STATE FORMATION IN JAPAN

Emergence of a 4th-century ruling elite

Gina L. Barnes

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This book examines the processes of elite identity formation and accumulation of political power in Japan between the 2nd century BC and late 4th century AD. It analyses early chiefly patterns of interaction both with peer chieftains on the Korean Peninsula and within the Japanese Islands, and with political superiors in the Chinese imperial court. Chinese records about the archipelago's inhabitants frame the study of polity formation at the 'Edge of Empire', while analyses of new burial data and art historical evidence generate hypotheses that early female queens ruled as earthly equivalents of the Chinese mythical Queen Mother of the West. It offers a rebuttal of Wallerstein's characterizations of the Han tributary system and portrayal of the economic periphery as applied to Japan and undertakes a comparison of the Chinese and Japanese historical records in which the former identifies queens as rulers but which are omitted from the latter. Furthermore, the author presents a thorough examination of the chiefly burial mound system and its research problems and an analysis of burial data to document the formation of polities and emergence of elite rulers. A reconsideration of the identification and role of elite class formation in early state society is presented along with an interpretation of political ideology underpinning the early Japanese state based on Chinese mythology. This book brings together for the first time a significant body of the author's scholarly work on Japanese early state formation, forming a coherent overview of the problems and solutions of ancient Japan.

Gina L. Barnes is Professorial Research Associate at the Japan Research Centre and Department of Art and Archaeology, SOAS, University of London. She is the author of *Protohistoric Yamato* (1988), *State Formation in Korea* (2001) and *The Rise of Civilization in East Asia* (1993/1999) which is used worldwide as the main textbook in the field. She is Founder and First President of the Society for East Asian Archaeology and currently serves as Treasurer and Membership Secretary.

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Gina L. Barnes

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To Henry
who encouraged me to look beyond Japan
both East and West

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Preface

Scope of study

This book focuses on the early segment of historitorical trajectory that produced the entity we now call the Yamato State. The emphasis is on the process of emergence: how centralized polities formed in relation to Bronze Age chiefdoms on the Korean Peninsula and dynastic systems of the China Mainland; how these became territorial hierarchies with elite ruling strata at their tops; and how the regional societies became stratified through those rulers' participation in the alliance structures and material manipulations of the Mounded Tomb Culture. The timespan encompasses from the 1st century BC to AD 350.

This volume was originally planned to include the entire Kofun period (AD 250–710), usually described as the period of state formation, by illustrating the swing of the pendulum from close ties between the emerging elites of the Japanese Islands with the Chinese dynastic courts (3rd–4th centuries), to intense interaction of those maturing elites with their peers on the Korean Peninsula (late 4th to mid-7th centuries), then a return to preoccupation with China again after AD 645. However, there has been so much new research on the first stage, including publication of the keyhole tomb compendium in the 1990s (Kondō 1992–2000) providing data ripe for analysis, that this volume has been subsumed by that first swing of the pendulum. In fact, it doesn't even reach the phase that I personally consider the formation of the Japanese state (late 5th century). Nevertheless, it does by other definitions, thus justifying the main title of this book given to it by my publishers. The rest of the story must await another 70,000-word contract.

My addition to the book's title is the 'Emergence of a 4th-century ruling elite', and the reader will find that the main theme concerns the processes of social stratification in creating a body of elite rulers throughout the central and western Japanese Islands. Many years ago, my PhD Supervisor Henry Wright confided to me that, although it was necessary to understand

the processes of state formation, how societies become socially stratified may be the more fascinating topic. No state has ever arisen in an unstratified society; thus I adopted early on the stance that social stratification is a necessary prerequisite for state formation. With the new data being generated in Early Kofun-period archaeology, we now have one of the best 'laboratories' to explore these interesting processes of social stratification and understand how many regionally based political hierarchies merged into one society comprised of two classes, the rulers and the ruled, in Kofun-period Japan.

One objective in writing this volume has been to reposition the discussion of state formation in Japan from an exclusively internal developmental viewpoint (G. Barnes 1988) to one which takes into account the location and role of Japan within East Asian protohistory. This has necessarily meant shifting the emphasis from the dynamics of processes which have been imbued with importance in primary state formation studies to the historical contingencies inherent in Japan's developmental trajectory *vis-à-vis* the continent. The emphasis on state formation theory is therefore proportionally reduced in favour of interaction theories.

A further objective has been to incorporate some of the multitudes of new ideas, if not all the data, that have been generated in the last twenty years by Japanese archaeologists. Heretofore, the Kofun period has been assessed primarily in terms of its material remains, as demonstrated by the period's characterization as a Mounded Tomb Culture (MTC). We are now at a turning point where we can begin looking at very fine historical detail within both the MTC and its preceding Yayoi cultures in western Japan to assess people's actions rather than their products. This dovetails nicely with the advent of agency theory in western archaeology; and the broad directions in which interpretations are possible or are actively being developed are aired here. The research record for Japan is so rich, however, that it is impossible to convey the fascinating details of much of the scholarship being carried out. For these, one must be referred to the literature in Japanese.

Background for the dynastic successions in China can be found encapsulated in my earlier work, *The Rise of Civilization in East Asia* (Barnes 1999), and detailed information on most of the peninsular states is given in the companion to this volume, *State Formation in Korea* (Barnes 2001). Reference to relevant material in the latter volume is referred to in this text in square brackets [e.g. SFK, ch. 1]. Important orienting maps and language guides are given in the 'Conventions' section below.

Acknowledgements

How can I thank the innumerable people who have assisted me over several decades in studying the Japanese state? Words are insufficient, and a telephone directory list of all those I am indebted to would be overwhelming. I was introduced to Kofun-period archaeology by Dr J. Edward Kidder at the

International Christian University in Tokyo exactly 40 years ago; to him I owe my career path, and I am grateful now to be able to address him as a peer. Thank you, 'Ted'. This volume is dedicated to Henry T. Wright at the University of Michigan, who took me under his wing with the death of my own Japanese archaeology supervisor, Richard K. Beardsley, and kept me focussed on the theoretical aspects of state formation. He is a long-time supervisor, colleague and friend who has influenced my thinking in many ways. Then HIGUCHI Takayasu, Professor at Kyōto University where I did my doctoral fieldwork, opened doors for me then and continues to provide me with research materials from abroad. When I turn from teachers to close colleagues, my most stimulating discussions have been with TSUDE Hiroshi, OKITA Masaaki and TERASAWA Kaoru, all of whom are friends of 25 years' standing. I admire their work on the Yayoi and Kofun periods, and I draw copiously on their research results while trying to maintain my own interpretations. These must be the six most influential persons in my research life; from them I have gained my knowledge, my understanding, much friendship and constant stimulus and support. My deepest gratitude to all of you.

This is not to say that my debts to others are fewer; I thank all my long-suffering colleagues who have supplied me with materials, graciously welcomed me into their labs, offices and homes, spent many hours discussing the finer points of Japanese archaeology, and provided me with opportunities for field work, field trips, seminar participation and publications. In particular, this book has benefited from discussions with and materials supplied by Kaoru and Tomoko TERASAWA, Walter Edwards, John Rick, Terry Kleeman, SHIRAISHI Taichirō, WADA Seigo and KANASEKI Hiroshi. I am especially grateful for the ever-watchful eye of my husband David, the best critic and copy-editor I have, and for his unfailing support of my efforts. I have benefitted from the skill and ingenuity of Lorne Elliott, Durham Archaeological Services, who generated many new illustrations, all by computer. Thanks to Masumi KANEKO for helping with bibliographical details. And I would like to thank my colleagues in the East Asian Studies Department at Durham University who have encouraged me in my research despite our imminent departmental closure and the end of the Durham East Asia Series published by Curzon and Routledge.

Conventions

- Geography: Several geographical terms have been adopted from my previous publications (G. Barnes 1988, 1999, 2001): 'Pen/Insulae' and 'Pen/Insular' for the Korean Peninsula and Japanese Islands together as opposed to the 'China Mainland'. 'Western/Eastern Seto' designate differential distributions of bronze types in the Yayoi culture at opposite ends of the Inland Sea (the Seto Naikai). The term 'medial Japan' refers

to the most intensely developed region in historic Japan as following the trajectory of the Median Tectonic Line (MTL) from North Kyūshū through the Inland Sea and Kinai into the Kantō regions. See Figures 0.1 and 0.2 and Table 0.1 for maps of administrative district names.

- Regional names: The regional names are multitudinous and confusing. Two systems are common (Table 0.1): the earlier provincial system used between the 7th and 19th centuries, and the later prefectural system created in 1872. But there are also earlier names still in use from the 4th to 6th centuries: Kibi refes to a slightly larger area than now occupied by Okayama prefecture, Izumo to a greater area than modern Shimane prefecture both Tsukushi and Chikushi to much of northern Kyūshū.
- Chronology: Most of the dates appearing in the text have been integrated into Table 3.1.
- Characters: All italicized East Asian words in the text are defined and provided with characters in the Glossary; characters occur in the text only when the nature of the characters themselves are being discussed. No characters are provided for proper names except under exceptional circumstances.
- Romanization: Japanese is romanized according to the Hepburn system, retaining the 'n' before bilabial consonants; this results in some differences from the norm: Jinmu rather than Jimmu, Tanba not Tamba. Quotes or names taken from Aston's translation of the *Nihon Shoki* retain his romanization. Korean words are romanized using the McCune-Reischauer system, and Chinese words are romanized in Pinyin, with their Wade-Giles equivalents given where needed. The pronunciation of Chinese characters in these different languages are prefaced by the abbreviations C., K., or J. when not obvious.
- Spelling: British English is used with 'ize'. For East Asian words, the same characters are often read with different pronunciations in Japanese, Korean and Chinese. Moreover, some of these pronunciations are unknown for sure since they were written centuries ago; variant spellings occur for **Himiko**/Pimiko, **Jingū**/Jingō, ***hime***/*pime*, ***hiko***/*biko*, etc.; the emboldened choice is used unless quoted from another source. For the Chinese 'Wo', I use the Japanese pronunciation '**Wa**', and J. **Na** for C. Nu. For the Chinese chronicles, I use the Chinese (Pinyin) spellings, but for the Wei chronicles on the Wa peoples, I use the Japanese spelling (*Gishi Wajinden*).
- Hyphenation: Japanese words can become quite long and difficult to read; therefore I have chosen an arbitrary limit of five syllables to include in one word, splitting others by hyphen at a morphemically valid point.
- Illustrations: Those redrawn by Lorne Elliott are: Figs. 0.1, 0.2, 1.1, 1.4, 2.1, 3.1, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.8, 3.9, 3.10, 5.1, 5.5, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.5, 6.6, 7.2.

- The indexes have all been compiled by the author; they cover the front matter, chapters, epilogue, figures, tables, and endnotes, but *not* the appendices and glossary.
- Abbreviations:

ANT	Actor Network Theory
C., J., K.,	languages of Chinese, Japanese, Korean
CIM	Complex Interaction Model
CWE	capitalist world economy
E, F, T	Endnote page, Figure, Table (in indexes)
EK, MK, LK	Early, Middle, Late Kofun
EY, MY, LY, TY	Early, Middle, Late, Terminal Yayoi
KE, KH	keyhole tombs with round rear mounds (KE) or square rear mounds (KH)
MTC	Mounded Tomb Culture
SFK	see Barnes 2001, *State Formation in Korea*
TR	triangular-rimmed (mirrors)
ch	chapter
cm	centimetres
dm	diameter
km	kilometres
lg	length
lge	large
m	metres
med	medium
m.i.p	mentioned in passing (in index)
sm	small

