

Bachelor of Science in Art History and Theory Thesis

Reframing Tradition in Modern Japanese Ceramics of the Postwar Period
Comparison of a Vase by Hamada Shōji and a Jar by Kitaōji Rosanjin

Grant Akiyama

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Grant Akiyama, BS

Dr. Hope Marie Childers, Thesis Advisor

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Following the 1950s, Hamada and Rosanjin were pivotal figures in the discourse of American and Japanese ceramics. In 1954, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) held a solo exhibition for Rosanjin.¹ The Japanese government designated Hamada a “Living National Treasure” following his tours to Europe and the United States.² In addition, Hamada received honorary doctorates in both the United States and England.³ This investigation of Japanese ceramics of the 20th century focuses through two vessels, a vase (fig.1, 20th c.) by Hamada Shōji (1894-1978) and a jar (fig. 2, 1953) by Kitaōji Rosanjin (1883-1959). A comparison of the vase and jar serves as a case study in how and why Hamada and Rosanjin became known as exemplary potters. Rather than exalting Rosanjin and Hamada as exceptional craftsmen of the 20th century, I examine how and why they attained such prestige to reveal a confluence of personal, institutional, and global structures that justified their status in modern ceramic history. Instead of *maintaining* tradition, Hamada and Rosanjin *reinvented* traditional Japanese ceramics. This implies that the Japanese characteristics seen in Hamada’s vase and Rosanjin’s jar are a reconfiguration of conventions in the 20th century rather than a conservation of tradition.

Hamada Shōji was a core member of the *Mingei* (folkcrafts) movement founded by Yanagi Sōetsu. The movement was an arts and crafts movement initiated at the turn of the 20th century that sought to preserve traditional crafts in Japan.⁴ Yanagi established an aesthetic theory that emphasized the simple beauty he perceived in East Asian crafts.⁵ Three central figures enter discussions of *Mingei*: Yanagi Sōetsu, Hamada Shōji, and Bernard Leach. The trio were all close friends and shared a deep fondness for crafts in general.⁶ Bernard Leach was an English potter and highly influential figure in the movement.⁷ The *Mingei* movement would have a lasting impact on studio ceramics of the latter half of the 20th century in America.⁸

Studio ceramics in 20th century America revitalized interest in ceramic craft and led to multiple innovations in the field.⁹ Studio ceramics encompassed a broad range of artists and craftsmen working with an expansive range of techniques, forms, and concepts.¹⁰ The variety of individuals and growing interest in handmade objects at the time engendered new respect for ceramics as an artform in the United States.¹¹ Despite the breadth of ideas influencing the movement, all the artists and craftspeople were unified by their use of studios to produce handmade ceramics.¹² Some notable individuals of American studio ceramics in the 20th century include Peter Voulkos (1924-2002), Kenneth Price (1935-2012), and Warren Mackenzie (b. 1924).¹³ Voulkos is recognized for his highly deformed and expressive heavy ceramic sculptures.¹⁴ Kenneth Price gained recognition for his use of color and surface in conjunction with biomorphic forms.¹⁵ Warren Mackenzie gained fame for his American adaptation of *Mingei* and close relationship with Bernard Leach.¹⁶ One of the key influences upon studio ceramics was the introduction of Japanese aesthetics, theories, and crafts in American culture during the 1950s, which included pottery from Hamada and Rosanjin.

Rosanjin was a calligrapher, sign-carver, epicurean, and potter who drew inspiration from the 16th century Momoyama period of Japan for his ceramics.¹⁷ The era is considered the golden age of premodern Japanese culture.¹⁸ It marked the codification of the tea ceremony (*chanoyu*) and the variety of utensils and equipment that accompanies it—with special emphasis on ceramics, as teabowls were the main vessels for drinking tea. In effect, the period formalized specific forms of Japanese ceramics, such as *bizen* and *shigaraki*. These styles and their associated kiln sites are now considered traditional Japanese ceramics due to the ceremony's premodern conception.¹⁹ *Bizen* is recognized by completely unglazed surface and earthy colors.²⁰ *Shigaraki* is most renowned for the feldspar chunks present in the clay body of their jars.²¹

Rosanjin worked in these styles to produce his own signature spin on his pots and Japanese tradition.

Visual Analysis

Hamada Shōji's press-molded, stoneware vase (Fig. 1) stands approximately a foot tall with a rectilinear body, stout neck, and stocky foot. The vase has four faces where the front and back are twice as wide as its sides. Two hands could comfortably grasp the form and lift it with ease. The vessel suggests comfort in the gentle bulging and soft lines articulated at the edge of each face. While the rectangular anatomy of the vase echoes through its foot and neck, the foot slightly shrinks the proportions of the body and lifts the overall form from the plinth. The composite effect becomes a contrasting feature that anchors and elevates the vessel simultaneously: tension and energy are built at the foundation of the vase. The body ends to a horizontal plane. Centered upon a flattened top, the rectilinear neck further directs the energy found at the body and foot by expressing a reserved dynamism in a sequence of short, curved edges and sides. The facets curve inward until a convex lip offers a small opening.

A grey, matte glaze coats Hamada's vase. At first glance, this surface seems monotonous and lacking variation, yet a closer look reveals interplay between the surface and form. Multiple applications of glaze developed variations of tone across the rectangular planes of the body. The break of color on the edges of the planes adds a visual frame to the abstracted surface. In effect, a pictorial scene emerges on the front of the vase resembling a landscape with overcast clouds. Compounding the effect of the atmospheric tones and flat outlined form, a dot of unglazed ceramic suggests a figure within the abstracted ground of the glaze. Through these interlocking visual components, a figure-ground relationship establishes an ambiguous scene upon Hamada's

vase. Comparatively, Hamada's vase is overall a calm and serene gesture, whereas Rosanjin's Jar appears with a more dynamic body and surface.

Kitaōji Rosanjin's jar (Fig. 2) departs from the form and surface of Hamada's vase. Both vessels share similar heights, but activate space in different ways. Rosanjin's jar is a round form with high wide shoulders and a neck about the width of a coffee mug. The mouth flares up and outward. The foot of the jar is approximately the same width as the mouth. Instead of a clear-cut foot, the jar seems to hover on its shadow with the periphery of the foot disappearing under the vessel. The wall of the vessel expands out and up toward the shoulders in a lumpy fashion. The body and shoulders maintain consistent contours overall, but random intervals of deformation develop a slight topography to the form. The lip of the vessel indulges distortion by interrupting the concentric rhythm of the opening with subtractive fractures and tears. In contrast to the modulation of the exterior, the interior of the jar is evenly treated with minimal alteration.

