This kind of research project under direct control of the Governor-General dwindled from the last years of the Taisho period to the early Showa period. This is said to have been due to budgeting difficulties for archaeological research.

Katsumi Kuroita determined the necessity of organizing a research body as a replacement. He wanted to establish a research organization through donations, and presented an approach that set up an external body to the Governor-General.

In August 1931, the Chosen Koseki Kenkyukai (Society for Studying Historic Sites in Korea) was launched. This research society was not just a group of like-minded individuals, but was in charge of a department researching historic sites and treasures as part of the Governor-General. It was an extra-governmental organization that assisted Governor-General projects by providing researchers and excavation costs.

Operational funds came from sources including grants from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. These funds made it possible to manage three research institutes (Pyongyang, Gyeongju, Buyeo), pay research costs and publish research reports. The office was located in the Museum of the Korea Governor-General's Office, while the Pyongyang Research Institute was established in the Pyongyang Museum, the Gyeongju Research Institute in the Gyeongju Branch Museum, and the Baekje Research Institute in the Buyeo Museum.

Beginning with research on the ancient tombs of the Lelang Commandery in Namjeong-ri, Seokam-ri and Jongbaek-ri, the Pyongyang Research Institute carried out research on Lelang tombs and flat earthen wall ruins in the vicinity of Pyongyang. Furthermore, research was conducted on Goguryeo tombs, flat earthen wall ruins and temple ruins located in Taedong, Pyongwon, Kangso, Ryonggang and Nyongbyon. Notably, the 1931 excavation of Lelang Ch'ae hy p-ch'ong and 1932 excavation of the tomb of Wang Kuang of Lo-Lang discovered a completely intact wooden burial chamber with a wooden coffin and an array of grave goods, causing a global stir in the world of archaeology. The finds were reported in the *Koseki Chosa Hokoku* with the first issue titled, "Select Specimens of the Remains Found in the Tomb of Painted Basket of Lo-Lang" (1934) and the second issue titled, "The Tomb of Wang Kuang of Lo-Lang" (1935).

Table 1—List of aid and donations to the Society for Studying Historic Sites in Korea

1931: Baron Yataro Iwasaki (7,000 yen donation)
1932: Marquis Moritatsu Hosokawa (6,000 yen donation)
1933: Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (15,000 yen subsidy); Ministry of the Imperial Household (5,000 yen grant)
1934: Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (12,000 yen subsidy); Ministry of the Imperial Household (5,000 yen grant); Yi Imperial Family (5,000 yen grant)
1935: Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (8,000 yen subsidy); Ministry of the Imperial Household (5,000 yen grant); Yi Imperial Family (5,000 yen grant)
1936–1938: Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (yearly 8,000 yen subsidy); Ministry of the Imperial Household (5,000 yen grant); Yi Imperial Family (5,000 yen grant)

Table 2—List of directors in the Society for Studying Historic Sites in Korea

Chairman: Parliamentary Commissioner
Councilors: Katsumi Kuroita, Shogo Oda, Yoshito Harada, Hiroshi Ikeuchi, Sueiji Umehara, and the Director General of Special School Affairs
Secretary: Ryosaku Fujita

In addition, research on ancient tombs and flat earthen walls in the Lelang Commandery of the Han Dynasty conducted from 1933 to 1935 was published each year in three issues as *Kofun Chosa Gaiho* (“Summary Report on Studies of Ancient Tombs”) so that the research content was made public. Also, research conducted from 1936 to 1938 was compiled annually in the *Kofun Chosa Hokoku* (“Research Report on Ancient Sites”).¹⁶

The Gyeongju Research Institute implemented research on sites such as ancient tombs, castle ruins and temple ruins from Silla/Unified Silla, and published the outcomes annually in the *Koseki Chosa Hokoku*.

The first volume of the *Chosen Homotsu Zuroku* (“Illustrated Book of Korean Treasures”), entitled “*Bukkokuji to Sekkutsuan*” (“Bukkoku-ji Temple and Sekkutsuan Cave,” 1938) and the second volume, entitled “*Keishu*

Namsan no Busseki” (“Buddhist Ruins of Mt. Namsan in Gyeongju,” 1940) both became publications of the Korea Governor-General, but were reports on work in which the Gyeongju Research Institute was actively involved.

The Baekje Research Institute conducted research on sites including ancient tombs and temple ruins in Gongju, Iksan, and Han Nam. The results were presented annually in the *Koseki Chosa Hokoku*.

The activities of the Society for Studying Historic Sites in Korea replaced research on historic sites by the Governor-General. All of the three established research institutes were housed in museums, and the society’s office was located within the Museum of the Korea Governor-General’s Office in Gyeongseong. They were inextricably linked to the Governor-General. Expenses for operation were provided by donation, but a majority was funded by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, the Ministry of the Imperial Household and the Yi Imperial Family. Thus, the society was not a non-government affiliated research body.

In addition to researchers, people engaged in studying the Lelang ruins in 1935 included part-time employees of the Office of Archaeological Research, Korea Governor-General’s Office. Furthermore, from 1937 to 1938 employees other than researchers participated, with titles including “part-time employee of the Museum of the Korea Governor-General’s Office.” Researchers and research assistants were persons involved with the Governor-General’s Office, or researchers belonging to Imperial Universities and the Imperial Museum in Japan. These were the types of individuals who made up the members.

This was only natural because the work of excavating ruins in the era of the Governor-General was limited to members appointed by the Governor-General or relevant government officials. Very few instances remained in which research was conducted by civilian researchers of archaeology. However, the one exception applied to ruins related to the Stone Age.