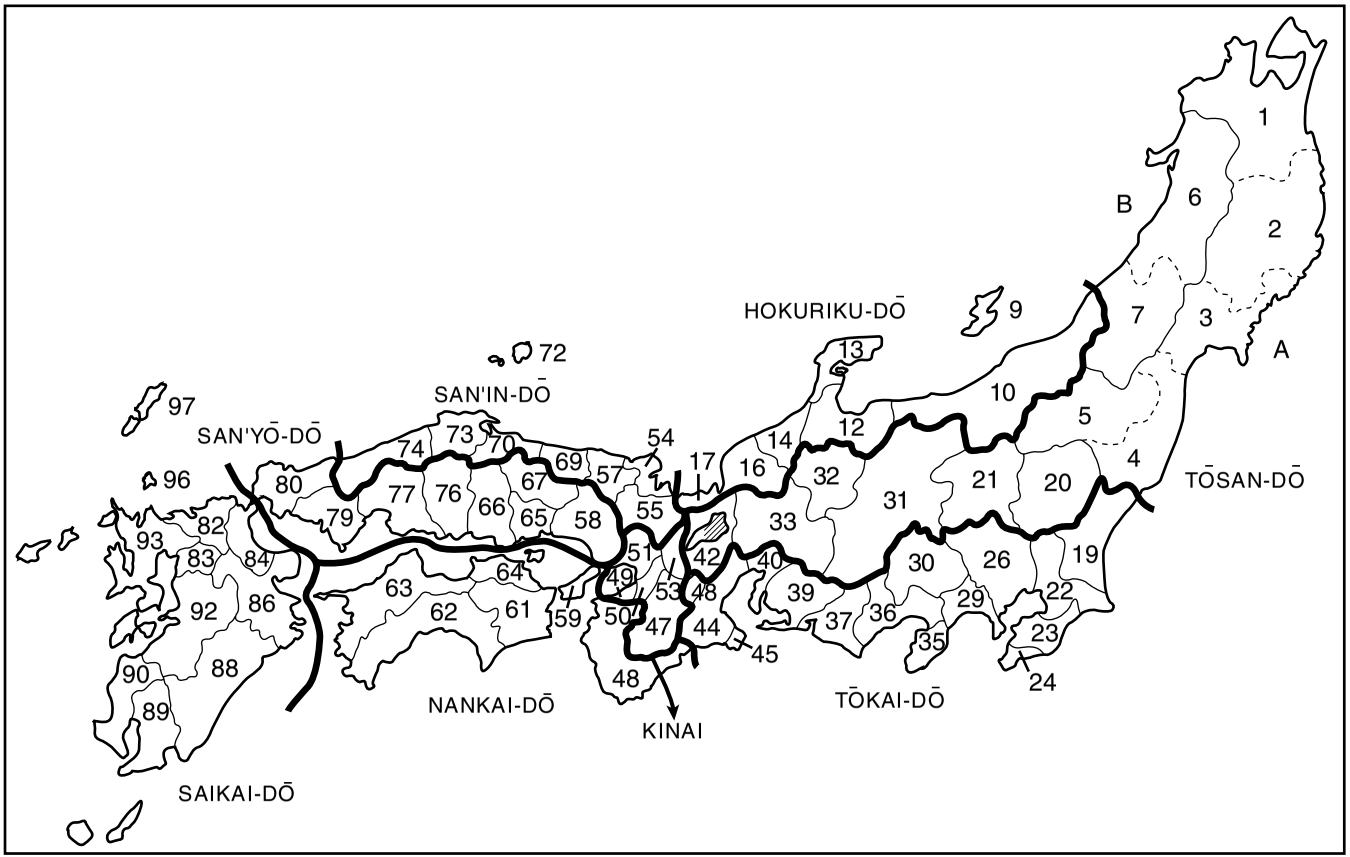

Figure 0.1 Provincial divisions of Japan used between 645 and 1871 (after G. Barnes 1988: fig. 2)

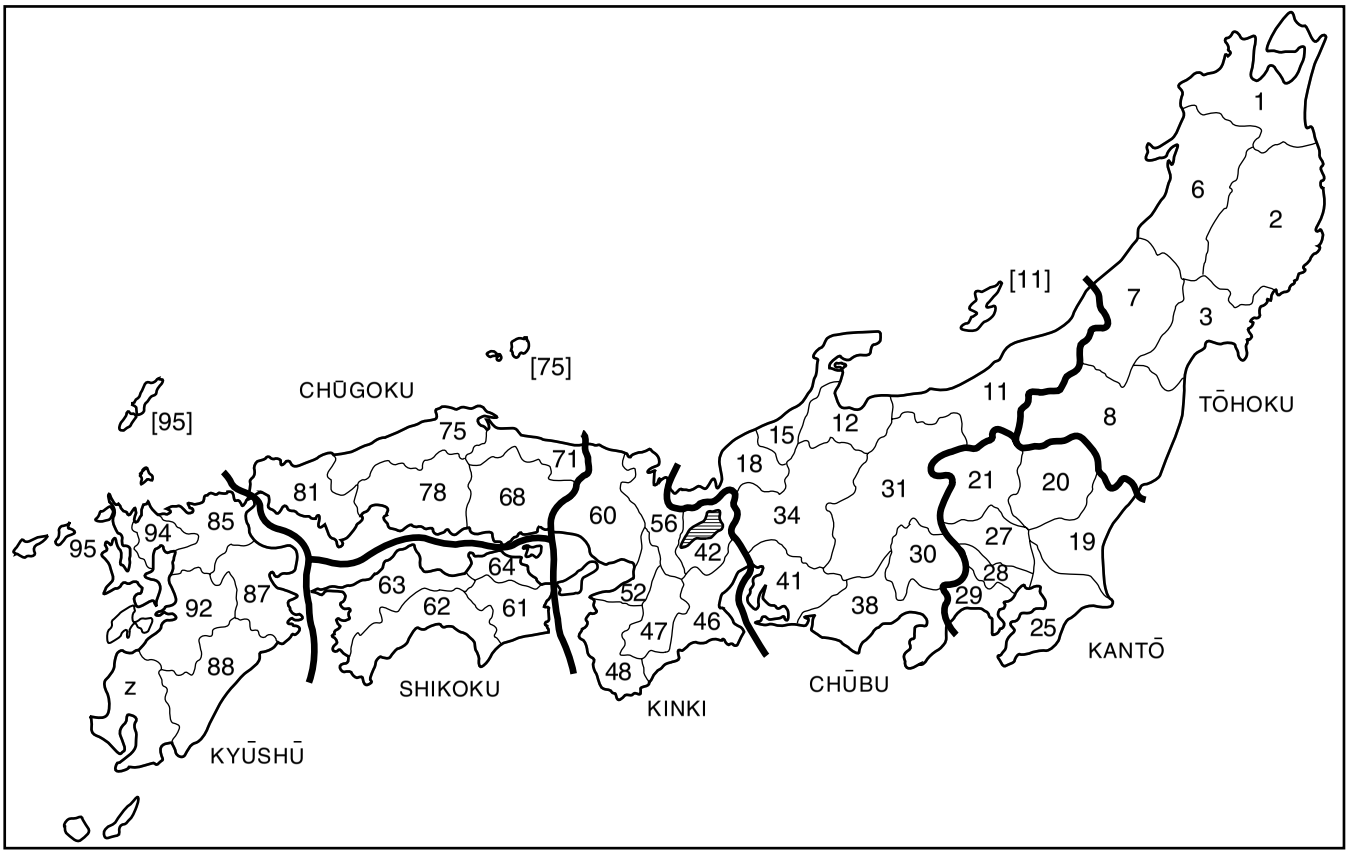

Figure 0.2 Prefectural divisions of Japan since 1871 (after G. Barnes 1988: fig.1)

Table 0.1 Provinces and prefectures of Japan

Provincial system (645–1871)	*Prefectural system (1871–present)*	*Provincial system (645–1871)*	*Prefectural system (1871–present)*
No. (in Figure 0.1)	*No. (in Figure 0.2)*	*No. (in Figure 0.1)*	*No. (in Figure 0.2)*
A Mutsu (divided in 1868 into):			
		47 YAMATO =	47 NARA
1 Mutsu ~	1 Aomori	48 Kii ~	48 Wakayama
2 Rikuchū ~	2 Iwate	49 Izumi	
3 Rikuzen ~	3 Miyagi	50 Kawachi	52 Ōsaka
4 Iwaki		51 Settsu	
5 Iwashiro	8 Fukushima	53 Yamashiro	
		54 Tango	56 Kyōto
B Dewa (divided in 1868 into):		55 Tanba	
		57 Tajima	
6 Ugo ~	6 Akita	58 Harima	60 Hyōgo
7 Uzen ~	7 Yamagata	59 Awaji	
		61 Awa =	61 Tokushima
9 Sado		62 Tosa =	62 Kōchi
10 Echigo	11 Niigata	63 Iyo =	63 Ehime
12 Etchū =	12 Toyama	64 Sanuki =	64 Kagawa
13 Noto		65 Bizen	
14 Kaga	15 Ishikawa	66 Bitchū	68 Okayama
16 Echizen		67 Mimasaka	
17 Wakasa	18 Fukui	69 Inaba	
19 Hitachi ~	19 Ibaragi	70 Hoki	71 Tottori
20 Shimotsuke =	20 Tochigi	72 Oki	
21 Kōzuke =	21 Gumma	73 Izumo	75 Shimane
22 Shimo'osa		74 Iwami	
23 Kazusa	25 Chiba	76 Bingo	
24 Awa		77 Aki	78 Hiroshima
26 Musashi	27 Saitama	79 Suō	
	28 Tōkyō	80 Nagato	81 Yamaguchi
29 Sagami =	29 Kanagawa	82 Chikuzen	
30 Kai =	30 Yamanashi	83 Chikugo	85 Fukuoka
31 Shinano =	31 Nagano	84 Buzen	
32 Hida		86 Bungo ~	87 Ōita
33 Mino	34 Gifu	88 Hyūga =	88 Miyazaki
35 Izu		89 Ōsumi	
36 Suruga	38 Shizuoka	90 Satsuma	91 Kagoshima
37 Totomi		92 Higo =	92 Kumamoto
39 Mikawa		93 Hizen ~	94 Saga
40 Owari	41 Aichi	96 Iki	
42 Ōmi =	42 Shiga	97 Tsushima	95 Nagasaki
43 Iga			
44 Ise	46 Mie		
45 Shima			

Chapter One

Orientation

Investigation into any instance of state formation is tied to specific times and places, and is grounded in certain kinds of data. This chapter outlines the where, when, and what of the Japanese case study. The 'where' focuses on the Yellow Sea between the China Mainland and the Korean Peninsula, and a short introduction to turn-of-the-millennium interaction in this area (ca. 100 BC–AD 200) provides background to the actual period of state formation: the Kofun period (AD 250–710). Characterized as a Mounded Tomb Culture, the material remains of the Kofun period provide half of the 'what' in the second section. Their important transformations through time delineate the 'when' – the archaeological periodization schemes for the period. The third section identifies documentary sources that inform on the protohistoric period of Japan, providing the other half of 'what'. Methods of evaluating texts and coordinating archaeological and textual sources of data are basic to the ensuing chapters, giving this work its protohistoric character.

The historical context

The Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere

The overarching context of Japanese state formation is Japan's position in what we might call the Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere (Barnes 1990b, 1993, 1999: ch. 13), named after the Yellow Sea and its connecting shorelines belonging to modern China, Korea and Japan (Figure 1.1). This interaction sphere is not a concrete entity with firm boundaries in time and space; rather, it is a conceptual field that allows a narrowing of time-space systematics in order to monitor interaction that seems to have some geographical coherence and historical trajectory over time. Its existence is empirically based, as there is no theory that would necessarily demand

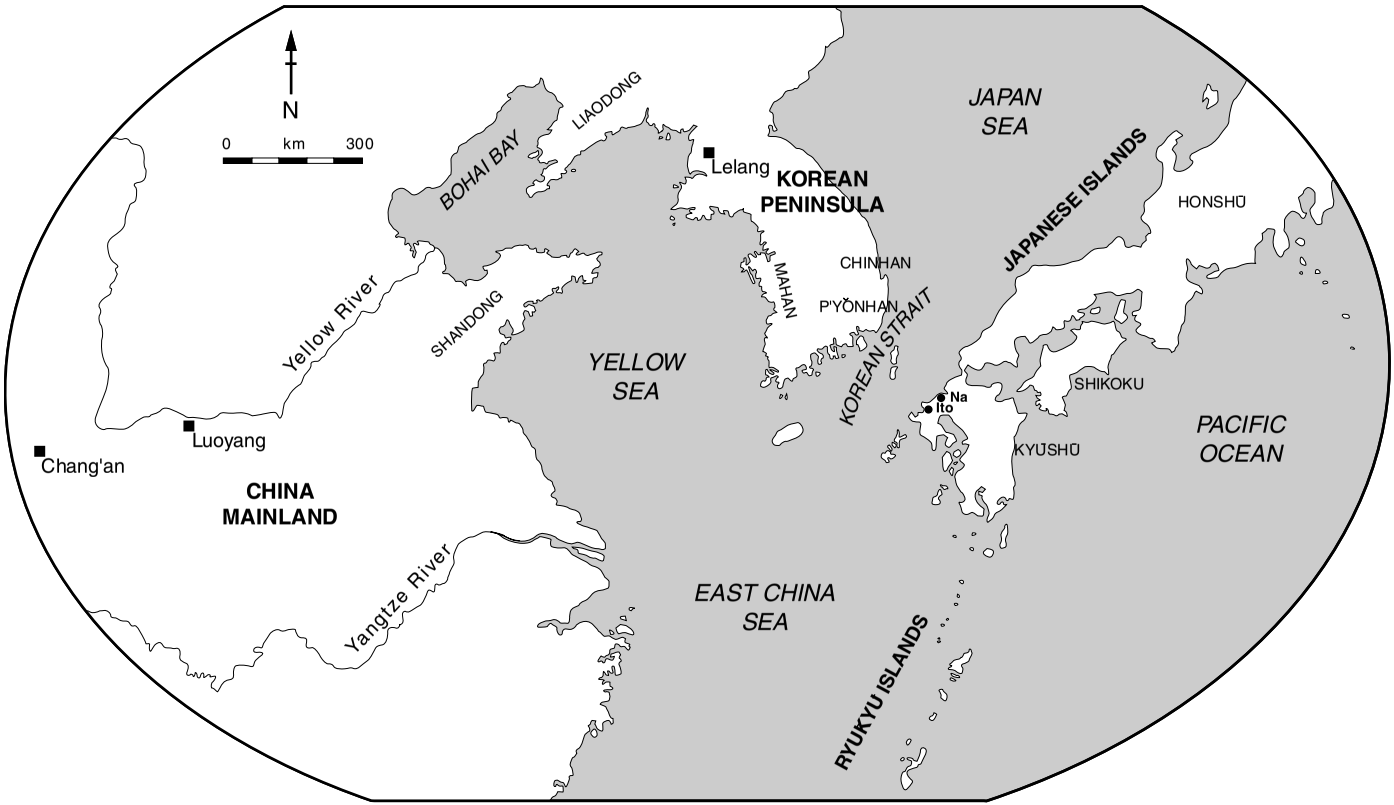

Figure 1.1 Focus on the Yellow Sea: Pen/Insular East Asia in the commandery period, 108 BC–AD 280 (overlapping with the Korean Samhan period AD 0–300 and Middle to Late Yayoi period ca. AD 0–250)

coherent interaction around a body of water. It thus represents a sub-region of greater East Asia as defined by Lewis and Wigen (1997).