Rosanjin, unlike Hamada, partially glazed the outside of his jar where smooth and fluid glaze contrasts with raw ceramic surface. A large splash of satin, tan glaze runs from the shoulders toward its foot. Some tendrils of glass globs reach all the way under the vessel, while other drips stop at the lower fourth of the vessel. Mottled and airy patterns of ash from the wood fire mark the periphery of the main glazed surface. The glaze reveals a patterned frieze where the shoulders begin to narrow toward the neck. The pattern consists of three incised bands with angled cuts forming rhomboids and arrows directed in a clockwise manner. The patterning is worth note as the band fades from recognition where glaze is not applied. On the rough unglazed surface, the ceramic surface is imbued with warm tones of burnt orange and tanned leather, indicative of his wood firing process. Iron spots speckle the warm color field. On the lip, pooling glaze smooths over the craggy portions. The glaze takes on a transparent green hue where thick.

The interior is coated completely in a thick and opaque surface that hides any irregularity suggested by the exterior of the jar. The surface of the interior is likely the same glaze, but applied in a more generous manner. At the neck and foot, Rosanjin incised his signature in *katakana* script, “Ro.”

The following description of Rosanjin’s and Hamada’s pottery contrasts the one presented above. Hugo Munsterberg summarized Rosanjin’s and Hamada’s pots in *The College Art Journal*, stating in 1958 that:

The second area in which Japan is probably leading today is that of ceramics. Here again the traditional craft continues to flourish as it has for many centuries, and men such as Hamada and Rosanjin are among the greatest artists alive today. As may be seen in this square plate by Hamada...the calligraphic element is very effectively utilized thereby giving the design the freedom and spontaneity which it possesses in such high degree: furthermore, the use of coarse local clay instead of some high finished porcelain is typical of the Japanese emphasis upon honesty and simplicity of material and craftsmanship. Rosanjin is even more traditional in his approach for he actually works in old styles such as Shino, Oribe, Shigaraki, and Bizen, but shows at the same time his modern spirit.²²

Munsterberg’s description represents an approach to Hamada and Rosanjin that whitewashes their work as ordinary Japanese pots. Hamada and Rosanjin were not simply traditional potters working in the 20th century. Instead, their pottery engages a broader cultural frame that joins a dynamic history between Japan and the United States. This history helps demonstrate how these vessels evoke a modern, yet traditional, sense of authentic Japanese expression. Theories of Orientalism help illustrate why these vessels provoke such essentialist readings.

Theories: Oriental Orientalism and Reverse Orientalism

Design historian Yuko Kikuchi's theories are useful for discerning how Hamada and Rosanjin developed their aesthetics and what underpinned their subsequent rise in status. She applies Edward Said's theory of Orientalism to Japanese craft in her book *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism* (2004).²³ Her book examines the advent and development of the *Mingei* (folk art) movement in the context of imperial Japan in the early 20th century.²⁴ She focuses mainly on the career of author, collector, philosopher, and founder of the *Mingei* movement, Yanagi Sōetsu.²⁵

Kikuchi outlines how orientalist notions, concepts from the West applied to the East—as per Said's theory—were then *appropriated* by Eastern thinkers and artists.²⁶ Kikuchi describes Yanagi's adoption of Western orientalist concepts as a process of Oriental Orientalism and Reverse Orientalism.²⁷ Her theories reveal the formation of *Mingei* theory as representative of modern Japanese nationalism, essentialism, and tradition in reaction to industrial modernity. Her ideas are useful in examining Hamada's and Rosanjin's pots, because Japanese nationalism, essentialism, and tradition operate through their pottery to forge an authentic Japanese aesthetic. Kikuchi also frames Western reception in a way that facilitates analysis of Hamada's and Rosanjin's pots in an American context.

Said's *Orientalism* (1978) provides the springboard for Yuko Kikuchi's theories.²⁸ Said argues that the Western concept of the East was—and still is—a defining component of Western imperial and colonial domination.²⁹ He states, “Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the orient.”³⁰ In other

words, Western powers—such as the United States and Europe—control non-Western territories through cultural influence and military force. While Said focuses his theory on the relationship between Europe and the Middle East, his ideas extend to East Asia, because that region has also been considered part of the “Orient” described by the West.³¹ Of the many forms of control he describes, the reduction of foreign culture to generalizations—as exotic, primitive, or untamed—serve a vital role for Western authority.³²

These generalizations are part of essentialist notions evident in Western writings that reduce non-Western art to generalities.³³ For example, in Munsterberg’s review, he designates a general or “typical” Japanese characteristic that expresses “honesty and simplicity of material and craftsmanship.”³⁴ Furthermore, Munsterberg emphasizes the “traditional” features of Hamada’s and Rosanjin’s pottery.³⁵ In doing so, he qualified Hamada’s and Rosanjin’s pottery by pointing out several characteristics perceived as quintessentially Japanese, vague attributes he relied upon to define their pots through his Western vantage point on Japanese ceramics. Yanagi’s perspective of East Asia shares commonalities with Munsterberg’s view on Japanese ceramics.

Kikuchi demonstrates that this form of essentialism was part of a broader cultural interchange operating in Yanagi Sōetsu in his worldview. Through her theory of Oriental Orientalism, she defines a process of Eastern scholars, artists, and thinkers appropriating Western Orientalism.³⁶ Kikuchi claims Yanagi’s *Mingei* theory was not an “original” or “authentic” Japanese concept, but a hybrid theory heavily influenced by Western philosophy.³⁷ Ironically, Yanagi used *Mingei* theory to preserve and protect Japanese crafts during the modernization—and westernization—of Japanese culture at the turn of the 20th century.³⁸ Kikuchi asserts that, to do so, Yanagi’s blends together orientalizing concepts of Occidental

Narcissism and Oriental Essentialism as a backdrop for his Japanese vision of East Asian crafts.³⁹

She cites Occidental Narcissism as the authority claimed by Europe and the United States as dominant and central forces in the world.⁴⁰ Kikuchi expands this concept to Yanagi by claiming that he mirrored this concept when he considered Japan as the center of East Asian culture.⁴¹ She shows that his consideration of Japan as the central East Asian society had two effects. First, Yanagi fostered Japanese cultural nationalism, which espoused a universal—and superior—role of Japanese society in East Asia.⁴²