Viewed in this light, it becomes clear that the Society for Studying Historic Sites in Korea was similar to the Toa Koko Gakkai (Far-Eastern Archaeological Society).¹⁷ Furthermore, it was operated by subsidies, grants and Imperial donations. The state (government) was constantly involved. While the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society was oriented towards archaeology in East Asia, the Society for Studying Historic Sites in Korea undertook archaeology studies in Korea. Kyoto Imperial University, Tokyo Imperial University and government archaeologists assigned to the Imperial Museum were directly involved in both societies, and the names of people common to

them all can be found.

The Far-Eastern Archaeological Society joined with the Peking Daigaku Koko Gakkai (Peking University Archaeology Society) to form the Toho Kokogaku Kyokai (Association of East Archaeology), which held meetings, planned lectures and created society field uniforms. In contrast, the Society for Studying Historic Sites in Korea operated by changing the names of Governor-General archaeological projects and implementing them as is. Therefore, although a look at the activities of these two societies reveals similarities, in essence they were entirely different.

The Society for Studying Historic Sites in Korea promoted archaeological research in the Korean Peninsula from June 1931 to August 1945, and was clearly an organization that undertook archaeological studies in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere.

2. Manchuria and the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society

The Northeast area of China comprises three northeastern provinces in China—Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang—and the region covering Inner Mongolia. The Japanese colony of Manchukuo was founded there in March 1932 with Puyi as a puppet ruler, and ultimately dismantled in 1945. The era name at the time of its establishment was Datong, followed three years later by Kangde. Datong lasted two years, and Kangde twelve.

Archaeological research in the Manchurian region had already been initiated by Ryuzo Torii from 1887–1896. From then on research occurred repeatedly until the Taisho period (1912–1926). In addition, Kosaku Hamada traveled to Manchuria from 1910 and Sozaburo Yagi from 1918, and research in the region was gradually carried out in earnest.

However, that work was principally superficial study and did not reach the level of all-out excavation.¹⁸

Organized, full-blown excavation was realized by the inception of the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society.¹⁹ Excavations that took place in succession, such as P'i-tzu-wo (1927), Mu-yang-cheng (1928), Nang-shan-ri (1929) and Ying-cheng-tzu (1931), are representative of this time.

The Far-Eastern Archaeological Society was an organization that held an inaugural ceremony in March 1927 and aimed to conduct archaeological research in the East Asian region. The society conducted an excavation right

away in the vicinity of Pulandian in the year of its launch. The society had already been eyeing organizing in the fall of 1925. In fact, in August 1926 a request for a government grant to study P'i-tzu-wo addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Baron Kijuro Shidehara) had already been submitted by the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society (Standing Committee: Kosaku Hamada, Yoshito Harada; Secretary: Kozaburo Shimamura).

Moreover, Manchukuo, which was formed in 1932, enacted and publicly announced the Historic Sites Preservation Act two years after the state's establishment on July 1, 1933. This act was revised in March 1934 and thereafter perpetually applied in Manchukuo.

In addition, in 1936 and beyond the Manchukuo State Council Culture Department conducted national research on historic sites and antiquities. Reports on that research reached as many as 80 volumes, but only the following five were published.

Manshukoku Koseki Kobutsu Chosa Hokokusho (“Research Report on Historic Sites and Antiquities in Manchukuo”)

Vol. 1 “Historic Sites in Jinzhou Province” (Sozaburo Yagi)

Vol. 2 “Rehe from an Archaeological Perspective” (Sadahiko Shimada)

Vol. 3 “Research Report on Historic Sites in Jiandao Province” (Kiichi Toriyama, Ryosaku Fujita)

Vol. 4 “Historic Remains from the Jin Dynasty in Jilin and Binjiang Provinces” (Kazuki Sonoda)

Vol. 5 “Research Report on Ying Zi Historic Ruins in Yanji Province” (Ryosaku Fujita)

The administration of cultural assets in Manchukuo was carried out based on the Historic Sites Preservation Act, but jurisdiction belonged to the Public Welfare Department (later, the Culture Department). From 1940, Shunjo Miyake became involved as an investigator of cultural assets (and simultaneously held the post of Preservation Association Director).

The Far-Eastern Archaeological Society continued with active research even after the establishment of Manchukuo, and excavated at sites including Yang-téca-wa and Tung-ching-Ghéng (first stage: 1933), Tung-ching-Chéng (second stage: 1934) and Hung-Shan-han, Chin-feng (1935).

After the state's formation, archaeological studies were conducted in various locations in Manchuria by the Manchukuo State Council Public Welfare

Department (Culture Department), various provinces, museums, the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society and research groups organized through the sponsorship of people central to Japanese government, including Manmo Gakujutsu Chosa Kenkyudan (Manchuria and Mongolia Academic Research Group), Nichiman Bunka Kyokai (Japan-Manchuria Culture Association) and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.²⁰

Among these various research groups, the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society played a large role.²¹ In addition, research in Warman under the sponsorship of the Japan-Manchuria Culture Association on the three Liao tombs (Emperor Shengzong, Emperor Xingzong, Emperor Daozong) was conducted by scholars belonging to Kyoto Imperial University.²²

Thus, archaeology in Manchukuo was conducted based on the leadership of Japanese government and academia, and carried out by the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society. The same was true for the operations of preservation institutions established in the different locations, including the Mukden Branch of the National Central Museum, Lüshunkou Museum and Harbin Museum (Liaoyang, Fushun, Dongjingcheng Mudanjiang Province, Lin Dong), local museums (Jinzhou) and galleries of treasures (Rehe). In particular, Sadahiko Shimada²³ (previously an assistant and teacher at Kyoto Imperial University Archaeology Department), who was director of the Lüshunkou Museum, played a significant role in archaeological exchange between Manchukuo and Japan, which was in command. Moreover, close attention must be paid to the fact that, similarly to Korea, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science was deeply involved in archaeological research.