The concept of an interaction sphere that integrates the three East Asian countries is a powerful antidote to the popular view of Japan as an isolated nation of autochthonous origins. Amino (1990) has challenged the 'insularity theory' (*shimaguni-ron*), 'which presumes that while the seas within the territory of present-day Japan provided paths of communication and transport that united the people of the archipelago, the seas surrounding . . . it cut them off from other peoples, [as] fundamentally flawed' (Ōbayashi 1991b: 18). Instead, he sees the surrounding seas as connecting the Japanese Islands to other regions and providing them with developmental stimuli. Interaction within this sphere began in the Early Jomon period (3rd millennium BC), with sea-faring visits distributing Sobata-type pottery and Mt Aso obsidian to the southern peninsular coast (Sample 1974; Imamura 1996: 213); such interaction has continued to the present-day. The historical snapshot shown in Figure 1.1 is relevant to the period of interaction between the 1st century BC and 3rd century AD, which forms the focus of Chapter 3.

Although this interaction sphere can be seen to provide an integrated view of activities across modern nation-state boundaries, it is also clear from the historical and material records that there are at least two separate developmental trajectories within East Asia: that of Mainland China itself, which developed quite early, and the peninsular and insular regions, which developed later, together, and under the influence of Mainland China. Thus, the developmental histories of the Korean Peninsula and Japanese Islands are more similar to each other than either is to Mainland China, which is why I have grouped the former into a single region, the Pen/Insulae, to contrast against China (Barnes 1993, 1999). This is in opposition to the tendency for world historians to view the Korean Peninsula as a passive conduit for the flow of civilization from China on into Japan. Moreover, Korea is often lumped together with China, while Japan is viewed as an offshoot of China worthy of 'civilization' status in its own right (Melko 1995: table 1.1). According to Melko's analysis, research by Toynbee leading to these conclusions was based on the historical situation in East Asia after AD 500; but even in investigations that monitored Japan from AD 400 or 100 BC (by Kroeber and Quigley, respectively, as mentioned by Melko), the close relationships between the peoples of the Korean Peninsula and Japanese Islands at these times (Hanihara 1991) went unacknowledged.

Within the Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere, there are relations between the Pen/Insulae and the Chinese dynastic courts that can be characterized as hierarchical and that fall into the category of 'core-periphery' in World-Systems theory. But these concepts are not sufficient to understand the trajectory of Pen/Insular political development. We also need to examine the relations between political peers within the Pen/Insulae. Thus, we are looking not only

at core-periphery relations between the Chinese court and its 'barbarian' (*yi*)[1] hinterland – both in civilizationist terms (Wilkinson 1991, 1993) and as historically recognized by China, styling itself the 'Central Kingdom' (*zhongguo*)[2] as opposed to the barbarian fringe – but also at peer relations between the secondary cores that developed at the edge of empire. These concepts will be examined more fully in Chapters 2 and 3.

Protohistoric development

We begin our investigation with the adoption of bronze casting technology from the Korean Peninsula in the Middle Yayoi period (200 BC–AD 0); during the Late Yayoi (AD 0–200), rice agriculturalists of western Japan were divided into two spheres of bronze use: the Western Seto bronze weaponry sphere and the Eastern Seto bronze bell sphere (Figure 1.2). Such bronze cultures were a result of socio-economic exchange relationships with and technological transfer of metal-working from chiefly societies on the Korean Peninsula. By the 1st century BC social status differentiation in burials was evident in Western Seto, signalling incipient hierarchization and

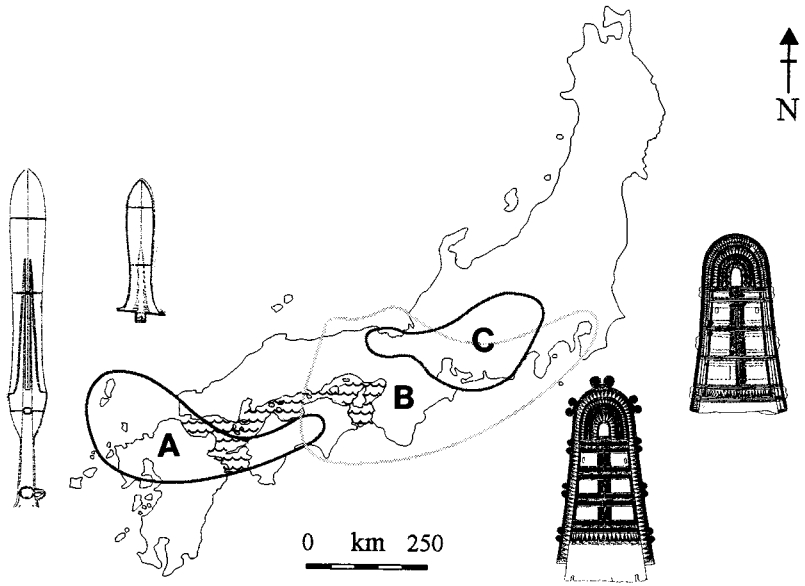

Figure 1.2 Bronze distributions in western Japan during the Late Yayoi period (AD 50–200) shown at the beginning of the 2nd century AD (after Terasawa 2000: 223). The Inland Sea (Seto Naikai in Japanese) is indicated by wave legend
Western Seto: (A) broad-bladed halberds and socketed spearheads
Eastern Seto: (B) bells of Kinki style and (C) bells of San'en style

the formation of chiefly societies in the islands as well. The Han invasion of the northern Korean Peninsula in 108 BC [SFK, pp. 17–20][3] marked the effective truncation of indigenous development among Bronze Age chiefdoms on the Peninsula, but the incorporation of emerging polities in Western Seto into the tributary networks of the Later Han Dynasty (AD 25–220) and its successor, the Wei Dynasty (AD 221–265), accelerated their development.

The Chinese dynastic histories (Appendix One) refer to socio-political units in these regions as *guo* (K. *guk*; J. *kuni, koku*)[4] – a term often understood by both Korean [SFK, pp. 1–8] and Japanese scholars as 'state' but which probably indicated politically centralized and socially hierarchical societies without adminstrative infrastructure. This term is discussed further later, but by way of introduction, I will use the words 'country' or 'polity' rather than 'state' as the translation for *guo*. In contrast, Tsunoda and Goodrich (1951) often render it as 'community' or omit its mention altogether; in quoting their translations later, I will indicate where the word *guo* occurs in the original.

The Han invasion and establishment of military commanderies in the western Manchurian massif and northern Korean Peninsula was a strategic move to prevent the uprising of one eastern chieftain in particular, Weiman [SFK, pp. 9–15], and to prevent potential alliances of such local chieftains with the steppe nomads who threatened China's northern border. The Lelang commandery, established at Weiman's 'capital' near modern P'yŏngyang, was initially a military installation, but its political and economic functions grew in importance as it represented the Han Court in cultivating tributary relations with the surrounding peoples, including the Samhan peoples [SFK, pp. 27–31] in the southern peninsula and the Wo peoples (as the Chinese called them)[5] in the Japanese Islands (Figure 1.1).

Ethnographic reports on the societies peripheral to Han and Wei are incorporated into the Chinese dynastic histories. These tell us that small Yayoi polities were integrated into the Han tributary network by AD 57. With the waning of Han power at the end of the 2nd century, however, the Lelang region fell into the hands of a local warlord family known as Gongsun in AD 204, who established another commandery, Daifang (W.-G. Taifang),[6] sometime between then and 220. The Wei came to power in 220 and took over this commandery around 238. Immediately, Chinese sources tell us, embassies began to be sent from a person in the Japanese Islands known as Himiko, Queen of the Country of Wa (C. Wo), with her court in the Country of Yamatai. Though both Wa and Yamatai are referred to as 'countries' (C. *guo*), the latter is described as a hegemonic presence among other polities in the archipelago. A common scholarly view is thus that Yamatai was the dominant polity in the larger country of Wa. Himiko is clearly a major figure in the story of Japanese state formation, but enigmatically, she is not directly attested in the Japanese chronicles (Appendix Two).

Nevertheless, Yamato is now equated by scholars with her country of Yamatai, providing a starting point for our enquiries into state formation processes. The reasoning behind and validity of this equation between these two separately documented polities are discussed at length in Chapter 4.

The political vacuum left by the withdrawal of the Wei interests from the Korean Peninsula are attributed to a worldwide economic decline between AD 250 and 500, within which China's decline is thought to have been the severest of all (Bosworth 1995: 216). Subsequent to the cessation of tributary relations with China after AD 266, the Kofun period entailed the rise of the Yamato State[7] in what can be looked upon as a Toynbeean creative response (Wallerstein 1974: 53) to opportunities and knowledge afforded it both by the Chinese dynasties and by the peninsular societies at levels of social development similar to its own. These peninsular societies included the Three Kingdoms period (AD 300–668) states of Koguryŏ, Paekche and Silla plus the chiefly federation of Kaya [see SFK, ch. 1]. Particularly seminal were Yamato's relations with the emergent Kaya chiefdoms and Paekche state. Kaya was the source of the iron that underpinned Yamato agricultural and military power, and the latter was expended on behalf of Yamato's ally, Paekche, in fending off hostile advances from the northern state of Koguryŏ which took possession of the old territory of Lelang in 313. Much of the Yamato Court system that developed in the 5th century was a product of contributions by Paekche scribes and aristocrats and of the necessity to govern the craftspeople who emigrated to the islands to escape Koguryŏ's military incursions into Paekche territory. In the mid-6th century, Paekche gifts of sutra and a small Buddha statue to the Yamato king stimulated the adoption of Buddhism, which eventually became the quasi state religion.

With the draining of power from Paekche through emigration of many of its courtiers and craftspeople, the theretofore late-developing polity of Silla in the southeastern peninsula rose to prominence. By the mid-6th century Silla had conquered the Kaya region, removing that source of iron from Yamato's grasp, and in 660 it conquered Paekche, leaving Koguryŏ as its only opposition on the peninsula. Silla then formed an alliance with the newly consolidated Tang Dynasty (AD 618–907) of China to conquer Koguryŏ in 668 and unify the peninsula.

With the threat of allied Silla and Tang expansion facing the Yamato Court in the 7th century, the aristocracy did a remarkable thing, similar to the reaction of some Tokugawa *daimyō* to Perry's Black Ships a millennium later. Progressive elements in the shogunate effected the abandonment of the feudal governmental framework for a more democratic model, heralding the Meiji period (1868–1912). In the 7th century, the Yamato courtiers decided that the best way to foil the threat from the Silla/Tang alliance was to adopt the administrative technology of the Tang as the most advanced in the region. In doing so, the reformers intended Yamato to become as strong as its potential enemy. Yamato after 645 was thus ostensibly transformed

into a Chinese-style state, often referred to as the Ritsuryō state, based on penal codes (*ritsu*) and administrative law (*ryō*) adopted from China. In the late 7th century, the name Nihon was proposed for the country in order to deal with foreign powers, and the sovereign was designated as *tennō* ('emperor') to bring the state on a par with the great power that was China (Piggott 1997: 127, 143–4).

However, even during the ensuing Nara period (AD 710–794), the indigenous nature of Japanese society and politics began to reassert itself, eroding the formal subscription to Tang ruling practices. The power and organization of the Ritsuryō state waned through the Heian Period (AD 794–1185) until it was effectively replaced by the military *bakufu* systems of the medieval and pre-modern periods. To emphasize the long span of time during which the Chinese-style centralized state was formulated and then underwent decline, I shall here follow the lead of Japanese historians in referring to it as the Ritsuryō state, extending from within Late Kofun (mid-7th century) through the Nara period and well into the Heian period. In past works I have referred to this as the Nara state, but it was not confined solely to the Nara period.