Second, Yanagi's nationalism acted as a basis for his formation of a national Japanese identity, which he expressed through writings on traditional Japanese crafts.⁴³ In Kikuchi's analysis of Yanagi, he expressed this national identity through essentialist language. For example, he claimed that Japanese folkcrafts, *Mingei*, possessed the “innate and original” essence of Japanese culture that expresses “Japaneseness.”⁴⁴ In other words, Japanese crafts are imbued with some fundamental characteristic indicative of Japan. Kikuchi shows that this essentialist language, coupled with a Japan-centric perspective reflected his process of orientalizing other East Asian nations.⁴⁵

Kikuchi defines the Western concept of Oriental Essentialism as the process of denoting any deviation from Western civilization as a static and exotic alterity.⁴⁶ She extends this concept to Yanagi as he defined East Asian cultures—including Japan—by their essential qualities.⁴⁷ For example, Yanagi emphasized primitive, exotic, or pitiful qualities he saw in premodern Korean crafts.⁴⁸ In effect, Yanagi determined differences between Korea and Japan by paternalistic generalities that he projected upon Korea from a Japan-centric perspective. In addition to

Yanagi's nationalist and essentialist analysis of East Asian cultures, tradition acted as a focal point for his theory.⁴⁹

Tradition, in Yanagi's case, operates as both a focus of his ideas and an expression of his nationalist values and essentialist approach. In other words, tradition acts as a junction that facilitates the expression of a national identity—rooted in the history of Japan—represented by characteristics too often considered indicative of Japanese culture. For example, Yanagi claimed that *Mingei* articulated the “innate and original” qualities of Japanese society, because folkcrafts draw upon premodern techniques and processes.⁵⁰ Yanagi used these “innate and original” characteristics to define a “Japaneseness” in traditional crafts. This concept relates to Hamada and Rosanjin, because they tap into this notion through their reference and reiteration of premodern Japanese ceramics.

In the strictly visual analyses of Hamada's vase and Rosanjin's jar, this “innate” or “typical” Japanese quality—that Munsterberg pointed to earlier—does not exist. Rather, the “Japaneseness” relies upon framing the pots as embodying fundamentally Japanese traditions. The notion of tradition, like the essence of a national identity, emerges from the way it is discussed and used.⁵¹ In other words, tradition is malleable.⁵² The pots' qualities evoke this “innate” quality due to the configuration of visual characteristics that draw upon historic forms and surfaces qualified as authentic and specific to Japan. The vase and jar do not necessitate essentialist readings, but they seem to invite interpretations like Munsterberg's review by the vessel's reference to tradition. Through their work, Yanagi, Hamada, and Rosanjin formed a sense of genuine Japanese expression, but the United States and Europe reinforced this notion further.

Hamada and Rosanjin's pots are frequently framed in the West as typical of Japanese tradition in the West, Kikuchi's theory of Reverse Orientalism helps explain the international process reinforcing this "Japaneseness." Kikuchi defines Reverse Orientalism as an exportation of an Eastern identity aligned with expectations of a specific orientalist view.⁵³ Yanagi not only presents his theory as authentically Japanese, he validates his theory with the Western notion that the East possesses a unique, instinctive, and intuitive approach to knowledge.⁵⁴ Through his publications, like *The Unknown Craftsman*, Yanagi promulgated the idea of an authentic and original Japanese essence that imbued crafts made in Japan. Then his ideas reached the West through his English friend Bernard Leach.⁵⁵

The concept of Reverse Orientalism can be applied to Hamada and Rosanjin, because they employed tradition in a way that evoked a sense of essentially Japanese qualities, which the West validated as an authentic and genuine Japanese expression. For example, American author Susan Peterson frames Hamada as a Japanese "master potter" in her publication *Shoji Hamada: A Potter's Way and Work*.⁵⁶ American author Sydney Cardozo proclaims Rosanjin as another Japanese "master" potter in the exhibition catalogue titled, *Rosanjin: Master Potter of Japan*.⁵⁷ In effect, these publications reinforce Hamada's and Rosanjin's pottery as part of an authentic Japanese heritage.

As the potters navigated international channels, they reveal an important side-effect of Reverse Orientalism, where the interchange between East confirms assumptions generated in the West. In Kikuchi's analysis, Yanagi's claim to originality paralleled then common Western perceptions of Japanese philosophers as intuitive, instinctive, and original thinkers.⁵⁸ Then Western orientalist discourse used Yanagi's ideas as an affirmation of this Western perspective.⁵⁹ In effect, Western reception further validated and reinforced the notion of a

Japanese essence that can be viewed in Hamada's and Rosanjin's pottery. As such, the authentic "Japaneseness" that Hamada and Rosanjin represented seemed to parallel an American preference for traditional Japanese arts and craft inspired by premodern sources.⁶⁰

Instead of considering Orientalism solely as a reflection of domination, Kikuchi's theories are valuable for analyzing the development of personal and national identities that formed in the complex global exchange of the 1950s and onward. Like Yanagi, Hamada and Rosanjin both crafted personas that reflected an ongoing global exchange of ideas through a shared international discourse among Japan, the United States, and Europe. In turn, Western reception validated this sense of "Japaneseness" that collectors and writers perceived in Hamada's and Rosanjin's pottery. To understand how the potters became renowned in this way, I will start by analyzing how they shaped their traditions.

Personal Narratives: Traditional Styles

Hamada and Rosanjin cultivated an essentially Japanese aesthetic through their representation of tradition in the vase and jar. Through their pottery, they produced and preserved a Japanese heritage through its reinvention in an advancing modern world.⁶¹ They accomplish this by referencing and synthesizing premodern Japanese ceramic forms and processes in their own distinct and individual ways. Despite their different modes of thought and demeanor, both Hamada and Rosanjin made pots that are generally considered traditional. They labored in a seemingly conventional method by establishing studio practices that emulated Japanese traditions. Their decisions in establishing their potteries demonstrate the formation of the "Japaneseness" seen in their pots.