3. Northern China and Mengjiang Archaeology

The former provinces of Chahar and Suiyuan and the northern area of Shanxi were called Mengjiang or Hokushi (Northern China).

Japanese scholars were involved in archaeology studies in this area as far back as 1908 in a study conducted by Ryuzo Torii. It then fell outside the sphere of interest for a long time, but in 1930 Seiichi Mizuno and Namio Egami, exchange students from the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society, explored Mongolia and the northern extremities of China. Having gained knowledge related to microlith/bronze and cord-marked pottery,²⁴ on the suggestion of Egami, the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society dispatched a

research group comprised of members in the fields of geology, paleontology, anthropology and archaeology to Silin-Gol and Ulan-Chap.²⁵ This study was aided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Cultural Affairs Department, the Harada Sekizenkai Foundation and Marquis Hosokawa.

The Far-Eastern Archaeological Society subsequently conducted an excavation of Shangto in Duolun in 1937.²⁶ This study headed by Yoshito Harada and Kazuchika Komai was entirely funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Cultural Affairs Department.

From 1941 to 1943, tombs from the Han Dynasty were excavated in Yanggao Province, Mengjiang. They are Pei-cha-tch'eng, Wan-ngan and Ku-chéng-Pu, Yang-kaio. These grave mounds, the former called *karyotai* and the latter *koryotai*, have legends about fanciful mountains of foods, but lore about the tombs did not exist.

Seiichi Mizuno, who studied the Yungang Grottoes in Datong, focused on these mounds and conducted excavations as projects for the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society.

The excavation of Pei-cha-tch'eng, Wan-ngan was headed by Mizuno. It targeted three tombs and confirmed that they dated from the Han Dynasty.²⁷ This excavation was sponsored by the Daido Sekibutsu Hozon Kyokai (Datong Association for the Preservation of Stone Buddhist Images) and funded by the Mongolian government at the request of the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society.

Excavation of Ku-chéng-Pu, Yang-kaio targeted three foundations. It took place from 1942 to 1943 and was headed by Katsutoshi Ono, Takeo Hibino and Seiichi Mizuno.²⁸ The organizers were the Daido Sekibutsu Hozon Kyosankai (Datong Support Association for the Preservation of Stone Buddhist Images) and the Yanggaoken Shiseki Hozon Kyokai (Yanggao Province Society for the Preservation of Historic Sites).

Archaeological digs at Pei-cha-tch'eng and the old castle fortifications determined the sites to be tombs from the Han Dynasty. However, notably, the discovery of an abundance of grave goods in the old castle fortifications not only increased people's amazement about the world of archaeology, but also provided such a satisfying result that it caught the attention of relevant individuals in Japan. The outcomes of this excavation of old castle fortifications immediately led to a meeting in Kyoto.

At that meeting, Hibino and Mizuno gave lectures at the second conference of the Greater East Asia Academic Association. The lecture held on December

19, 1942 was titled, “Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Mengjiang,” and its content was published as *Daitoa Gakujutsu Soshi* 1 (“Academic Records of Greater East Asia”).²⁹ The Greater East Asia Academic Association was founded in June 1942 to research the natural features, ethnic groups, and cultures of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and generally to make known the research results with the aim of aiding the construction of a new culture of Greater East Asia. Therefore, the results of the excavation on the old castle fortifications were truly appropriate to generally making known and expanding the outcomes of various academic research on the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere during the building of Greater East Asia. It was truly deeply significant for being conducted in Mengjiang, and furthermore, by the Japanese, where academic research on ancient burial mounds had yet to be conducted in mainland China.

Hibino and Ono, who were in charge of the excavation and report, were government scholars dispatched by Toho Bunka Kenkyusho (Research Institute for Cultural Treasures of the East) after an invitation from the Mongolian government.

Research on the Yungang Grottoes was an archaeological study in Mengjiang that garnered further attention.

Grottoes from the Northern Wei Dynasty that exist in Yungang in the west of Datong Prefecture, Shanxi Province (21 large caves, 20 medium-sized caves, and countless small Buddhist altar niches) were introduced by Chuta Ito in 1902, but this study, conducted from 1938 to 1944, was undertaken by researchers belonging to Toho Bunka Gakuin Kyoto Kenkyusho (Toho Culture Academy Kyoto Research Institute) headed by Seiichi Mizuno and Toshio Nagahiro.³⁰ The study clarified the actual state of the Yungang Grottoes, such as the five caves of Tanyao.

Prior to studying the Yungang Grottoes, Mizuno and Nagahiro studied caves in The Buddhist Cave-Templer of Hsang-T’arg-sso³¹ and Longmen³² in March-May 1936 as part of research on caves in Northern China in the lead up to full-out study on the Yungang Grottoes. However, that research was quite eventful as it took place in unfavorable conditions. During work at Xiang-tang-shan shi-ku carried out April 10-15, the Ci County and Pengcheng police provided guard and were on constant patrol; while at Luoyang during research April 24-29, the locals were inhospitable, security was insufficient, and government officials and police exhibited an anti-Japanese attitude. Particularly when researching Longmen, they were accompanied by several

police on bicycles as escorts who kept watch.