By the 8th century AD, the two developmental trajectories had merged to form a sphere of East Asian civilization in which the three main states – Tang on the China Mainland, Silla on the Korean Peninsula and Ritsuryō in the Japanese Islands – shared a common political philosophy (Confucianism), a state religion (Buddhism) and an administrative system (Ritsuryō) based on that of Tang (Barnes 1999). Such is the whole trajectory of Japanese state formation comprising the first eight centuries AD. Within this timespan, we will be focussing here on the first four and one-half centuries of formative development: from Late Yayoi through the Early Kofun period.

Mounded Tomb Culture overview

The role of the tombs

The Kofun period (AD 250–710) is defined on the basis of its mounded tombs, *kofun* meaning 'old mound'. These are monumental architectural constructions that still form the most prominent features of Japan's archaeological landscape. Some tens of thousands of mounded tombs have been documented – among them, over 5200 keyhole-shaped tomb (Hirose 2003) – and many more are known to have been destroyed by historical earth-moving activities. Though relatively few in number, the keyhole tomb is the most visually prominent, being the largest and most unusually shaped type of *kofun*. Japanese archaeologists interpret it as the burial type of political rulers. However, tombs of the Kofun period also occur in round and square varieties, which Tsude has ordered into a descending hierarchy

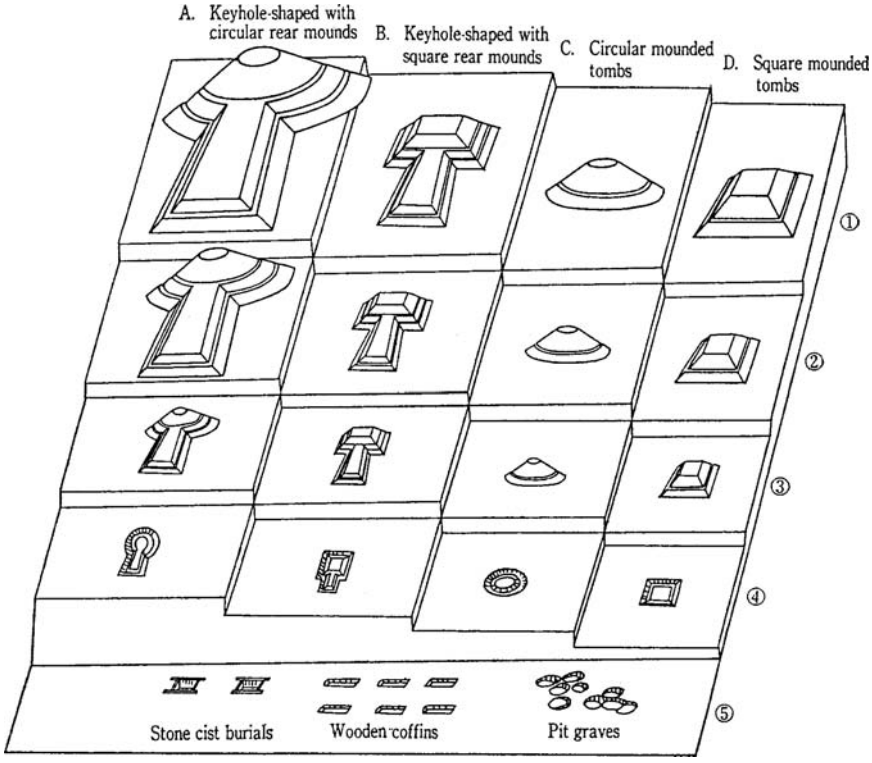

Figure 1.3 Tomb shapes and sizes during the Kofun period (after Tsude 1992: fig. 3)

Four shape-types (columns A–D) and four status rankings based on size (rows 1–4) make up Tsude's 'keyhole-shaped tomb system' with A–1 keyhole-shaped tombs with round rear mounds at the apex and D–4 small square mounds at the lowest position in the elite hierarchy. Commoners were buried in simple graves illustrated in row 5

of rank (Figure 1.3); altogether, these make up the socio-political landscape of Kofun-period Japan.

Mounded burials are now known to have been built before the Kofun period, so that there are great terminological and chronological subtleties in distinguishing between Yayoi mound-burials and Kofun mounded tombs. The overall development of mounded burials as chiefly resting places and the emergence of the keyhole tomb are discussed in Chapter 5.

Mounded tombs were significant in five different dimensions within Kofun-period society: they defined an elite class as opposed to commoners who did *not* receive elaborate or preferential burial; their shapes and sizes are said to be graded into regional political hierarchies; they embodied rituals that were tied to both cosmological worldviews and ideologies about rulership; and finally

they and their contents were the products of both unskilled and skilled labour with ramifications for the economic operation of society and relationships between producer and consumer groups, both near and far.

Tripartite Kofun period

In general, the Kofun period is divided into three sub-periods whose somewhat arbitrary dates are usually specified as: Early (AD 250–400), Middle (AD 400–475) and Late (AD 475–710). The beginning of this period has already been pushed back from its post-war standard of AD 300 to AD 250 to coincide with Himiko's ostensible death date (Chapter 4), and it is likely to be soon pushed back again in recognition of keyhole-shaped mound building in the early 3rd century AD (Chapter 5). One of the more infamous examples of manipulating the periodization scheme is EGAMI Namio's conflation of the Middle and Late periods into one single Late period in order to associate – in his Horserider Theory – horse-riding equipment and the very large early 5th-century keyhole tombs built on the Ōsaka Plains (Egami 1948, 1964). This sleight of hand has never been accepted by the Japanese archaeological community, and Edwards (1983) carefully analysed the appearance of horse-riding equipment in Yamato tombs to reject this fanciful theory once and for all in English.

The distinctions between the three main Kofun sub-periods are based primarily on changes in tomb structure and contents, but these shifts have also been linked to changes in settlement patterns and dynastic succession patterns (Table 1.1, Figure 1.4) to the extent that they are agreed to encapsulate general socio-political development in the Japanese Islands between the 3rd and 8th centuries AD. In describing these changes, a centrist approach is necessarily taken – focussing on the Kinai region[8] where most innovations occurred – though the growing rejection of the centrist model among young Japanese archaeologists should be noted.

Briefly, the Early Kofun period is characterized by a ritualized authority for regional leaders, signified by the bronze mirrors and beadstone products of jasper and green tuff deposited in the mounded tombs. A significant amount of iron is also present in the form of weaponry and tools. The burial chambers are either dry-stone walled vertical pit-chambers or clay enclosures in vertical pits, both of which housed long split-log coffins. In the later phases of Early Kofun, stone coffins resembling storage chests were developed. The centre of political authority is considered to have been the Miwa area of southeastern Nara Basin, incorporating the smaller Makimuku district housing the Hashihaka Tomb – considered to be the burial place of Queen Himiko. This political centre is referred to as the Miwa Court (Miwa *ōchō*) and is linked to the Sujin line of kings in the *Nihon Shoki*, as identified by the historian MIZUNO Yū (Kiley 1973). Recent scholarship (e.g. Shiraishi 1989; Kawamura 2004: 55) postulates that the

Table 1.1 Tripartite divisioning of the Kofun period: developments in tomb construction and contents, political authority and dynastic succession

	Early Kofun *3–4th c.*	*Middle Kofun* *5th c.*	*Late Kofun* *6–7th c.*
Nominal dates	AD 250–400	AD 400–475	AD 475–710
Political centre	Southeastern Nara	East central Ōsaka	Southern Nara
Court	Miwa	Kawachi	Asuka
Dynasty	Sujin	Ōjin	Keitai
Tomb apex	Keyhole	Keyhole	Square
Burial chamber	Vertical pit-chamber or clay enclosure	Vertical pit-chamber	Corridor chamber, cave tombs
Coffin	Split-log, then stone sarcophagi	Stone sarcophagi	Stone or clay sarcophagi
Funerary sculptures	Kinai-style *haniwa*	Kinai-style *haniwa*	Kantō-style *haniwa*; none in Kinai; stone sculptures in Kyūshū
Grave goods	Bronze mirrors Jasper/green tuff ornaments; talc imitations	Talc imitations	
	Iron weapons/tools	Iron armour/weapons/tools	Iron weapons/tools
		Sué stoneware horse trappings	Sué stoneware horse trappings

power centre of the Miwa Court shifted to the Saki area of the northern Nara Basin in the mid-4th century or so.

The Middle Kofun period is marked by the construction of very large keyhole tombs on the Ōsaka Plains. The grave goods repertoire underwent significant changes: bronze mirrors and fine beadstone objects were no longer deposited. Instead, much more iron was deposited in the form of armour, weaponry and tools. Beadstone manufacture shifted to talc in making coarse talismans which were used not only as grave goods but also in landscape ritual (Barnes 2006a). Horse trappings, Sué stoneware, gilt-bronze ornaments and gold jewellery began to appear in quantity in the mid-5th century. Storage-chest sarcophagi were eventually replaced by house-shaped sarcophagi. This phase coincides with the Ōjin line of kings in the *Nihon Shoki* and is conceptualized as the Kawachi Court, Kawachi being the old province of east central Ōsaka Prefecture.

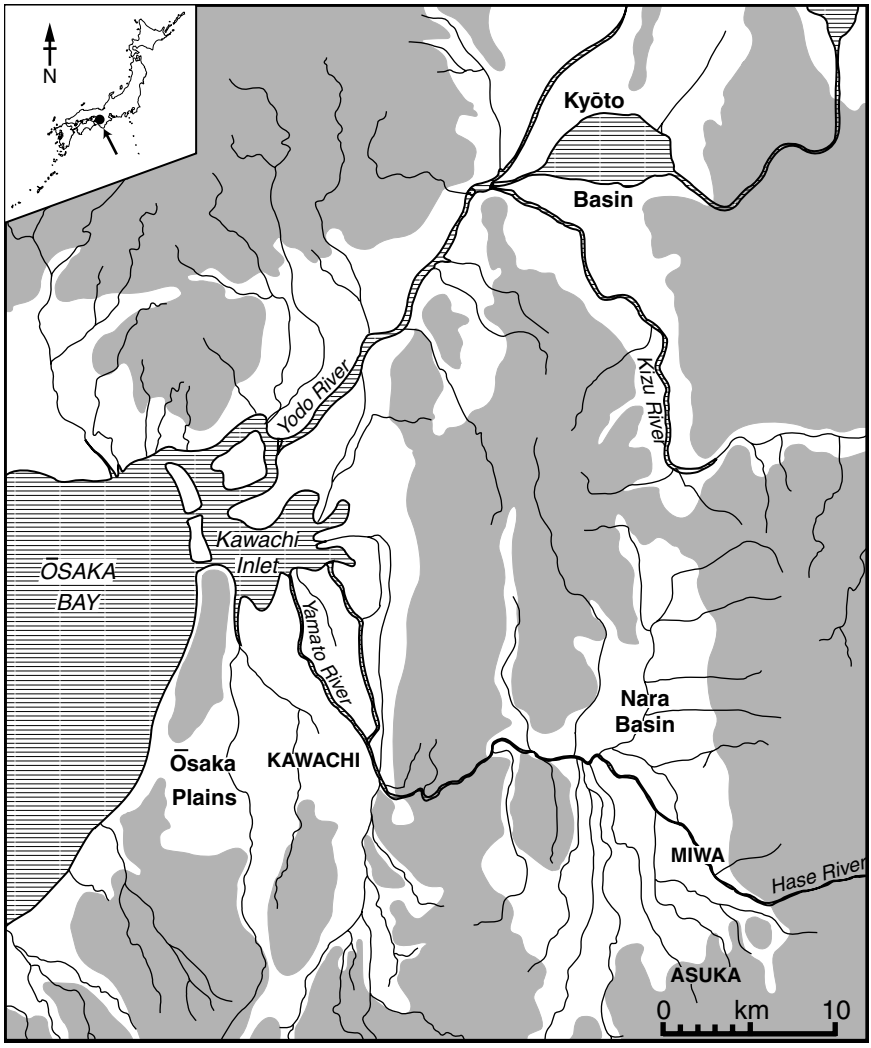

Figure 1.4 Locations of the successive Kofun-period 'courts' in the Kinai region (see Table 1.1 for details)

Despite these significant shifts in grave goods contents between Early and Middle Kofun, tomb-chamber construction remained the same (cf. Wada 1986): all tombs had their primary burials sunk into the top of the mound – the rear mound in the case of keyhole tombs. A drystone-walled stone chamber was built in a pit and then covered with ceiling rocks and then the pit was backfilled with earth (Figure 1.5a). Such chambers in keyhole tombs generally held split-log coffins that were up to three times