Hamada's biography reveals his personal styling as a Japanese folk potter started when he transplanted himself into a pre-existing tradition and then assumed the conventions available as his own. He was born in Tokyo, the capital city of Japan, where he gained the highest technical ceramic education available in Japan at the time.⁶² Afterward, Hamada met Yanagi Sōetsu, who in turn introduced him to another pivotal figure of the *Mingei* movement, Bernard Leach. In 1920, Leach invited Hamada to England to help him establish a pottery. Due to Hamada's extensive ceramic education, he adroitly helped design and construct a kiln with Leach. As Julian Stair illustrates in *Shoji Hamada: Master Potter*, the trip to England was a turning point for Hamada, as the trip influenced his decision to start his own pottery in Mashiko, a pottery village north of Tokyo.⁶³

Hamada's experience at Leach's studio pottery in England prompted him to revisit the concept of a traditional pottery—but through Japanese terms—when he returned.⁶⁴ What is particularly striking about his decision to turn away from his cosmopolitan education and move to the countryside is that he self-consciously developed a folk potter persona instead of pursuing a career in industrial or commercial ceramics. He clearly held handmade Japanese ceramics in such high esteem that he decided to move to the country and establish his practice.

After Hamada's experience in England and his exposure to a rustic studio, he decided to develop his own tradition at Mashiko that would be considered a tradition in Japan.⁶⁵ By pursuing his unique and consistent *Mingei* style, he naturalized his practice within the pottery village. Additionally, Hamada started a family at the studio, which paralleled the model of traditional family operated kiln sites.⁶⁶ The focus on a single style, and the family dynamic, parallels the pattern of premodern Japanese pottery, where families operate a kiln for

generations.⁶⁷ As such, Hamada seemed to embody an authentic Japanese practice through the tradition he founded.

Kitaōji Rosanjin's biography sketches a similar interest in traditional crafts that defines his pottery as such, but displays an eccentric attitude and lifestyle quite removed from convention. After all, Rosanjin married five times and changed his birth name to his potter name.⁶⁸ This may suggest a freewheeling lifestyle, but Rosanjin's early years were marked by a hardship that seemed to foster an adaptive attitude in making the most out of opportunities.⁶⁹ By 1950, he had settled on "Rosanjin" as his official artist name and was working at the kiln he established at Kita Kamakura, southwest of Tokyo.⁷⁰

Without having had any kind of formal master-apprenticeship practice, Rosanjin established his studio in part to pursue his epicurean desires.⁷¹ His interests resonate with a sense of Japanese nationalism and superior attitude toward food. Rosanjin states that, "ideally in Japanese cuisine, the ingredients are so delectable that they may be enjoyed without resorting to the complex techniques of Western-style cooking."⁷² Basically, Rosanjin placed Japanese cuisine in higher regard than others. He intertwined this prestige with ceramics. He stated, "If clothes make the person, dishes make the food... It is my experience and my conviction that preparation of food and choice of tableware require identical ingenuity and conscientiousness."⁷³ In other words, he holds ceramics on an equal standing as Japanese cuisine. Rosanjin seemed to foster this attitude toward Japanese tradition when he decided to start his pottery in Kamakura.

Like Hamada, Rosanjin lacked traditional training. But unlike Hamada, rather than settle in a pottery village, Rosanjin established kilns away from traditional sites to pursue a variety of Japanese forms. Despite the lack of apprenticeship, He fashioned ceramic ware inspired by his well-informed understanding of the premodern East Asian pots that he collected.⁷⁴ He frequently

practiced various traditional Japanese forms and surfaces to develop a body of work that in fact refuted tradition.⁷⁵ Instead of emulating a single style—like Hamada’s mirroring of a traditional pottery—he subverted convention by using the numerous visual languages available in Japanese history to suit his own interests.

Hamada and Rosanjin both reference historical forms in unconventional ways that invoke the sense of “Japaneseness” in their pottery. When Hamada started his own pottery workshop at Mashiko, he aimed to reproduce a traditional Japanese pottery as closely he could. As such, Hamada created a new tradition parallel to Yanagi’s *Mingei* theory. When Rosanjin manipulated aesthetic conventions to satisfy his culinary pursuits, he adapted traditional forms to accentuate the prominence of his Japanese cuisine and ceramics. As a result, Hamada’s vase and Rosanjin’s jar characterize this process of reimagining tradition through the emphasis upon essential Japanese qualities produced through pre-existing conventions.

Hamada’s and Rosanjin’s life and work echoes a process of Reverse Orientalism through the narratives that emerged around the potters following their debut in the United States after the Second World War. In effect, their identities as Japanese potters appear to resonate with Western discourse on Japanese ceramics at the time and—in turn—Western reception reinforced this sense of authenticity. Their American biographers were critical to framing Hamada and Rosanjin as genuine traditional potters.

Personal Narratives: Commemorative Biographies

After the Second World War, the celebratory discourse that emerged around the two potters helped shape American perceptions of Hamada and Rosanjin, particularly through writings that emphasized and romanticized their “Japaneseness.” In the 1960s and 1970s,

American authors Susan Peterson and Sidney Cardozo brought Hamada and Rosanjin to public awareness in the United States with biographies that relied mainly upon anecdotal writings. Their writings focused upon what they perceived as quintessential Japanese characteristics operating in their lives and work.

Peterson's *Shoji Hamada: A Potter's Way and Work* (1970) and Cardozo's *Uncommon Clay* (1987) are organized around personal anecdotes and the ideas espoused by the potters. In Peterson's chronicle, she casts Hamada as the creative protagonist in a story that omits any shortcomings in his practice. For his part, Cardozo shares vignettes of Rosanjin's lifestyle, labor, and his studio. Additionally, he responds to negative criticism of the potter, and in turn offers his own negative critique of Hamada, Leach, and Yanagi.⁷⁶ The cultivation of a relentlessly positive and heroic tone in Peterson and Cardozo's writings idealize the potters' lives and obscure critical comprehension of their work. Peterson's and Cardozo's anecdotal writings illuminate the potters' daily lives, personal musings, and methods of working. Yet, the same stories gloss over the contexts that surrounded Hamada's and Rosanjin's development as potters.

Peterson's book on Hamada's life and career at Mashiko frames his studio practice as the authentic and pure Japanese tradition he embraced.⁷⁷ For example, reminiscing about her own visit to Hamada's studio in *Shoji Hamada: A Potter's Way and Work*, Peterson describes his studio as, "barely visible from the gatehouse, up the road lined with trees and strewn with leaves. One has to know that the long, low, thatch-roofed building commanding the knoll is there, off to one side, away from the center of the whole compound."⁷⁸ She continues to set the scene stating, "sun and shadows, lights and darks, play on the straw roof, bounce and glitter from the tall trees, patterning the ground, catching the pots."⁷⁹ Peterson's idyllic vision of Hamada's studio

reinforces the pastoral image he set out to embody. She turns his practice into an exotic and timeless place through her romantic descriptions.