The study of the Yungang Grottoes was carried out within this environment.⁽³³⁾

Archaeology in Mengjiang focused on excavations of Han Dynasty tombs implemented by persons related to the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society, and research on caves in Northern China by scholars belonging to Toho Culture Academy Kyoto Research Institute (Toho Culture Research Institute).

4. Archaeology in the Battlegrounds of Central China

After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7, 1937 (which led to the Second Sino Japanese War), Japan expanded the war and seized Nanjing on December 13. Nanjing was abandoned, and an immense volume of archaeological finds from Yinxu, Yin-mu and other places in Anyang in Henan Province related to research by the Institute of History and Philology were put into order.⁽³⁴⁾ Sueji Umehara was placed in charge of the archaeology department.

Along with these organizational activities by Umehara, of note is the dispatch of a party of scholars to the Chinese continent from Keio University. This planned academic tour was proposed by Joe Shibata and implemented in three groups lead by Kashiwa Oyama (Datong, Zhang Wei, Beijing), Shibata (Central Shina (China)) and Nobuhiro Matsumoto (various locations in Central China).

The report by the Central China group, *Konan Tosa*³⁵ (“Archaeological Studies at Nanking and Hangchac,” FY1938) paints a vivid picture of the actual circumstances of the expedition. Shinzo Koizumi, who contributed the forward, wrote, “In late 1938, Nanjing fell and, shortly after entering a new phase in which the state of the war became significant, historians at Keio University Faculty of Letters proposed that immediately going to China to conduct academic study and archaeological digs for ancient ruins was imperative. As a result of deliberations, three groups were dispatched for an academic tour in May 1938. At the time, although the hostilities had not long been over, it felt good for the scholars to vie to explain the necessity of academic study.” In the Central Shina group, Saburo Hosaka (graduate school) and Hideo Nishioka (student) participated under Matsumoto and went to Nanjing, Hangzhou (Gudang Shihushan ruins) and Shanghai. The initial plan

was primarily to conduct an excavation, and the organization of existing specimens in Chinese museums was not really under consideration. However, in the end, the tour became an endeavor to organize the Institute of History and Philology, Ceramic Research Institute, and Institute for the Preservation of Antiquities in Nanjing, conduct exploratory digs at the Gudang Shihushan ruins in Hangzhou, and inspect the Asian Society Museum. Exploratory digging at the Gudang Shihushan ruins in Hangzhou turned up brick tomb chambers from the late Han Dynasty in the early period of the Six Dynasties, and insight was gained into the chronological view of Hei-tao pottery.

Umehara went to Nanjing and engaged in organizational activities immediately after Nanjing was seized, and Shibata very quickly proposed sending an academic research team to the continent of China. These two scholars were directly and indirectly connected to the “state.” Umehara was an assistant professor at Kyoto Imperial University; Shibata was an assistant at Tokyo Imperial University, held positions in the Home Ministry and Ministry of Education, and also worked as a teacher at Keio University.

After the seizure, other archaeological schemes (an expression by Umehara) that were a part of pacification work were naturally implemented under government leadership.

This kind of movement was accepted in every region of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere. Moreover, it was not at all uncommon for archaeology researchers in the private sector to be enlisted and sent outside of Japan.

It is difficult to know what it feels like for a researcher to deal with a battleground as a soldier, but there is documentation on an archaeological experience that happened to a certain archaeologist on the battlefield.⁽³⁶⁾

The *Asahi Shimbun* (“Asahi Newspaper”) dated December 16, 1943, carried a two-column article titled, “Well done, soldier-scholar.”

Special dispatch from Nanjing on the 14th: In the midst of battling anti-Japanese forces, a single soldier by chance dug up a nearly intact jar-shaped vessel from 3,000 years ago, providing an artifact valuable to the study of culture in Central China in the Neolithic Age. Private Teruya Esaka from the Central China XX Unit (from 1042 Akatsutsumicho, Setagaya-ku, Tokyo) studied archaeology under the guidance of his teacher, Ichiro Yawata at the Department of Cultural Anthropology at the University of Tokyo. Furthermore, after working as a junior assistant

at the Department of Earth Science at Bunri University, he is now conducting research in archaeology at the Department of History, Faculty of Letters, Keio University. He is a young and energetic student who came to the battlefield after being drafted, and participated in XX military operations at the end of this past November. While marching near Matsuryoseki in the Jiangning District approx. 25 km south of Nanjing, he keenly spotted a piece of a jar along a loess cliff facing northwest in the suburb of Shoshyanteo. He dug it out, carried it home, and researched literature to find that this jar dates from around the late Neolithic Age to the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period, and is at least 3,000 years old.

This article in Tokyo's *Asahi Newspaper* was a special dispatch widely reported as news from the Continent in Nanjing at the time.

In 1943, the expanded battle lines of the Japanese forces had to be increasingly walked back after Japan's withdrawal from Guadalcanal in February, the complete destruction of the Attu garrison in May, and the country's September retreat from the absolute defense perimeter strategy, which necessitated falling back from the line of defense that ran from the Mariana Islands to the Caroline Islands and West New Guinea. Meanwhile, around the time these dark clouds were gathering, articles on soldier-scholars were run in daily newspapers that communicated news such as a farewell party held on October 21 at the outer garden of Meiji-jingu Shrine for students before they departed to the battlefield.

The news reporting on the jar discovered to the south of Nanjing by Esaka, a soldier in the 101st detached unit to China (Nanjing Defense Command), was useful in suggesting the military operation in the Nanjing region was going well, and could be described as effectively communicating that there was a sense of calm in the region.