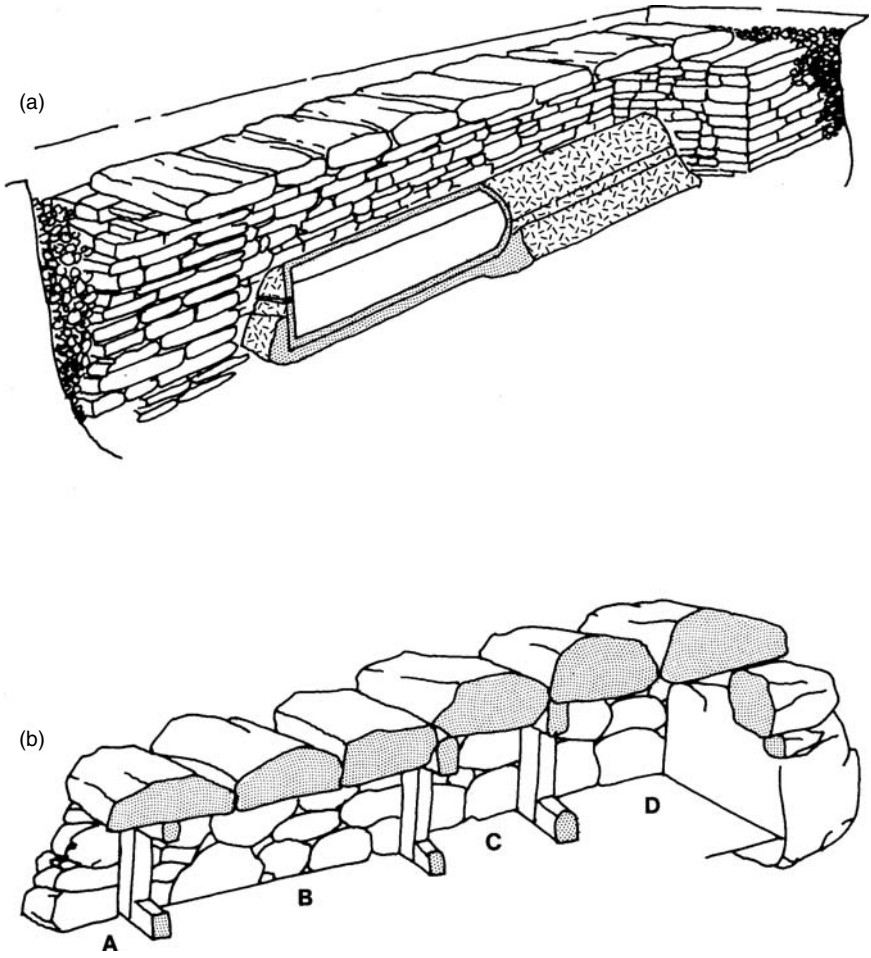

Figure 1.5 Kofun-period tomb chamber constructions in cut-away oblique views (after Wada 1986: figs. 1, 2)

(a) Pit-style stone chamber characteristic of the Early and Middle Kofun periods, sealed with ceiling rocks and containing a clay enclosure moulded to a split-log coffin which once existed inside

(b) Horizontal corridor-chamber style tomb of the Late Kofun period, entered at A, passing through the corridor B, into the ante-chamber C, to the main burial chamber D

the length of the corpse; however, some of these coffins were encased in clay without a stone chamber – a step down in rank (Tsude 1992: 71) and slightly later in time.

Once the burial facility was completed, many tombs of the Early and Middle Kofun had the burial precinct on top of the mound delineated with

fired clay funerary *haniwa* sculptures. Such sculptures have attracted much attention from art historians and archaeologists alike; their essential feature is a clay cylinder that can be embedded in the ground, from which its name is derived (*hani* = 'clay' + *wa* = 'ring'). The cylinder, however, also came to support various sculptures; Early Kofun representational *haniwa* were primarily models of shields, parasols and houses – the latter sitting directly on the ground without a cylinder (Figure 1.6). Rows of cylindrical *haniwa*

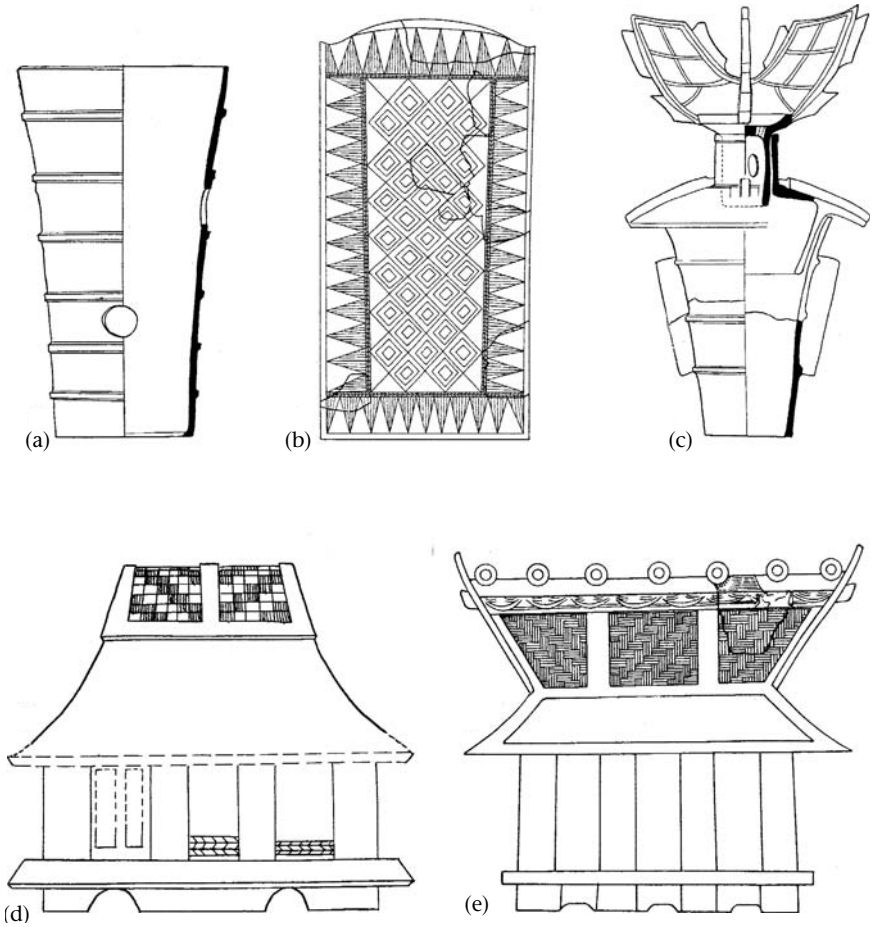

Figure 1.6 Kinai-style *haniwa* funerary sculptures, ranging in height from ca. 30–70 cm (after Miki 1974: figs. 6, 14, 34, 51, 53)

Top row: (a) plain *haniwa* cylinder, (b) shield with geometric designs and (c) a representation of a cloth parasol with decorative spires on top
Bottom row: one-story surface houses with (d) hip roof and (e) hip-and-gabled roof

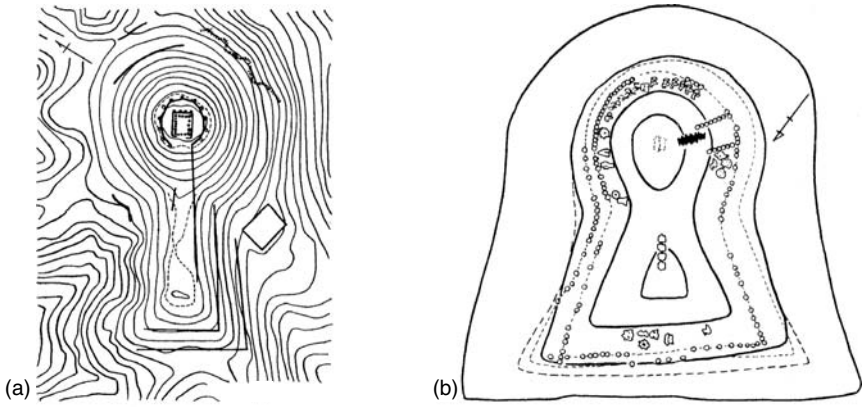

Figure 1.7 *Haniwa* placement patterns in the Kinai and Kantō (after Miki 1974: figs. 23, 28)

(a) Early and Middle Kofun *haniwa* placement pattern of the Kinai, shown surrounding the burial precinct in the top rear mound of an unmoated round keyhole tomb; this *haniwa* arrangement accompanied the pit-style chamber burial

(b) Late Kofun *haniwa* placement pattern of the Kantō, shown outlining the terraced sides of a moated keyhole tomb; this *haniwa* arrangement accompanied the corridor-chamber burial (blackened area). Note the double row of cylinders demarcating the entrance to the chamber where it opens onto the tomb slope

interspersed with shields and parasols are thought to have formed a protective cordon around the burial, with the house in the middle providing a resting place for the spirit; the location and layout on top of the mound is referred to as the Kinai-style *haniwa* placement pattern (Figures 1.7, 1.8).

Two new developments in tomb structure mark the advent of the Late Kofun period: the corridor-chamber tomb as introduced from the Korean Peninsula (Figure 1.5b) and the beginning of cliff-cut cave tombs. From AD 500, the Keitai line of kings brought the locus of political power back into the Asuka region of the southern Nara Basin, referred to as the Asuka Court. The introduction of Buddhism in 552 led to a new Buddhist-based culture in this area. In contrast, Kantō and North Kyūshū, which had been integrated into a widespread, relatively homogeneous tomb culture by the 5th century, developed regionally distinct tomb cultures in the Late Kofun period, preserving aspects of the traditional MTC while the Yamato centre was busy converting to a Buddhist orientation. An expanded *haniwa* repertoire, including many human and animal figures, and a new pattern of *haniwa* placement was developed in the Kantō region to accompany the corridor-chamber keyhole tomb (Figure 1.7). By the 7th century, prominent Yamato clansmen were investing in temple-building instead of tomb-building,

Figure 1.8 Goshikizuka Tomb, Kōbe city (photos by author). This Middle Kofun-period keyhole tomb has been reconstructed and refurbished as a tourist destination. Stairs lead up from the rectangular front mound to the round rear mound. Newly made cylindrical and morning-glory shaped *haniwa* (inset) line the path and surround the top edge of the rear mound in the Kinai placement pattern. The view from the top shows the tomb's strategic location overlooking the shipping passage through the Inland Sea

and the construction of large burial mounds was gradually discontinued in favour of small clan cemeteries of round mounds containing corridor-chamber tombs reused for successive interment of family members.

The last segment of the Kofun period, from 645–710, is often designated by art historians as the Asuka period on the basis of Buddhist fluorescence in temple architecture and sculpture within Asuka itself. This period happens also to coincide with the beginning of administrative reforms within the Yamato Court which resulted in the institution of the Ritsuryō system of government in the Nara period (AD 710–794). By the end of the 7th century, great mounded tombs no longer defined political authority nor did they contribute greatly to elite material culture. As a matter of custom, the Kofun period is extended to 710 when the capital was moved from Asuka to Heijō in the northern Nara Basin, but in view of the importance of the reforms leading to the Ritsuryō State, it might be better to truncate the Kofun period at 645 to signify the momentous changes happening in organizational terms.

Phase divisions

Various phase divisions monitor the changes in material culture throughout this relatively long and dynamic period. Wada (1998: fig. 2) identifies six trends and five stages in keyhole tomb construction that track the development of keyhole tombs through their first appearance, spread, standardization, devaluation and disappearance. In contrast, ten phases material culture change (Table 1.2) are used to date some tombs in each former province in the authoritative compilation of keyhole tomb data (Kondō 1992–2000). The phases (EK-1, EK-2, etc.) will be used here in the discussions of tomb datings and changes in grave goods repertoires.

Table 1.2 Phases of keyhole tomb chronology

The following phase descriptions have been translated (by G. Barnes) from Hirose (1992: 24–6) and absolute datings are taken from Niiro (2005). Although this tomb tradition is referred to the 'Kinki-style' (e.g. Kawakami 1995: 88), it is defined by attributes derived from tombs in the Kinai but illustrated with tombs from both the Kinai and Kinki (Hirose 1992: 24–6). Early Kofun consists of phases 1–4, Middle Kofun phases 5–7 and Late Kofun phases 8–10. These datings will be annotated here as e.g. EK-1 (Early Kofun phase 1), MK-7 (Middle Kofun phase 7), and LK-9 (Late Kofun phase 9). [Translator's comments added in square brackets.]

Standard comparatives:
Cylindrical *haniwa* according to types I-V by Kawanishi (1978)
Bronze mirror typology according to Higuchi (1979)
Sué stoneware typology according to Tanabe (1981)

Early Kofun:
EK-1 (latter half of 3rd century): Cylindrical *haniwa* [funerary sculptures] have not yet appeared, but some tombs are accompanied by the Totsuki-style decorated jar-stands and their jars [as found on the Totsuki mound-burial in Okayama]. There are no imitation mirrors, and only Chinese imported mirrors are deposited. The keyhole tomb has a flared front mound resembling a plectrum-shape [of the type of plectrum used for playing the stringed instruments *biwa* or *shamisen*].