In contrast to Peterson's sentimentalism, Cardozo attempts to validate Rosanjin by comparing him to an iconic Western painter. He observes, "it is difficult to write of Rosanjin without mention of Picasso. While there are no similarities in the work they produced, in character, temperament, and approach they stood side by side."⁸⁰ In fact, the two artists did meet in 1954, when Rosanjin visited Picasso's studio.⁸¹ That meeting between them did not exoticize Rosanjin. Instead, the meeting seemed to integrate Rosanjin into Western discourse through his proximity to Picasso. Cardozo's comparison engenders orientalist connotations, because he uses his Western perspective to validate the greatness of an Eastern potter through measure against a renowned Western painter.

At first glance, the writings by Peterson and Cardozo seem consistent with the orientalist vantage point that Said identifies. They either romance or authorize the potters through a Western lens. Either way, Peterson and Cardozo reinforced the notion of the potters' "Japaneseness" through rhetoric that mystified, glorified, and romanced their biographies. Despite the orientalist overtones, their publications benefited both potter and author, pointing to a symbiotic relationship that developed in the postwar period. The exchange between potter and author resembles the patterns of Reverse Orientalism, where Western writers bolstered the originality of Hamada and Rosanjin. However, larger organizations also engaged in reinforcing the potters' legacy.

Institutional Narratives: Universities and Museums

In addition to published biographies, institutions performed an important role in authenticating and institutionalizing Hamada and Rosanjin during the postwar period. Universities and museums across the United States sponsored Hamada and Rosanjin through a series of tours and exhibitions that demonstrated the potters' stylistic developments to a broad range of Western audiences. In effect, these organizations follow a pattern of Reverse Orientalism by facilitating Hamada and Rosanjin's travels to the United States and further supporting the notion of the "Japaneseness" evoked through the potters' reworked traditions.

For example, Black Mountain College of North Carolina, Archie Bray Foundation in Montana, and the Chouinard Art Institute in California all hosted Hamada, Yanagi, and Leach on their tour of 1952.⁸² Meanwhile, Alfred University—widely considered the best American ceramics institution of the era—hosted Rosanjin in 1954 prior to an exhibition of his work at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.⁸³ Magazines like *Craft Horizons* and *Ceramics Monthly* produced articles featuring images and descriptions of Hamada and Rosanjin.⁸⁴ In the 1950s, Hamada and Rosanjin made an impact in the West through these organizations.

Craft institutions like Black Mountain College and the Archie Bray Foundation for the Ceramic Arts facilitated the tours by Hamada Shōji, Yanagi Sōetsu, and Bernard Leach, who made lasting impressions in America.⁸⁵ Renowned American potter Warren Mackenzie conveys the profound exchanges between the *Mingei* troupe and the institutions they visited, where they held demos and critiques.⁸⁶ Mackenzie recounts that at the Archie Bray Foundation, ceramist Peter Voulkos was a resident artist during Hamada's visit in 1952, and asked for a critique. Hamada advised, "Your work is very strong, but it would be better if you would allow the clay to speak more."⁸⁷ Shortly afterward, Voulkos sparked a revolution in California that redefined

American ceramics.⁸⁸ Arguably, he departed from convention due to his interaction with *Mingei*, rather than his exposure to Abstract Expressionism, usually cited as his inspiration.⁸⁹ As such, Hamada impacted American studio ceramics and the exposure abroad solidified his status through these encounters and anecdotes that Western writers and artists shared.

In 1954, MoMA exhibited Rosanjin in a solo show, where the organization emphasized the traditional qualities of his pottery as modern expressions.⁹⁰ This echoes the “modern spirit” alluded to earlier by Munsterberg, but on a more significant scale. The title of the show, “Japanese Pottery,” misled people’s expectations as it implied that Rosanjin represented all forms of pots from Japan, yet it served to further reinforce the essential Japanese characteristics his work could invoke. In addition to MoMA underlining Rosanjin’s status, universities also invited him to their campuses.

Alfred University hosted Rosanjin to conduct a demonstration and lecture in conjunction with his MoMA exhibition. Rosanjin’s informal talk reveals a growing interest in his pottery through institutions of the United States. He states, “I hear that the Japanese Fine Arts Exhibition recently held in the United States won acclaim everywhere, and I think it was inevitable, because excellent things are excellent to everybody’s eyes, and it is natural that one thinks a beautiful thing beautiful—unless he has a warped way of thinking or a distorted taste.”⁹¹ In other words, he praises American audiences for recognizing a universal beauty inherent in Japanese art, but disagreement with this beauty is a perversion of taste. His generous words seem to reciprocate the acclaim he received through his MoMA exhibition that year. As such, Rosanjin’s speech and exhibition highlights the exchange between the United States and Japan that fortified Rosanjin’s status as a traditional potter.

With the far-reaching role of museums, publications, and universities, Rosanjin and Hamada attained international acclaim and influence. In effect, their tours of North America and Europe greatly influenced Western ceramics through the proliferation of Japanese aesthetics by institutions in the postwar period. Likewise, American institutions seemed eager to bring the two potters to the United States where an interest to exhibit their aesthetics grew quickly in the 1950s. These organizations were a component of a larger cultural transaction emerging after the Second World War. Consequently, museums and universities *institutionalized* Rosanjin and Hamada as traditional Japanese potters. Yet, why were these organizations so interested in these two potters in the 1950s?

International Narratives: The Cold War as Context

In addition to the personal and institutional narratives described, an examination of a global backdrop that encompassed Hamada's and Rosanjin's pottery reveals their place within an international exchange between Japan and the United States.⁹² The three decades following WWII marked a shift in global tone, where democracy and communism fractured the world into multiple conflicts that remain unresolved today.⁹³ Reconsidering Hamada and Rosanjin within the context of the Cold War illustrates the political reasons behind institutional interests in importing and sponsoring the potters as particularly traditional.⁹⁴ Hamada and Rosanjin would have a role in regenerating trust between the United States and Japan.

The driving question behind my analysis of Hamada's and Rosanjin's pottery within the Cold War period centers upon their tours that followed shortly after the end of the Allied Occupation of Japan in 1952. Why did Hamada and Rosanjin come to the U.S. in the 1950s? Who was interested in the aesthetics and ideas they espoused and why? An overview of the

interactions between the United States and Japan before the Cold War demonstrates the crucial timing of Hamada's and Rosanjin's tours following WWII.