This news favorably impressed the top ranks in the army, and on December 25 and 26 Esaka was able to once again research the site where the jar was excavated. His re-examination was conducted together with individuals such as Isao Taki and Etsuji Tanida from the Research Division of the Government Committee for the Preservation of Cultural Artifacts, and Seiichi Wajima from the Tokyo Imperial University Department of Cultural Anthropology. Earthenware fragments identical to the jar were collected in the vicinity.

Esaka immediately wrote about the outcome and submitted it to

Jinruigaku Zasshi (“Journal of Anthropology”), a bulletin of the Society of Anthropology in Tokyo. The paper, entitled “Ancient Earthenware Discovered in Matsuryoseki,” was completed on December 28. It was also published in the March 1944 issue of the *Journal of Anthropology* Vol. 59 No. 3.

The jar discovered in Shoshyanteo outside of Matsuryoseki in the Jiangning District of Jiangsu Province was a black ceramic vessel. The opening measured 12.5 cm in diameter, the height 14 cm, and the bottom diameter 16.5 cm. Earthenware fragments collected nearby were also of the same marked earthenware. The discovery of the Shoshyanteo ruins southwest of Matsuryoseki was reported to academia.

The end of the report states, “I am sincerely grateful to the local military authorities who provided diverse support, and particularly to Chief of Staff Yamashita and Captain Sakata.” This speaks to the fact it was written while serving in the military in the Jiangnan (Nanjing) Tobirokuichi Command.

Around this time, Esaka wrote an essay while in Jiangnan, entitled “Archaeology Viewed from the Battle Lines.” This essay was published in the June 1944 issue of *Kobijutsu* (“Antiques”) Vol. 14 No. 6 (Tsukan No. 161). Though a short article of two, A5-sized pages, the text expresses his evident joy at focusing on archaeology for a moment while in the field of war. He wrote, “Imperial Army stations in the Greater East Asian War are located nearly over the entire Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The majority of these places are uneducated.” The text concludes, “Just as we cannot be neglectful of military service in the current battlefield, we students of archaeology stationed on the battle lines hope to carry out our duty of aiding the ethnic policy in the Greater East Asia War by being vigilant at all times in our endeavor to gather artifacts.” This communicated the thoughts of an archaeology researcher who found himself on the battlefield. Of course, this was Esaka’s impression, but it goes without saying that his profound daily thoughts compelled the discovery of the Shoshyanteo ruins. Esaka said, “There are museums of varying sizes in cities in each area of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. The archaeological artifacts from the areas housed in these museums were roughly organized and reported on by Western scholars in the past.” However, he points out that, “If we who live in East Asia and are researching the ancient culture of this region can view them, we may discover many research aspects not comprehended by Western scholars.” That sentiment can be said to have once inspired the research team from Keio University headed by Nobuhiro Matsumoto to explore the Jiangnan region

and obtain comparable outcomes.

Afterword

Archaeology in Japan in the early Showa period corresponds to a time when steps were taken to supersede even the highest level of enlightenment based on archaeological outcomes from the Taisho period. These included chronological research on Jomon pottery, basic research on the wet-rice farming theory of Yayoi culture, establishing Yayoi pottery chronology, and research on the four-period chronology of ancient Imperial graves, temple ruins from the Asuka period, and tile designs. That was a steady step toward establishing archaeology as a science represented by the Minerva debate, which is founded on the outcomes of Jomon pottery chronology. It was also a time when, along with the rise of archaeological research in the private sector represented by the launch of the Tokyo Koko Gakkai (Tokyo Archaeology Society), publications impacted the world of archaeology in Japan. In addition to the already existing *Kokogaku Zasshi* (“Journal of the Archaeological Society,” published by the Archaeology Society) and *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (“Journal of Anthropology”) and *Tokyo Jinruigaku* (“Tokyo Anthropology”), both published by The Anthropological Society of Nippon, other publications were also launched. These included *Kokogaku* (“Archaeology”), the bulletin of the Tokyo Archaeology Society; *Kokogaku Ronso* (“Collection of Essays on Archaeology,” published by the Society of Archaeological Studies); *Shizengaku Zasshi* (“Paleethnology Journal,” published by Shizen Gakkai (Society of Paleethnology); and *Senshi Kokogaku* (“Prehistoric Archaeology”; published by Senshi Koko Gakkai [Prehistoric Archaeology Society]).

However, after the Second Sino-Japanese War of 1937, the concept of a New Order in East Asia, followed by the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, gradually took hold in the world of archaeology as well. It was a way for Japan to extend its reach toward colonies, and a movement that symbolized the systemization and activities of the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society/Association of East Archaeology with archaeological studies by the Imperial universities at the core.

Manchuria and the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society/Japan-Manchuria Culture Association, Korea and the Society for Studying Historic Sites in

Korea, and Manchuria/Korea and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science were directly connected to archaeology in the colonies as associations; they were linked to archaeology in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. It was the same for Mengjiang.³⁷ The expenses necessary for those “archaeological schemes” were funded by bodies such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Cultural Affairs Department), the Ministry of the Imperial Household and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. Their existence truly contributed to national policy.

This trend reached not only archaeology at the Imperial universities, but also archaeology in private universities. In addition, three archaeology research groups in the private sector (Tokyo Archaeology Society, Society of Archaeological Studies, Chubu Archaeology Society) merged to create the Nihon Kodai Bunka Gakkai (Japan Society of Ancient Culture).