EK-2 (first half of 4th century): Style-1 type cylindrical *haniwa*. Grave goods consist of several types of large imitation mirrors (triangular-rimmed, TLV and inner-petal types); bracelet-shaped jasper/green tuff ornaments, spinning whorls and sceptres; and bronze staff ferrules, etc.

EK-3 (mid-4th century): Style-2 type cylindrical *haniwa*. Imitation stone goods including many talc-made objects such as lidded containers and jars, arrowheads and stools; bronze spiral ornaments. New burial facilities appear: clay coffin enclosures, stone coffins shaped like split bamboo [split-log coffins] or boats, and proto-types of storage-chest shaped assembled stone coffins.

EK-4 (latter half of 4th century): Style-2 type cylindrical *haniwa*. Trend towards quantities of individual types of talc imitation goods: agricultural tools, beads, *koto*-bridge shaped objects; horizontal-band thonged cuirasses, triangular-plate

thonged cuirasses, thronged keeled helmets, various kinds of iron arrowheads. Bronze mirrors include small imitation mirrors; standardization of storage-chest shaped coffins. Tombs built with central projections and distinctively shaped moats.

Middle Kofun:
MK-5 (beginning of 5th century): Style-3 type cylindrical *haniwa*. Large quantities of talc imitation goods shaped like agricultural tools. Phase 4 iron arrowheads and armour are dominant. No more bronze arrowheads, bronze staff ferrules, bronze spiral ornaments or stone bracelet varieties.

MK-6 (first half of 5th century): Style-4 type cylindrical *haniwa*. Sué stoneware of TK73 style. Riveted triangular-plate cuirasses and riveted keeled helmets as well as new-style riveted visored helmets and lamellar armour. Artefacts include curved-blade sickles, horse trappings, jingle bells, belt fittings and jasper tri-lobed beads [*miwadama*]. *Haniwa* are made in animal and human shapes. *Koto*-bridge shaped objects and talc containers disappear in this phase.

MK-7 (mid-5th century): Style-4 type cylindrical *haniwa*. Sué stoneware of TK216–208 types. Long-stemmed arrowheads and new mirror types, including jingle-bell mirrors, appear and spread during this phase. Horizontal-band riveted cuirass and lamellar armour become common. Horse trappings increase and standardized *f*-shaped bit plates and diamond-shaped harness ornaments appear. U-shaped spade shoes, gold and silver pendant earrings and gild-bronze tri-lobed beads appear. Advent of the house-shaped stone coffin.

Late Kofun:
LK-8 (latter half of 5th century): Style-5 type cylindrical *haniwa*. Sué stoneware of TK23 and TK47 types. Jar-shaped stirrups, petal-shaped harness ornaments and harness jingle bells make their appearance.

LK-9 (first half of 6th century): Style-5 type cylindrical *haniwa*. Sué stoneware of TK10 and MT15 types. Iron ring stirrups, phoenix-pommeled straight single-edged swords, and harness ornaments of oval, trefoil, mirror and semi-hemispherical shapes make their appearance. The adoption of cliff-cut cave tombs.

LK-10 (latter half of 6th century): Survival of only a little cylindrical *haniwa*. Sué stoneware of TK 43 and 209 types. Straight single-edged swords of solid pommels in different shapes, briar-leaf and petal shaped harness ornaments.

The period of state formation

There is thus at least a 2000-year gap between state formation in China – occurring in the early Shang period between 2000–1500 BC[9] in a pristine or primary context (Liu and Chen 2003) – and state formation in the Pen/Insulae, occurring in the mid-1st millennium AD. Pen/Insular states fall into the category in traditional state formation theory of 'secondary' states – ones which develop in conjunction with a previously existing state (China) rather than in total isolation without an external model to emulate (Price 1978). The peninsular states historically claim to have developed earlier than Yamato [SFK, ch. 1] but it was in the mid- to late 3rd and early

4th centuries AD that the emergence of regional elites was signified in both areas by the construction of large mounded tombs. The Mounded Tomb Cultures of the Three Kingdoms period in Korea (AD 300–668) and of the Kofun period in Japan (AD 250–710) can thus be considered as constituting the periods of state formation in the region.

When the 'state' actually arose in each area, however, is a matter of definition; and definitions, as Barry Barnes (1988: 173) states, 'cannot be false, only more or less useful'. As discussed in *State Formation in Korea* (Barnes 2001), most Korean scholars accept the appellation of *guo* by the Chinese as indicating the presence of a state. Some scholars in Japan also take the Chinese *guo* as the definition of a state and the references to *wang* ('king') as evidence of political rulers (Terasawa 2000), while others focus on the role of keyhole tombs to mark the emergence of state rulers (Hirose 2003, Tsude 2005). For other Japanese scholars, Sasaki outlines how the Kofun period is viewed in the 'context of social evolution' (1996: 391). I myself see the mounded tombs as evidence of social stratification, not state formation. Fried (1967), the seminal theorist of social stratification, himself postulated that once a society became stratified, the state was in existence, while other Western researchers maintain that it is possible to have non-state stratified societies, usually termed 'complex chiefdoms' (Earle 1987, 1997). In conformance with my previous work, I myself will use social stratification, as evidenced by the advent of monumental mounded-tomb construction and development of the Mounded Tomb Culture, as the threshold for state formation, not its completion.

Egami's Horserider Theory (1948, 1964) has promoted one particular cause of state formation in Japan: by horserider conquest at the turn of the 5th century. Edwards' rejection (1983) of the theory on technical grounds invalidates the timing, and there is no archaeological evidence for conquest at any time in the Kofun period. This does not mean, however, that horse-riding equipment is absent in Japan. Starting in the mid-5th century, the tombs begin to yield horse-trappings; and in the 6th century they become the main grave goods. Horse gear is only one of the types of artefacts adopted from the Korean Peninsula in the 5th century, which witnessed the migration of skilled craftspeople, scholars and elites from the Peninsula. Such intensive technological transfer stimulated the development of administrative technology and managerial roles within Yamato (Barnes 1987). It is this sub-period, beyond the scope of this volume, where Wright's definition of the state as a form of administration with both internal and external specialization (Wright and Johnson 1975; Wright 1978: 56; and adopted in Barnes 1987) applies.

Historians put the advent of the state even later in the Kofun period. Piggott (1997) has modelled socio-economic sub-systems for Kofun-period Japan and established flow charts of interacting variables that contributed to Japanese state formation (Figure 1.9). Her flow chart,

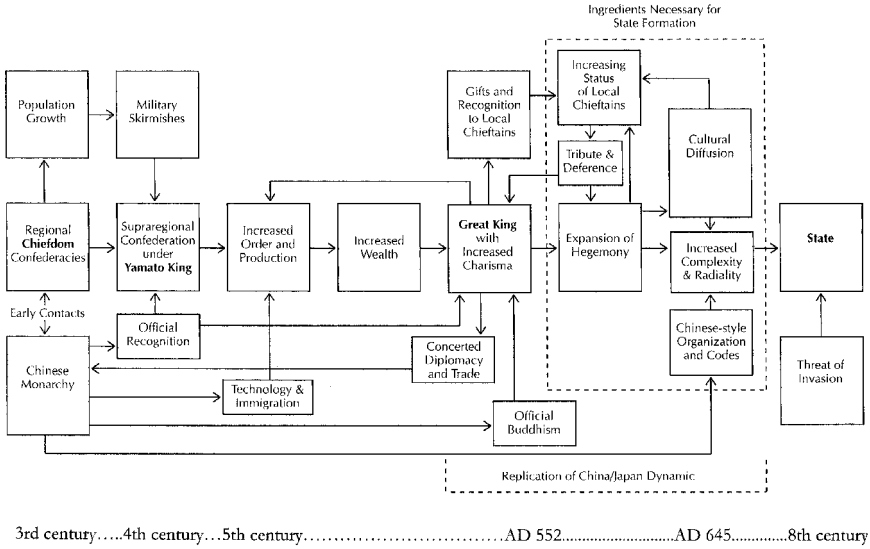

Figure 1.9 Flow chart of important influencing factors and changes within the period of Japanese state formation (after Piggott 1997: fig. 1)

AD 552 is the accepted date for the introduction of Buddhism into Yamato from Paekche
AD 645 is the traditional date for the Taika Reforms which began a century of administrative reform on the Tang Chinese model

determines that the 'ingredients necessary for state formation' did not appear until the 6th century and the state was not in existence until the 7th century. According to her epilogue (ibid.: 279), the definition of this state is apparently taken from SUZUKI Yasutami, who proposed that the early state was 'a hierarchical political formation with a reasonably centered command structure and unified culture' (quoted in Piggott 1997: 5). But she qualifies this in arguing that 'what scholars term the "centralized archaic state" – that is, the fully vertically integrated state – did not appear in Japan during the centuries spanned by this study' (ibid.: 7), which covered the 3rd to 7th centuries AD. Thus, many Japanese historians consider state formation to only have been completed with the Ritsuryō state, bringing it into comparative status with other archaic states (Feinman and Marcus 1998).

Protohistoric archaeology

Chinese court histories

The fact that Pen/Insular peoples of the 1st to 7th centuries AD are discussed in the Chinese dynastic histories (Appendix One) makes these centuries

protohistoric rather than completely prehistoric for the peripheral regions. This means that textual as well as archaeological data are available to help reconstruct Pen/Insular socio-political systems and their operations in this time span. The records of China, a fully historic society by then, provide a window onto those peoples' customs, cuisine, rituals, settlement structures, kin relations, economic activities and political organization – albeit seen through Chinese bureaucratic eyes.

The biggest pitfall in interpreting these records is taking at face value Chinese descriptions of economic and political systems, which utilize their own terms such as 'markets', 'taxes' and 'kings' when in fact the local systems were probably not yet sophisticated enough to warrant these terms. Nevertheless, one of the purposes of the Han Dynasty records was to provide ethnographic information on the peoples at the periphery of Han Court jurisdiction so that such peoples could be understood and manipulated for the court's benefit. It was thus in the court's interests to be as accurate as possible within their framework of intent, following the pattern set by the Grand Historian of Early Han, Si-ma Qian, in his 'quest for a non-mythological, observable, and empirically testable knowledge of foreign lands' (Di Cosmo 2002: 292). The Chinese documents must, of course, be employed with relevant caution for understanding Pen/Insular East Asia (Dubs 1946; Bielenstein 1954), but their utility parallels the use of Tacitus in understanding the Roman frontier. Wells (1992: 177) comments that the treatment by Tacitus 'provides useful insight . . . . Much of his account is supported by archaeological evidence', and the same could be said for Chinese records about peripheral East Asia.

The texts most important for monitoring 1st to 3rd century developments in the Pen/Insular region are the *Houhanshu* and the *Weizhi*. All records referring to Wo (J. Wa) have been translated into English (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951); but translations referring to the Korean Peninsula have not yet been published, so the original texts in Chinese are commonly used (e.g. Nabunken n.d.). Texts from the Liu Song, Sui and Tang Dynasties become important to understanding Yamato from the 5th century onwards (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951). The 4th century, interestingly, is referred to in Japanese as a historical 'void' (*yonseiki no kūhaku*) (e.g. Tanabe 1982) because no reports on Yamato or Wa exist in the Chinese records between AD 266 and 421 (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 16, 22).

Japanese court histories

In addition to the Chinese texts, Yamato development is reported upon retrospectively in the 8th-century chronicles of the Ritsuryō state. The two court histories, *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* (Appendix Two), were compiled in the late 7th century and submitted to the Nara Court after the new Chinese-style gridded city of Heijō was built and occupied in AD 710.[10] These texts

were centrally approved, politically inspired documents designed to legitimize the ruling imperial line and integrate the aristocratic clans into an interwoven genealogy reflecting their relative ranks at court. These specifically political aims in compiling the chronicles have contributed to innumerable textual problems, mainly concerning chronology and, not surprisingly, kinship relations. Some of these are fairly easily solved, as with the 'assignment' of ancestors to the courtly clans. In the *Kojiki*, for example, many of the genealogical specifications occur as interlinear glosses (Philippi 1969: 189). In other instances, the narrative genealogies are inconsistent enough to give us an instant glimpse of their falsehood (ibid.: 229, ftn.10).

The revealing of such systematic manipulation of the texts for genealogical purposes is one kind of textual criticism that allows understanding of the compilers' biases and aims. Written primarily in the Chinese language, the chronicles form the first consciously 'historical' documents of the early Japanese state, and the contents inform on activities going back several centuries before their compilation. Chronological reassignment and telescoping are two other problems that affect the texts.