Before WWII, Japan had undergone an intensive national project to modernize Japanese culture and infrastructure during the nineteenth century.⁹⁵ By appropriating the model of industrial Western civilization, Japan entered the 20th century as a global power tied to the cultural, economic, and military activities of North America and Europe. At the turn of the 20th century, Imperial Japan had colonized pacific islands as well as Korea and parts of China.⁹⁶

Consequently, Japan's colonization of East Asia engendered the growth of Japanese collectors, as well as international enmity. After Pearl Harbor in 1941, the U.S. declared war on Japan, leading to the use of atomic force in 1945 and subsequent Allied Occupation of Japan. During the Occupation, the United States installed its largest naval base in Okinawa. By 1950, North Korea transgressed the 38th Parallel and sparked a new conflict in East Asia. In 1951, the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty ratified Japan's constitutional sovereignty.⁹⁷ Against this backdrop, Hamada and Rosanjin were part of a larger cultural project that sought to alleviate postwar tensions that developed in the dynamic first half of the 20th century

Takuya Kida investigates this program through the invention of tradition in the 1950s.⁹⁸ In his article on "soft power," Kida asserts that the influence of American power through cultural exchange made considerable impact upon the establishment of traditional crafts in Japan during the postwar period.⁹⁹ He argues that the United States effectively determined what constituted traditional Japanese crafts through an exertion of cultural force he considers "soft power."¹⁰⁰ Moreover, he contends that this understanding was ultimately a side effect of the Cold War.¹⁰¹

For example, he reveals that Rosanjin was part of a larger series of exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) during the 1950s as part of a reciprocal cultural campaign

organized by John D. Rockefeller III and Blanchette Ferry Rockefeller, his wife and a trustee of MoMA.¹⁰² The Rockefellers' support of imported Japanese culture aimed to restore dignity to Japanese culture and develop respect in American audiences toward Japan.¹⁰³ Kida thoroughly illustrates the impact of the Cold War upon the notion of tradition and its apparent invention through international transactions. However, Hamada and Rosanjin had already worked throughout the tumult of the 20th century, developing their styles prior to direct intervention by the United States. In other words, Hamada and Rosanjin forged their own paths through premodern Japanese aesthetics that, in turn, likely made them even more appealing to Western viewers.

American interest in Rosanjin may be explained by the fact that the CIA and MoMA had developed a strong relationship by the 1950s—supported by the Rockefeller family—as a means of propagating the ideas of Abstract Expressionism.¹⁰⁴ The CIA's general interest in American Abstract Expressionist artists as a counterpoint to communist art seemed to parallel attention given to Rosanjin by MoMA. And if MoMA had a habit of supporting artists who made rough and irregular works, then Rosanjin fit the museum's profiling.¹⁰⁵ His eclectic demeanor resembled modernist artists like Picasso and Jackson Pollock. As seen in *Jar*, Rosanjin's coarse and expressive use of form and surface spoke a similar language alongside Abstract Expressionism. And like other modernists shown by MoMA, he drew inspiration from premodern sources.

In addition to his distinct style, he shared the same apolitical approach to art that seemed to characterize Abstract Expressionism, and—on top of this laundry list of comparisons—John Rockefeller III and his wife were admirers of Rosanjin's pottery.¹⁰⁶ In effect, the personal and institutional aspects around Rosanjin culminated on an international scale, and elevated him to

the prestigious position—by which his pots hold substantial currency in a discussion of 20th century Japanese ceramics. At the same time, he helped regenerate trust between the United States and Japan. Meanwhile, Hamada gained fame through a different junction in America: the ceramics craft world.

Historian, Frances Saunders examines the function of religion in Cold War American propaganda, and her assessment involves the spiritual aspects present in Hamada's work by extension of his close friendship with Yanagi Sōetsu.¹⁰⁷ Saunders states, “religious faith in the moral law had been enshrined in the Constitution of the United States in 1789, but it was during the height of the Cold War that America discovered how useful the invocation of the highest hosanna could be.”¹⁰⁸ The amplified religious mood in America overlapped with the spiritual flavor Yanagi had imbued in his *Mingei* theory.¹⁰⁹ The spiritual tone of Yanagi—and Hamada, by proximity—seemed to have appealed to an increased religious zeal among Americans during the Cold War. When Hamada, Yanagi, and Leach toured the United States, they also spread the ideas Yanagi developed in his *Mingei* theory. Through the proselytization of *Mingei* theory in the United States, Hamada's influential tours disseminated his Japanese aesthetics without the aid of the Rockefellers. This also fortified his status as a champion of folk craft and the quintessential Japanese folk potter.

Additionally, Yanagi addresses communism—the ideological enemy of American democracy—in the section of *The Unknown Craftsman* titled, “Towards a Standard of Beauty.” He states:

Religion is derided by Communism as an appendix of Slavish ignorance, but what has Communism got to offer the hungry spirit? I have studied and thought about the flowering of the crafts of mankind for a long time and always find that I come

back to the mothering care of the beliefs of man. What a great debt we owe them.¹¹⁰

Yanagi claims that communism destroys the human spirit and through the traditions of craft that the human spirit can live on. In this way, He seemed to share a common cause with anti-communist sentiments while appealing to a spiritual affection he found in crafts. While Hamada does not explicitly align himself with Yanagi, he toured with his friend in 1952 when Yanagi conveyed this message. Thus, Hamada helped spread the anti-communist notion alongside the spread of his pottery and influence. This contributed to Hamada's appeal in the United States and the resulting elevation of his status as a traditional potter.

The Cold War context provides a glimpse into the international roles within which Hamada and Rosanjin operated. Their development of a traditional Japanese aesthetic benefitted the potters' careers through an enthusiastic reception by Western audiences. This embrace of their aesthetics reinforced the notion of a uniquely Japanese quality evoked by their pottery. Through this exchange Western audiences cemented the notion of Hamada's and Rosanjin's quintessentially Japanese traditions. Furthermore, the vessels came to embody an enduring international exchange between the United States and Japan that idealized Japanese culture in the wake of the Second World War. This international exchange fostered the institutional embrace of Hamada's and Rosanjin's life and work as authentic, traditional, and importantly, Japanese.

Conclusion

Given their ingenuity in navigating convention and innovation, the prominence Hamada and Rosanjin hold in the discourse of modern Japanese ceramics comes as no surprise. However, their significance in ceramics reflects—rather than prescribes—the history that they were a part

of. The characteristics that Hamada and Rosanjin captured in clay were part of a process that explored premodern tradition within a dynamic modern timeline. The discourse around Hamada and Rosanjin compounded this process by obscuring contexts and clues evident in their lives and work by announcing them as champions of Japanese ceramics.