In the early Showa period, many new perspectives were academically presented in fields of individual research, but archaeology was not unrelated to the tides of the times.

The Japanese people’s comprehension of the history of archaeology in Japan has tended to focus on the boundaries of Japan proper. However, we can understand the macroscopic history of archaeology in Japan by also turning our attention overseas.

Notes

1. For example, this includes the publication of *Studies on the History of Japanese Archaeology* by the Kyoto Mokuyo Club (first issued in 1992; historical research on archaeological publications by Seiichi Yanagisawa (“The Minerva Debate & Archaeology in the Founding of a State—A Slice of Archaeological History Viewed from the History of Publication”); *The Lives of Our Ancestors* and other publications by Shuichi Goto; *Senshi Kokogaku Kenkyu* (“Prehistoric Archaeology Study”) 3, 1990; critical biographies by Wako Anasawa (“The Path of Dr. Yukio Kobayashi” and “A Discussion on Sueji Umehara,” *Kokogaku Kyoto Gakuha* (Kyoto University Archaeology), edited by Bunei Tsunoda, 1944).
2. Jiujiro Nakaya. *Nihon Senshigakujoshi* (“Prehistory of Japan,” 1935).
3. Seiichi Wajima. “*Nihon Kokogaku no Hattatsu to Kagakuteki Seishin*” (“The Development of Japanese Archaeology and the Scientific Spirit”), *Yuibutsuron Kenkyu* (“Study of Materialism”) 60/62, 1937), “*Nihon Kokogaku no Hattatsu—Hattatsu no Shodankai*” (“The Development of Japanese Archaeology—The

- Many Stages of Development”), (*Nihon Kokogaku Koza* (“Studies on Archaeology in Japan”) 2, 1955).
4. Kenji Kiyono. *Nihon Kokogaku/Jinruigakushi* (“Japanese Archaeology & Anthropology,” Vol. 1, 2, 1954, 1956) and *Nihon Jinshuron Hensenshi* (“History of Japanese Theory of Race,” 1944).
 5. Yukio Kobayashi. “*Kokogakushi/Nihon*” (“History of Archaeology in Japan”) (*Sekai Kokogaku Taikei* (“Summary of World Archaeology”) 16, 1962).
 6. Yoshiro Kondo. “*Sengo Nihon Kokogaku no Hansei to Kadai*” (“Post-war Archaeology in Japan: Reflection and Issues”), *Nihon Kokogaku no Shomondai* (“Issues in Japanese Archaeology,” 1964).
 7. Tadashi Saito. *Nihon no Hakkutsu* (“Japanese Excavations,” 1963; expanded edition 1982), *Nihon Kokogakushi* (“History of Japanese Archaeology,” 1974); *Nihon Kokogakushi Shiryō Shusei* (“Compilation of Historic Documents on Japanese Archaeology,” 1979); *Nenpyō de Miru Nihon no Hakkutsu/Hakkenshi* (“History of Japanese Excavations & Discoveries Viewed Chronologically”) (1) Nara period–Taishō period, (2) Showa period,” 1980, 1982; *Nihon Kokogakushi Jiten* (“Lexicon of Japanese Archaeology,” 1984), *Kokogakushi no Hitobito* (“Figures in the History of Archaeology,” 1985); *Nihon Kokogakushi no Tenkai* (“Historical Development of Japanese Archaeology”; *Nihon Kokogaku Kenkyū* (“Japanese Archaeology Research”) 3, 1990); *Nihon Kokogaku Yōgo Jiten* (“Dictionary of Terminology for Japanese Archaeology,” 1992); *Nihon Kokogakushi Nenpyō* (“Chronology Table of Japanese Archaeology,” 1993), etc. For texts by Sakazume on Saito’s academic research, refer to: “*Saito Tadashi-sensei no Nihon Kokogakushi Kenkyū*” (“Research on Japanese Archaeology by Tadashi Saito”); *Kokogaku Soko* (“Thoughts on Archaeology,” Vol. 2, 1988); “*Nihon Kokogakushi Kenkyū Kinkyō*” (“Recent State of Historical Research on Japanese Archaeology”), later revised to *Nihon Kokogaku no Churyū* (“Trends in Japanese Archaeology,” 1990).
 8. Mitsunori Tozawa. “*Nihon Kokogakushi to Sono Haikai*” (“History & Background of Japanese Archaeology”) (*Nihon Kokogaku wo Manabu* (“Learn About Japanese Archaeology”) 1, 1978).
 9. Masaki Kudo. *Kenkyūshi/Nihon Jinshuron* (“Historical Study on Japanese Theory of Race,” 1979).
 10. Akira Teshigawara. *Nihon Kokogakushi—Nenpyō to Kaisetsu* (“History of Japanese Archaeology—Chronology & Explanation,” 1988).
 11. Hideichi Sakazume. *Manshukoku/Kotoku Juichi Nen no Koko Jijō* (“Manchukuo 1945: The State of Archaeology,” *Kobunka Dansō* (“Journal of Ancient Cultural Studies,” 30 Vol. 2, 1993); “*Nihon Kokogakushi Shui—Toa Koko Gakkai/Toho Kokogaku Kyōkai to Nihon Kodai Bunka Gakkai*” (“Insights on the History of Japanese Archaeology—The Far-Eastern Archaeological Society/Association of East Archaeology & Japan Society of Ancient Culture”), *The Journal of the Department of Literature, Ritssho University* 99, 1994), etc.