Two further examples of master detective work in the 1950s by MIZUNO Yū (cf. Mizuno 1992) and KANDA Hideo (1959) concern entire dynasties of sovereigns, revealing interesting aspects of the social structures in the period covered. Pre-war Japan claimed to have the longest continuous record of descent among modern constitutional monarchies (Table 1.3), reaching back to 660 BC when Jinmu, grandson of the god Ninigi (himself grandson of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu) who descended from the heavens to rule the Central Land of Reed Plains (Yamato) allegedly took the throne. Kanda investigated the succession of the eight kings between the legendary Jinmu and the first sovereign, Sujin – generally agreed to probably have been a real historical figure, and decided that the intervening rulers were not successive at all but were probably contemporaneous leaders whose mutual marriage and kinship relationships had been reworked to show genealogical descent (Kanda 1959).

Mizuno further demonstrated that the imperial line as recorded in the 8th-century chronicles even then incorporated three distinct lines of kings which he terms the Old (beginning with Sujin), Middle (beginning with Ōjin) and New (beginning with Keitai) Dynasties (Mizuno 1968). Furthermore, each of these kingly lineages has been associated with a specific locus of rule: the Sujin Dynasty at Miwa, the Ōjin Dynasty at Kawachi and the Keitai Dynasty at Asuka as discussed earlier. The post-war scholarly works of Mizuno and Kanda thus challenged the claim of the absolute continuity of Japanese imperial rule – at least from these early centuries; instead, a picture of discontinuous shifts of power emerged through their analyses of the documents.

Due to the contents of the chronicles having been compiled for political reasons – with events telescoped back in time, international and domestic information separated into different periods, and fictional genealogical

Table 1.3 Traditional list of Japanese sovereigns to AD 715

#[a]	Sovereign[b]	Traditional reign dates[c]	No. years[d]	Adjusted reign dates[e]	No. years[f]	NS Book[g]	pp.[h]	Total r. years	Consort/ Empress
	***Kimi* (King)**					***Nihon Shoki* Vol. 1**			
1	Jinmu	660–585 BC	= 15			III	109–37 =	28	Ahira-tsu-hime; Hime-tatara-I-suzu-hime
2	Suizei	581–549	= 32			IV	138–41 =	3	Isuzu-yori-bime
3	Annei	548–511	= 37			IV	141–2 =	2	Nuna-soko-naka-tsu-hime
4	Itoku	510–477	= 33			IV	142–3 =	2	Ama-toyo-tsu-hime
5	Kōshō	475–393	= 82			IV	144–5 =	2	Yoso-tarashi-hime
6	Kōan	392–291	= 101			IV	145–6 =	2	Oshi-bime
7	Kōrei	290–215	= 75			IV	146–7 =	2	Hoso-bime
8	Kōgen	214–158	= 56			IV	147–8 =	2	Uchi-shiko-me
9	Kaika/Kaikwa	157–98	= 59			IV	148–9 =	2	Ika-shiko-me
Sujin (Mimaki) line of sovereigns comprising the 4th-century Miwa Court:[i]									
10	Sujin	97–30	= 67	AD 219–249	= 30	V	150–64 =	14	Mimaki-hime
11	Suinin	29 BC–AD 70	= 59	249–280	= 31	VI	165–87 =	22	Saho-hime
12	Keikō	71–130	= 59	280–316	= 36	VII	188–214 =	26	Lady of Inabi
13	Seimu	131–190	= 59	316–343	= 27	VII	214–16 =	2	–
14	Chūai/Chiuai	191–200	= 9	343–346	= 3	VIII	217–23 =	6	Oki-naga-tarashi-hime
Jingō/Jingū*		201–269	= 68	–	–	IX	224–53 =	31	–
Ōjin line of sovereigns comprising the 5th-century Kawachi Court:									
15	Ōjin	270–310	= 40	346–395	= 49	X	254–71 =	17	Nakatsuhime
16	Nintoku	313–399	= 86	395–427	= 32	XI	272–300 =	28	Iwa-no-hime; Yata

17	Richū/Richiu	400–405	= 5	427–432	= 5	XII	301–10 =	9	
18	Hanzei	406–411	= 5	433–438	= 5	XII	310–11 =	2	
19	Ingyō/Ingio	412–453	= 41	438–453	= 15	XIII	312–27 =	15	Osaka no Oho-nakatsu hime
20	Ankō			454–456	= 2	XIII	328–32 =	4	Nakashi hime/ Nagata no Oho-Iratsume
	***Ōkimi* (Great Kings):**								
21	Yūryaku/Yuriaku			457–479	= 22	XIV	333–72 =	39	Kusaka no Hatahime/ Tachi-bana-hime
22	Seinei			480–484	= 4	XV	373–7 =	4	Wono
23	Kenzō			485–487	= 2	XV	377–93 =	16	Kasuga no Oho-iratsume
24	Ninken			488–498	= 10	XV	393–8 =	5	Kasuga no Iratsume
25	Buretsu/ Muretsu			499–506	= 7	XVI	399–407 =	8	
Keitai line of sovereigns comprising the 6th–7th centuries Asuka Court						***Nihon Shoki* Vol. 2**			
26	Keitai/Keidai			507–531	= 24	XVII	1–25 =	24	
27	Ankan			534–535	= 1	XVIII	26–32 =	6	
28	Senka/Senkwa			536–539	= 3	XVIII	33–5 =	2	
29	Kimmei			540–571	= 31	XIX	36–89 =	53	
30	Bidatsu			572–585	= 13	XX	90–105 =	15	
31	Yōmei			585–587	= 2	XXI	106–11 =	5	
32	Sushun/Sujun			587–592	= 5	XXI	112–20 =	8	
33	Suiko*			592–628	= 36	XXII	121–56 =	35	
34	Jomei			629–641	= 12	XXIII	157–70 =	13	
35	Kōgyoku*			642–645	= 3	XXIV	171–94 =	23	
36	Kōtoku			645–654	= 9	XXV	195–247 =	52	

(*Table 1.3 continued*)

Table 1.3 Continued

#[a]	Sovereign[b]	Traditional reign dates[c]	No. years[d]	Adjusted reign dates[e]	No. years[f]	NS Book[g]	pp.[h]	Total r. years	Consort/ Empress
37	Saimei			655–661	= 6	XXVI	248–73 =	25	
38	Tenji/Tenchi			668–671	= 3	XXVII	274–300 =	26	
39	Kōbun			671–672	= 1				
40	Temmu			673–686	= 13	XXVIII	301–20+		
						XXIX	321–81 =	80	
	Tennō								
41	Jitō*			690–697	= 7	XXX	382–423 =	41	
Sovereigns reigning in the Fujiwara Palace, built by Jitō, from 696–710 (not included in the *Nihon Shoki*):									
	Tennō								
42	Mommu			697–707	= 10				
43	Gemmei			707–715	= 8				

* Indicate female sovereigns

[a] Numbers accord with Nelson (1966: 1018–9); note that Jingū is not included in the historically recognized sovereign list

[b] Names are first given in Hepburn romanization as they appear in Nelson (1966: 1018–9) and then after a forward slash if they appear differently in the translation of the *Nihon Shoki* (Aston 1972)

[c] In accord with Nelson (1966: 1018–9) and Kidder (1959: 209, 1966: 209)

[d] Calculated from the traditional reign dates

[e] Presented in Kidder (1959: 209; 1966: 209). This adjusted chronology was developed by Umehara Sueji and Kobayashi Yukio in the 1950s at the University of Kyōto, when J. Edward Kidder Jr, was in residence there. Kidder describes their methodology in constructing the chronology as 'sliding it up and down until they were satisfied with a fit' (personal communication, Jan. 2003); Kidder himself thinks Sujin's reign should have been kept a little earlier, but it appears to me they wished to align Sujin with Himiko's reign due to the earlier hypotheses concerning the congruence of Himiko and Yamato totohi-momose-hime no Mikoto

[f] Calculated from the adjusted reign dates

[g] *Nihon Shoki* (NS) 'Books' as numbered in Roman numerals in Aston (1972). Note: 1) that several sovereigns might be discussed in one 'Book', while Tenmu was given two Books to describe his reign; 2) that #39 Kōbun was not included in the *Nihon Shoki* chronicles; 3) that the translation is divided into Part 1 and Part 2 each of which begins with page number 1

[h] Page numbers in the Aston translation, including the number of total pages devoted to that sovereign

[i] The division of the protohistoric imperial line into three 'dynasties' associated with specific regions, giving rise to the appellations 'Miwa Court', 'Kawachi Court' and 'Asuka Court' (see Figure 1.4)

relationships created with past rulers and gods – they cannot be used as a chronologically accurate account; instead each grain of information must be evaluated for its degree of reality, appropriate dating and cultural context.

Text-aided archaeology

Protohistoric archaeology is a field in which the information from such texts must be balanced against the archaeological record to come to a full interpretation of the society under scrutiny. Much has been written about the methods of historical archaeology (reviewed by Andrén 1998), and many are applicable to protohistoric archaeology. Andrén has noted a distinct lack of consensus in approach across periods and areas, so that there is no 'standard' to adhere to. He himself presents 'five different types of contexts for the dialogue between artifact and text. They consist of three forms of correspondence – classification, identification and correlation – along with association and contrast' (Andrén 1998: 157). By approaching the relationship of texts and archaeology from these different perspectives, one would hope to extract as much corresponding and contrastive information, making them as 'comparable' as possible while avoiding the extremes of tautology (archaeology as the handmaiden of history) and silence (never the twain shall meet between history and archaeology) (ibid.: 145, 160). Shennan, however, focuses on the 'complementarity' between archaeology and texts, with archaeology informing on *practices* but throwing little light on *roles*, while texts highlight roles and norms within institutions but reveal little about individual practice (1993: 55) or individuals per se.

Andrén has characterized my approach to Japanese protohistory (Barnes 1984) as one which argues for careful evaluation of both text and material records independently to identify patterns, in order to avoid circularity of identification and opportunistic concordances. The identification of pattern, however, is only one approach to textual data. Another is the identification of constellations of material and/or documentary data, each element of which serves to reinforce the others in providing a glimpse of a historical reality. A third is to identify and use an isolated piece of data that does not repeat in an internal pattern and does not form part of a constellation, but instead conforms to generalizing trends derived from method and theory outside the case study. The correlation of such an isolate with an external trend can illuminate the historically particular situation, bringing it into the patterning of human experience.

Throughout this volume these several methods of text-aided archaeology are applied. In this Orientation, I have accepted the framework of the Chinese records as setting the context in which to view the initial developmental stages of the early Japanese state; in later chapters I try to point out the strengths and weaknesses in the arguments which utilize such records for detailed identification of things in the material record. The ensuing chapters

thus do not form a single narrative of state formation in Japan; as Di Cosmo (2002: 3) has pointed out for early Chinese history, 'striving to match archaeological "narratives" and historical text-based narratives is a thankless task' because 'narratives are constantly being destablized by new data.' Like Di Cosmo, therefore, I have constructed an investigation, chapter by chapter, of difficult points in the received narratives from alternating textual and archaeological as well as general and particular points of view. These investigations, moreover, do not adhere to a strict chronology, and data from any point in the sequence may be used to support a particular argument.

Spotlight on Early Kofun

This volume focuses on the Early Kofun period, particularly the century from AD 250 to 350. In preparation for examining the formation of the Mounded Tomb Culture (MTC) and the processes of social stratification which this century entailed, we begin in Chapter 2 by reviewing the theoretical frameworks used in this volume, ranging among interaction spheres, Actor Network Theory, World-Systems Theory and Peer Polity Interaction theory. Chapter 3 introduces the hierarchical relationships between the Yayoi of Western Seto and the Chinese empires, and their peer relationships with Korean Bronze Age chiefdoms. The Wallerstein model of the world-empire is critiqued against the historic tributary system of the Han Dynasty in order to provide the detailed historical context for the economic and ideological ties that the insular polities maintained with China from Middle Yayoi to Middle Kofun. Chapter 4 is devoted to clarifying the nature of the Yamatai/Yamato relationship, looking at the early state in Japan from the perspective of the Chinese courtiers and explaining why their view differs from the perspective Japanese courtiers had of their own history. Chapter 5 examines the beginning of mounded burial practices for interring political rulers, spanning the transition from Yayoi to Kofun. Using the rank-size rule for interpreting tomb size, Chapter 6 explores various aspects of political hierarchy and rank, the formation of regional polities, and the consolidation of the Miwa polity which dominated the Early Kofun period. Chapter 7 recasts the Mounded Tomb Culture as a prestige goods system and contrasts it with the Middle Yayoi system in Kyūshū. Examples of the use of prestige goods in establishing elite identities lead into a theoretical discussion of the formation of class society by the end of Early Kofun. A proposed ideology of the Miwa polity, and how it facilitated the spread of the MTC and drew regional rulers into a broad network of interacting elites, occupies the final Chapter 8.