Hamada and Rosanjin encourage the pursuit of beauty in the mundane and ordinary. Through food or pottery, they never ceased to find beauty in the world. They respected the time-tested ideas of the past, but pioneered their own course in history. As Japan became a modern global power, Hamada and Rosanjin persevered and labored for their crafts. Their pottery adhered to concepts linked to premodern eras. Hamada's Vase and Rosanjin's Jar show that observing and applying the past in imaginative ways offer fresh and exciting insights to history by reframing convention as a potent and fresh endeavor. As Yanagi implored, "When tradition has died out, it is necessary for individual artists to work in place of tradition."¹¹¹



Fig. 1. Shōji Hamada. Vase. 1923-1978, Ceramic, 9 in. x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Alfred Ceramic Art Museum, New York.

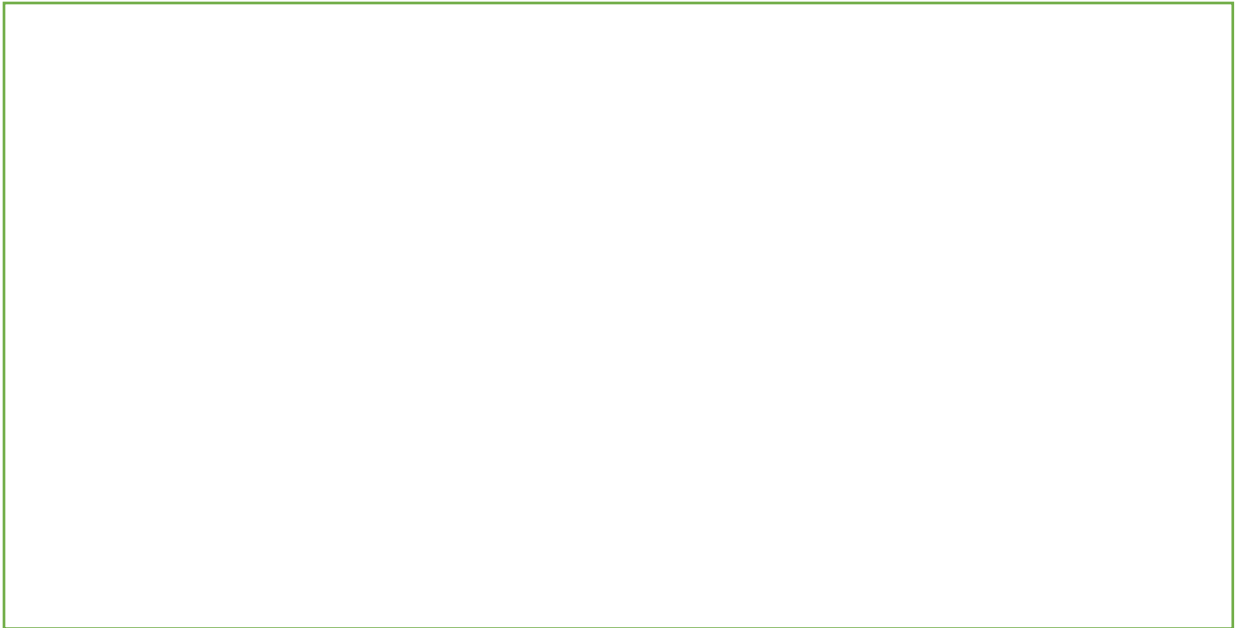


Fig. 2. Kitaōji Rosanjin. *Jar*. 1953, Ceramic, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Alfred Ceramic Art Museum, New York.

Notes

¹ "Japanese Pottery by Kitaōji Rosanjin | MoMA." The Museum of Modern Art, (1954), Accessed February 30, 2017. <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2749?locale=en>.

² Arizona State University Art Museum Ceramics Research Center, "Shoji Hamada – (1894 – 1978)" *Artist Bio Project*, (Arizona: Herberger Institute for Design and the Arts, September, 2008), Accessed, May 1, 2017, https://asuartmuseum.asu.edu/sites/default/files/hamada_shoji_biography.pdf

³ Ibid.

⁴ Yanagi Sōetsu, *The Unknown Craftsman*, trans. Bernard Leach (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1972), 102-103 and 106-107.

⁵ Bernard Leach, "Introduction," in Yanagi Sōetsu, *The Unknown Craftsman*, 69.

⁶ Ibid., 87.

⁷ Ibid. The fact that Leach was close friends with and translated Yanagi's works illustrates his importance and influence in the movement.

⁸ Peter Lane, *Studio Ceramics*, (London: William Collins Sons & Co Ltd, 1983), 25.

⁹ Ibid., 7-8.

¹⁰ Ibid., 7-8.

¹¹ Ibid., 8-9.

¹² Ibid., 14.

¹³ Garth Clark. "Otis and Berkeley: Crucibles of the American Clay Revolution," in *Color and Fire*, Jo Lauria, et al. (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 127, 141, and 136.

¹⁴ Ibid., 130.

¹⁵ Ibid., 142.

¹⁶ Ibid., 136.

¹⁷ Junichi Takeuchi, Masako Shimizu, Setagaya Bijutsukan, *Creative Tradition: The Ceramics of Rosanjin and Masterpieces of the Past Which Influenced him*, (Tokyo: Setagaya Art Museum, 1996), 5-8.

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- ¹⁸ Louise Allison Cort, "Tea in Japan: from the Sixteenth Century to the Present," in *Chanoyu: Japanese Tea Ceremony*, ed. Hayashiya Seizo (Kyoto: Tankosha, 1979), 25-29.
- ¹⁹ Maria Roman Navarro, *The Rise of Bizen Ceramics in the Momoyama Period*, (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag GmbH, 2008), 28-32.
- ²⁰ Robert Moes and Rupert Faulkner, *Quiet Beauty: Fifty Centuries of Japanese Folk Ceramics from the Montgomery Collection*. (Virginia: Art Services International, 2003), 55.
- ²¹ Louise Allison Cort, *Shigaraki, Potters' Valley*, 1st ed. (New York: Kodansha International, 1979), 54.
- ²² Hugo Munsterberg, "East and West in Contemporary Japanese Art." *College Art Journal*. 18, No. 1 (Autumn, 1958): 38-39.
- ²³ Yuko Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2006), xvi.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Ibid., xv.
- ²⁶ Ibid., 43.
- ²⁷ Ibid., 123, 197.
- ²⁸ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). 1-28.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 4.
- ³⁰ Ibid., 3.
- ³¹ Ibid., 26.
- ³² Ibid., 12.
- ³³ Ibid., 4-5.
- ³⁴ Munsterberg, "East and West," 38-39.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation*, 123.
- ³⁷ Ibid., 42.
- ³⁸ Yanagi, *The Unknown Craftsman*. 101-108.