12. An example can be seen in *Toa Kokogaku Gaikan* (“Outline of Far-Eastern Archaeological,” 1950) by Sueji Umehara. In this work, the author writes primarily about lecture content conducted in various places in French Indochina as “a Japan-Vietnam exchange professor” in December 1942; it was completed in July 1945. The aim of the lectures was to introduce “achievements in Far-Eastern Archaeological by past Japanese academics.” There were nine volumes of recorded text, including “*Chosen ni okeru Kandai Iseki no Chosa & Sono Gyoseki*” (“Studies of Han Dynasty Ruins in Korea & Their Achievements”); “*Chosen Jodai Iseki no Chosa—Tokuni Kokuri no Hekiga ni tsuite*” (“Studies on Ancient Ruins in Korea—Particularly Wall Paintings in Goguryeo”); “*Minami Manshu toki ni Kantoshu no Shizen Bunbutsu ni kansuru Shinkenkaï*” (“A New View on Prehistoric Cultural Assets in Kwantung in South Manchuria”); and “*Saikin Nihongakusha no Okonatta Shina no Kokogaku Chosa nit suite*” (“Recent Archaeological Studies on China by Japanese Academics”).
13. Concerning this issue, Yoshiro Kondo succinctly pointed out that archaeological research in Korea, China, etc. by Japanese academics came about and developed in close relation to Japan’s invasion of Asia. With aid from the invading government, archaeology was carried out with help and protection from military authorities and governing institutions in each area. (See literature cited in Note 6.)
14. This classification is by Sakazume. The early stage spans from the start of the Showa period until the end of the Asia-Pacific War. The middle stage spans from the year after the war until around the publication of *Nihon no Kokogaku* (“Archaeology in Japan”), which is described as a post-war summarization of research results in Japanese archaeology. The subsequent late stage lasted until the end of the Showa period. The time from around the end of the middle stage and the start of the late stage was particularly a period when “preliminary excavations” according to “development” became large in scale, and “government excavations” became commonplace. Therefore, the period was provisionally extended to 1965, but there was a transition between the middle and late stages up until around 1970.
15. Ryosaku Fujita. “*Chosen Koseki Chosa*” (“Research on Historic Sites in Korea,” *Kobunka no Hozon to Kenkyu* (“Preserving and Researching Ancient Cultures,” 1953), later *Chosengaku Ronko* (“Discussion on Korean Studies,” 1963). Regarding the Society for Studying Historic Sites in Korea, in addition to its issued reports and research papers published by Kyoichi Arimitsu in *Arimitsu Kyoichi Chosakushu* (“Collection of Works by Kyoichi Arimitsu,” Vol. 2, 1992), refer to works such as *Chosen Kodai Iseki no Henreki* (“Traveling to Ancient Sites in Korea,” 1986) by Akio Koizumi and *Toa Kokogaku no Hattatsu* (Development of Archaeology in the Far East,” 1948) by Seiichi Mizuno.
16. The annual *Koseki Chosa Hokoku* was published three times from FY1936–FY1938. It was not published after FY1939.

17. Refer to Note 11 for information including the circumstances of the establishment of the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society.
18. The history of archaeology in Manchuria is detailed in *Manshu Kokogaku Gaisetsu* (“Outline of Archaeology in Manchuria,” 1944) by Shunjo Miyaki; *Chugoku Tohoku Chiku Kokogaku Gaisetsu* (“Outline of Archaeology in the Northeast Region of China,” 1989) by Li Lian Yi; *Tohoku Ajia Kokogaku no Kenkyu* (“Research on Archaeology in Northeast Asia,” 1975); *Zai—Man Nijuroku Nen—Iseki Tansa to Waga Jinsei no Kaiso* (“Twenty-Six Years—A Reflection on Exploring Archaeological Ruins and Our Life,” 1985); and *Chugoku Tohoku Iseki Tanbo* (“Searching for Archaeological Ruins in Northeast China,” 1992). However, *Toa Kokogaku no Hattatsu* (“Development of Archaeology in the Far East,” noted earlier) by Seiichi Mizuno contains even more detail.
19. The Far-Eastern Archaeological Society’s report, *Toho Kokogaku Sokan* (“Archaeologia Orientalis”) published 5 class A booklets and 8 class B booklets.
20. The achievements of Shunjo Miyake are known as independent investigations, but *Hanrajo—Bokkai no Iseki Chosa* (“Ban-la-cheng—Research on Bohai Archaeological Ruins,” 1942) by Jinpei Saito and *Hanrajo to Hoka no Shiseki* (“Ban-la-cheng & Other Historic Sites,” 1973) cannot be ignored.
21. As for Far-Eastern Archaeological, in addition to excavation studies in Manchukuo, the Mongolia research group was dispatched to the Ulanqab region and Xilinhot region in Inner Mongolia twice, once in 1931 and again in 1935. *Moko Kogen Odanki* (“Diary of Travels Across the Mongolian Highlands,” 1937; revised edition 1941) is a record of that. Observations during this exploration (Namio Egami) directly prompted the Qing-ling study of the three Liao tombs by the Japan-Manchuria Culture Association.
22. Jitsuzo Tamura, Yukio Kobayashi. *Keiryō* (“Qing-ling,” 1953); Jitsuzo Tamura *Keiryō no Hekiga* (“Qing-ling Wall Paintings,” 1972), *Keiryō Chosa Kiko* (“Travelogue of the Qing-ling Investigation,” 1994).
23. *Koko Zuihitsu Keikanko* (“Archaeological Essays on Cockscomb Jars,” 1936) by Sadahiko Shimada is an important writing that conveys a glimpse into the circumstances of archaeology of Manchukuo at that time, along with *Manshu Kokogaku Gaisetsu* (“Outline of Archaeology in Manchuria”; previously cited in Note 18) by Shunjo Miyake. It is touched on in Hideichi Sakazume’s *Manshukoku/Kotoku Juichi Nen no Koko Jijyo* (“Manchukuo 1945: The State of Archaeology”), *Kobunka Danso* (“Journal of Ancient Cultural Studies,” 30 Vol. 2, 1993).
24. Namio Egami, Seiichi Mizuno. *Uchimoko/Chojo Chitai* (“Inner Mongolia and the Great Wall Area,” *Toho Kokogaku Sokan* (“Archaeologia Orientalis,” class B, 1 booklet, 1935).
25. Reports on the fields of geology, paleontology and anthropology were publicized as *Moko Kogen* (“The Mongolian Highlands,” Vol. 1), *Toho Kokogaku Sokan* (“Archaeologia Orientalis,” class B, 4 booklets, 1943).