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- ³⁹ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation*, 123.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., 123-124.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., 153.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., 131.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., 124.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Kikuchi, Yuko, “Hybridity and the Oriental Orientalism of ‘Mingei’ Theory.” *Journal of Design History*, 10 No. 4, (Oxford University Press, 1998): 351.
- ⁴⁹ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation*, 114.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid. 11-16.
- ⁵¹ Eric Hobsbawn, “Introduction: Inventing Tradition” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawn, (Cambridge: Canto, 1992), 1-14.
- ⁵² Ibid., 1.
- ⁵³ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation*, 197-198.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Susan Peterson, *Shoji Hamada: A Potter’s Way and Work*, (Hong Kong: Weatherhill, Inc., 1995).
- ⁵⁷ Sidney Cardozo and Masaaki Hirano, *Rosanjin: 20th Century Master Potter of Japan*, (US: Japan Society), 1972.
- ⁵⁸ Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation*, 199-201.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid., 243-245.

⁶⁰ Takuya Kida, “Japanese Crafts and Cultural Exchange with the USA in the 1950s: Soft Power and John D. Rockefeller III during the Cold War.” *Journal of Design History*. 25 No.4. (England: Oxford University Press, 2012): 379-399.

⁶¹ For Hamada, the *Mingei* movement—which he was a core member of—centered upon the preservation of hand crafts in the rapidly advancing industrial age. See Yanagi Sōetsu, *The Unknown Craftsman*. For Rosanjin, he used traditional forms to accentuate his cuisine that upheld Japanese gourmet as a superior flavor. See Rosanjin, “Walking Alone,” in *Uncommon Clay*, Cardozo and Hirano, 95-108.

⁶² "History | Overview | About Tokyo Tech |" *Tokyo Institute of Technology*, accessed May 1, 2017, <http://www.titech.ac.jp/english/about/overview/history.html>.

⁶³ Timothy Wilcox, Janet Leach, Hamada Shōji, Yuko Kikuchi, Oliver Watson, and Julian Stair, *Shoji Hamada: Master Potter*, (London: Lund Humphries, 1998), 20-26.

⁶⁴ Julian Stair, “Genius and Circumstance: Early Criticism of Hamada’s Pottery in England,” in Wilcox, et al., *Shoji Hamada*. 15-20.

⁶⁵ Barbara C Adachi, Harri Peccinotti, and Michael Foreman. *The Living Treasures of Japan*. New York; Tokyo; Kodansha International, 1973. 14.

⁶⁶ Peterson, *Shoji Hamada*. 49-67.

⁶⁷ Asahiyaki Pottery in Uji, Kyoto, accessed June 1, 2017, <http://asahiyaki.com/english/>.

⁶⁸ Cardozo and Hirano, *Uncommon Clay*, 153.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 128-129.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 150, 153.

⁷¹ Rosanjin, “Walking Alone” in *Uncommon Clay*, Cardozo and Hirano. 95.

⁷² Ibid., 96.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Cardozo and Hirano, *Uncommon Clay*, 12-13.

⁷⁵ Masaaki Hirano, “Biographical Sketch,” in *Uncommon Clay*, Cardozo and Hirano, 132.

⁷⁶ Cardozo and Hirano, *Uncommon Clay*, 12.

⁷⁷ Peterson, *Shoji Hamada*, 25-27.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 35.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Cardozo and Hirano, *Uncommon Clay*, 10.

⁸¹ Ibid, 23.

⁸² Warren Mackenzie et al., *The Quiet Eye: Pottery of Shōji Hamada & Bernard Leach* (Monterey, CA: Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art, 1991), 25.

⁸³ Kitaōji Rosanjin, “Informal speech delivered at Alfred University,” Transcript, 1954.

⁸⁴ Melvin Bernstein, *Art and Design at Alfred: a Chronicle of a Ceramics College*. (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1986). 135 and 168.

⁸⁵ Clark. “Otis and Berkeley,” in *Color and Fire*, Lauria et al., 123-158.

⁸⁶ Mackenzie, et al., *Quiet Eye*, 29.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 30.

⁸⁸ Clark. “Otis and Berkeley,” in *Color and Fire*, Lauria, et al., 123-158.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ "Japanese Pottery by Kitaoji Rosanjin | MoMA." The Museum of Modern Art.

⁹¹ Rosanjin, “Speech,” 3.

⁹² Although Hamada’s vase is not precisely dated, what is significant about his work in the Cold War period is the increased circulation of his work. Rather than focusing on when the vessel was made, I emphasize when Hamada’s pottery began to circulate on a broader global platform in the postwar period. Before the war, Hamada exhibited in England—see Stair, “Genius and Circumstance: Early Criticism of Hamada’s Pottery in England,” in *Shoji Hamada*. 15-20. After the Second World War, Hamada began to travel and show in the United States alongside additional exposure in England.

⁹³ John Kuehn, *Military History of Japan: From the Age of the Samurai to the 21st Century*. (Westport, US: Greenwood), 2013. 227-245.

⁹⁴ Conversations with Dr. Meghan Jones on this subject helped illuminate the role of Hamada and Rosanjin during the 1950s-postwar period. Her insights were invaluable to this investigation. She will publish an article in *Design and Culture* that specifically addresses Hamada’s and Rosanjin’s relationship to Cold War America during the 1950s.

⁹⁵ Kuehn, *Military History of Japan*, 170-193.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ John Foster Dulles, *A Peace Treaty in the Making: Japanese Peace Conference*, San Francisco, September 4-8, 1951 (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1951).

⁹⁸ Kida. "Soft Power," 381-394.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 379.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 393.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 394.

¹⁰² Ibid., 385.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 393.

¹⁰⁴ Frances Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: the CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 2013): 252 -278.

¹⁰⁵ Kida, "Soft Power," 388.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 385-388.

¹⁰⁷ Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*. 279-301.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Kikuchi. *Japanese Modernisation*. 198-201.

¹¹⁰ Yanagi Sōetsu, *The Unknown Craftsman*, 104. Though his writings were not translated into English until 1972 by Bernard Leach, Yanagi wrote the passage above by 1952 when he, Hamada, and Leach toured the U.S.

¹¹¹ Yanagi, *The Unknown Craftsmen*, 221.

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