26. Yoshito Harada, Kazuchika Komai. *Shangtu (Toho Kokogaku Sokan* (“Archaeologia Orientalis,” class B, 2 booklets, 1941).
27. Seiichi Mizuno, Uichi Okazaki. *Pei-cha-tch’eng, Wan-ngan, Toho Kokogaku Sokan* (“Archaeologia Orientalis,” class B, 5 booklets, 1946).
28. Katsutoshi Ono, Takeo Hibino. “*Ku-Chéng-Pu-Yang-kao*” (“Old Castle Fortifications in Ku-Chend-Pu Yanggao”), *Toho Kokogaku Sokan* (“Archaeologia Orientalis,” class B, 8 booklets, 1990).
29. Research on old castle fortifications was made public by the research group in *Mocho Yokoken Kanbocho Chosa Ryakuho* (“Brief Summary of Research on Han Dynasty Tombs in Yanggao, Mengjiang,” 1943; published by Osaka/Yamato Shoin), and by Ono and Hibino who were in charge of research in *Mocho Kokoki* (“Archaeology Diaries on Mengjiang,” 1946) based primarily on research diaries. The official report (Note 28) was published in the 48th year after the excavation.
30. Seiichi Mizuno, Toshio Nagahiro. *Unko Sekkutsu* (“Yum-Kang,” 16 volumes, 1951–1957).
31. Toshio Nagahiro, Seiichi Mizuno. *Kahoku Jiken, Kanan-buankyô Dosan Sekkutsu* (“Xiangtangshan Caves in Tzu-hsien Prefecture in Hebei and Wu’an in Henan,” 1937).
32. Seiichi Mizuno, Toshio Nagahiro. *Konan Rakuyo Ryumon Sekkutsu no Kenkyû* (“Research on the Longmen Caves in Luoyang, Henan,” 1941).
33. Concerning research on the Yungang Grottoes, Seiichi Mizuno published *Unko Sekibutsugun—Toho Bunka Kenkyusho Unko Sekkutsu Chosa Gaiho* (“Yungang Stone Buddhist Images—Toho Culture Research Institute Yungang Grottoes Research Summary Report,” 1944) ahead of the official report (Note 30), but publications on research also include: *Unko no Sekkutsu to Sono Jidai* (“The Yun-gkang kshika & That Period,” 1939; partially revised in 1952) by Mizuno; *Daido no Sekibutsu* (“Stone Buddhist Images in Datong,” 1946) by Mizuno and Nagahiro; *Unko Sekkutsu* (“Yungang Grottoes”; 2 volumes in *Chugoku Bunka Shiseki* (“Historic Cultural Sites in China,” 1976) by Nagahiro; and *Unko Nikki—Taisen-chuu no Bukkyo Sekkutsu Chosa* (“Yungang Diary—Study of Buddhist Caves During the Great War,” 1988). In particular, Yungang Diary is Nagahiro’s record of the research in 1939, 1941, 1942 and 1944, and readers can gain an understanding of the state of Mengjiang from 1935 to 1944.
34. Sueji Umehara. “*Kinnen Waga Gakusha no Okonauta Shina no Kokogakuteki Chosa ni tsuite*” (“Recent Archaeological Studies on China Conducted by Japanese Academics”), *Toa Kokogaku Gaikan* (“Outline of Far-Eastern Archaeological”), previously cited.
35. Nobuhiro Matsumoto, Saburo Hosaka, Hideo Nishioka. *Konan Tosa* (“Field Investigation of Jiangnan”; FY1938) (research report, Department of History, Faculty of Letters, Keio University, class A, 1 booklet, 1941).
36. This was the experience of Teruya Esaka who was directly asked about it, but

at the outset there was a problem involving “*Sekkoshō Jikeiken Joshotomongai Iseki*” (“Ruins Outside the East Castle Gate in Cixi District, Zhejiang,” *Shigaku* (“Historical Science,” 26-1/2, 1952). That is, in the same text a survey drawing of stoneware was presented, but in regard to earthenware only a description was given, so the issue was whether earthenware existed. The topic was then shifted to the Matsuryoseki ruins in the Jiangning District of Jiangsu, and Esaka provided information on the background of the excavation. At that time, his name was presented in the *Asahi News*, etc. It is an extremely valuable experience of how one enlisted archaeologist handled archaeology in the battlefield, and with his permission his insights should be made note of.

37. In addition to Korea, Manchuria, Mengjiang, and north and central China, Hu Wan, Southeast Asia, and Sakhalin should also be examined.

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