In over-all indebtedness, the Early Kofun period's century of fluorescence can be characterized as positioned at the Edge of Empire. Hierarchical relationships with China dominated the Early Kofun polities' external interaction, while the predominant internal relationships were those of peer interaction.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Approaches

From the general to the particular to the individual

There is a tension in all historical studies between the search for large patterns of activity in human existence and the documentation of never-repeated incidents. These polarized approaches carry with them particular views on causation (Melko 1995). Studies which focus on the former are often looking for the essence of what it is to be human – what in our cumulative experience is common, defining and tying us together through the millennia. Such studies characterize the flow of history in cycles, rhythms, waves or pulses (Bosworth 1995; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1995), while usually eschewing their specific causes. Studies that focus on the never-ending succession of incidents see history as long, unrepeated, unilinear sequences and look for causes in antecedent conditions. Though often thought to be mutually exclusive, both these approaches are necessary for investigating the specific segment of history that is our subject matter here.

The rise and fall of the Han Dynasty is one example of the long-term cycling of empires (Eisenstadt 1963, 1967; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1995) and can be equated with Braudel's conception of the *longue durée* (Braudel 1978). Within this cycle, we can see the sowing of seeds of sequences of state formation which outlive the Han Empire and come to fruition through particular incidents of historical interaction. The context of state formation and the concept of peer interaction are also part of conceptualizing historical patterning, but the contents of the processes and activities are particularistic. While 'cause-and-effect political history' has been discarded by most historians as a 19th-century methodology (Melko 1995: 25–6), some historians have been able to pursue the issue of origins in a 'rational' rather than a 'sequential' context (ibid.: 39–40). The proximate reasons for development in certain directions will be entertained here as associated with particular historical incidents.

The ultimate in particularism is the individual – a human, for what we are dealing with is human history as made up by the activities of all humans throughout the ages. Since the 1990s, under the influence of the theory of structuration put forward by Giddens (1979, 1984), the idea of the 'agency' of human action has been applied to archaeology. Essentially structuration and agency theories focus on people, either as individuals or in groups, as the agents of both social change *and* social stability, interacting with inherited frameworks of belief, behaviour and built environment. The social environment is therefore recognized to result from cumulative human behaviour – a combination of intentional actions and unintended consequences of human activities. The causal linkages between individual or group actions and the resulting social environment in which they operate are complex, mutually influential, incomplete, unpredictable and uncontrollable – and yet there would be no social environment if there were no humans: it does not exist outside of us.

Agency studies in archaeology (e.g. Dobres and Robb 2000) tend to be investigations into the activities and behaviour of people in the past without constructing causal explanations. Rather, it is the form and dynamic of interaction that are of interest, and the coordination of short-term events and patterns with medium- to long-term patterns or trajectories in the Braudelian sense is a way of linking behaviour to the social environment as historically known. But the actors in all cases are people – not societies, not cultures and not polities.

One of the latest statements from the archaeological point of view tries to redefine 'agency' as referring only to intentional behaviour and presumably its successful results: 'agency refers to the intentional choices made by men and women as they take action to realize their goals' (Brumfiel 2000: 249). However, there has been a great deal written about unintended consequences or unforeseen ramifications of intended behaviour; these can be joined by consideration of consequences arising from intentional passivity as well as intentional activity. Not all behaviour intended to change things in society achieves its intended results – witness all the unsuccessful efforts of political lobbying groups in Washington, DC. If we focus only on intentional choices made to achieve goals and identify those goals as the causes of the patterns we seek to explain, we might miss the unintended behaviour which has actually contributed greatly to social patterns (such as stratification) and organizational results (such as the state). Rather than beginning with individual intentions as causes of social change, it is better to focus on the change itself and identify retrospectively both intentional and unintentional consequences. I do not go so far as Mann, who judges that 'human motivation is irrelevant'; but I agree with him that the 'characteristics of social relations become relevant to, and may indeed structure, motivations' in that 'they have *emergent* properties of their own' (Mann 1984: 5, his emphasis).

Monitoring intentionality may work in contemporary society, where we can actually interview or talk to persons to find out their intentions and motivations, but even here we confront the problems of emic (insider) versus etic (outsider) interpretation and of determining the source of said motivation. Individuals may confess to not knowing why they do certain things, or they may consciously make up rationalizations to explain to themselves why they do things, or they may misunderstand their own intentions, or they may operate in culturally accepted ways which incorporate reasons according to a specific world view, or they may not be able to verbalize intentions at all but act according to internalized social or antisocial values, or they may simply lie. Outside interpreters, on the other hand, may infer entirely different reasons for the behaviour they observe than the protagonist. Both emic and etic perceptions are forms of differing realities that are believed in by different groups; and both are important because each conditions the behaviour of those who believe in their perceptions. Which interpretations are used in analysis depends on the questions being asked and the relevance of the stated emic or etic intentions to those questions – and in either case we must deal with the potential for mystification of motives in verbalized (or textual) accounts.

How we access the individual and his/her intentionality in a protohistoric period is problematic. The documents give us ready access to historical figures – a situation not enjoyed in prehistoric studies – but it is no easier to monitor intentionality. In fact, we are limited to our etic inference of their behavioural reasoning; for example, in the case of the written documents, we have inferred what the purposes of their compilers were ('know thine potential enemy' in the case of the Han courtiers, or 'legitimate the emperor' in the case of the Nara chroniclers). But we do not have access to these individuals' own thoughts or those of the people they wrote about – only a record of the latter's ostensible actions through the etic views of the early historians. For archaeological data, we only have the etic interpretations of the archaeologist. Thus, even if we do entertain intentionality in protohistory, it is through etic interpretations of different actors' behaviour, not through their own emic interpretations (accurate or otherwise).

Shennan demands that investigations start at the micro-scale, which 'is the real level of social and cultural reproduction', and without consideration of the interests and powers of individuals, we cannot 'understand the unintended consequences and unstable dynamic behavior which can emerge over the long term and which are certainly a key part of the complexity of history' (1993: 58). However, if we do not have full access to pre- and proto-historic individuals, is it not better to step back from the individual and focus on particularistic (i.e. culturally determined) *patterns* of behaviour, both in the medium- and long-term, with reference to generalized (i.e. ostensibly universal) *patterns* of human behaviour? As Braudel advises, 'getting a grasp of what the world is about means defining

a hierarchy of forces, currents and individual movements, and refashioning the pattern of their totality' (1978: 21). An example lies in the comparable activities of the 7th-century Yamato courtiers (Chapter 1) and 19th-century Meiji oligarchs, as groups of like-minded individuals, in turning to foreign models to overhaul their state infrastructure in the face of external threats; these activities of individuals comprise both a repeating pattern in Japanese history and cases of a recognized general strategy whereby a peripheral society grows stronger by adopting the best technology from the core.

The Yamato and Meiji cases also provide clear examples of decision-making and a rare example of the intentionality behind decisions made by protohistoric actors. Decision-making and information processing have long been foci of state formation studies (Wright 1969; Wright and Johnson 1975; Johnson 1978; van der Leeuw 1981; Shennan 1993: 57–8). Decisions themselves are made with reference to the individuals' socialization into a particular society and social context in which they operate as well as with reference to their own 'preference structures' (Shennan 1993: 57), world-view, conscious intentions and ulterior motives. Decision-making can therefore be subsumed into cognitive archaeology (Renfrew 1982, 1993, 1994, 1998).

Flannery and Marcus (1993) have identified four realms of cognitive archaeology that are relevant to state formation studies: cosmology, religion, ideology and iconography. Earle, working with chiefdoms, takes a usefully broader view of ideology that subsumes the other realms (1997: 149):

> Ideology is a system of beliefs and ideas presented publicly in ceremonies and other occasions. It is created and manipulated strategically by social segments, most importantly the ruling elite, to establish and maintain positions of social power.

Much of this volume deals with pre-state society in the Japanese Islands during the formative period, therefore Earle's ideas on the 'materialization' of ideology are particularly relevant (DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle 1996; Earle 1997). He argues that 'to be used strategically, ideologies must be made concrete in forms such as ceremonies, symbols, and monuments' (Earle 1997: 143). The building of mounded burials for chiefly rulers in Late and Terminal Yayoi (Chapter 5) is proposed as the first step in the materialization, within the Japanese Islands, of the prominence of the chief not only in the social landscape but in the natural landscape, with such monumentality outliving the chief him/herself. The materialization of ideology in symbols takes a great step forward in qualitative significance in the shift from bronze bells and weapons to bronze mirrors (Chapters 6 and 8). The materialization of ceremonies has been somewhat neglected in post-war Japanese studies but is now being considered for the Yayoi-Kofun transition, so that the keyhole tomb is postulated to be the locus of a ceremony celebrating the chief in a common framework of elite culture.

The most significant aspect of materialization to be noted in the Japanese case is that the manipulation of bronzes within a native framework of cosmology and religion – the proposed bronze bell worship of the Eastern Seto region – apparently led to a dead end in terms of increasing socio-political complexity. It was only when the Kinai region adopted the mentality of bronzes as prestige goods, under the tutelage of Western Seto and the continent, that a political system was established allowing increased hierarchization and social stratification, the operational threshold of state formation.

Pursuing this thesis apparently puts me into the category of researchers who think that the goals of human behaviour are 'in some way cross-culturally predictable' and are 'defined . . . by "socially constructed interests" ', rather than in the opposing camp of researchers who think that such goals are 'defined by unique culturally and historically specific logics and values' (Brumfiel 2000: 249). But these two views are opposite ends of a continuum from which contributions may be made in any historical situation; the problem is to identify those contributions, not to exclude any on principle. In fact, several interruptions in the historical sequence can be identified, which changed the course of socio-political development in the Japanese Islands. Far from being a teleological process that was 'cross-culturally predictable' toward state formation, the emergence of the state was very much contingent on historical developments in the region and individual reactions and decisions among the rulership to these developments.

Interaction and circulation

It was an accident that I noticed and bought a book entitled *Actor Network Theory and After* (Law and Hassard 1999), and it was repetition that brought me back to the book, sitting on my shelf for months, to actually read it. In these simple actions, I unwittingly enrolled in a network of scholars who are trying to avoid the dichotomy of agency versus structure and investigate the creation of human society through the 'sociology of translation', derived in part from the work of Michel Serres. Since Actor Network Theory (ANT) is, or should be as some of its practitioners claim, a heterogeneous grab-bag without a central dogma, a reductionist description of its mission would probably be disputed by most of its theorists. However, the point of the theory is that any individual takes 'significations, concerns and interests' of others and translates them into meaningful forms for him/herself (Brown and Capdevila 1999: 32). In repeated appeals to the sources of those 'significations, concerns and interests' and in reapplying them in translated form in his/her own life, that individual becomes part of a network of relationships in which there is 'circulation' of commonly held but individually interpreted tangibilities and intangibilities.

This is the essence of the development of a ruling ideology as conceived of by Earle (1997): although many groups in society may have different

ideologies fashioned to their particular purposes, that addressing rulership must be held in common by both the rulers and the ruled (who presumably acquiesce to that ideology whether they believe in it or not) to be fully successful. And success in establishing an ideology of rulership that is able to survive in the long term depends on balancing sources of power so that any particular one does not overwhelm the others or be turned against the ruling group to rout them. One tangible source of power is in controlling the production and circulation of precious goods; another is the creation of belief systems that reinforce rulership; and finally, performances of ceremonies – which are neither wholly tangible nor entirely intangible – provide the opportunity of repetition to establish custom and customary thought surrounding rulership.

Claessen and van de Velde have developed the concept of the 'Complex Interaction Model' (CIM) for early states where four factors contribute to the 'complexity': societal format, including population levels and spatial infrastructure; the political economy; ideology; and socio-political organization (cf. Claessen and Oosten 1996: 5; Claessen 2000: fig. 5). Each of these factors is said to be structured by the other three. Indeed, in the ensuing chapters all of these factors come into play at certain points in the Japanese narrative, and it will be shown that historical events (accidents) requiring human decision-making in one of these realms was often the spur for change and subsequent reformulation (repetition), using the terms of ANT.

One of the main means for repeated 'circulation' of proposed 'tangibilities and intangibilities' between and among individuals in complex systems is economic interaction, due to the differential locations of resource extraction, object manufacture, intermediate distribution, consumption and final burial in the archaeological record. In their active quest for continental bronze and iron, political leaders in the Japanese Islands during the first few centuries AD can be seen to have maintained econo-political relationships on at least three different levels: (1) with the Chinese court in its various dynastic transformations; (2) with equivalent emerging chiefly polities on the Korean Peninsula; and (3) among themselves as emerging chiefly polities in the islands. The first was essentially a hierarchical relationship while the second and third were characterized by general structural equivalence. Below these relations between leaders are kin-based or community-based exchanges, which also operate essentially on a peer basis.

The adoption of an interaction network construct removes the necessity to rely on either exogenous or endogenous change as exclusive mechanisms for promoting socio-political change (cf. Mann 1984; Champion 1989a: 9). It is not, however, a return to diffusionism but a new formulation of the place of human action in creating networks and contacts, and a mapping of the changes in infrastructure that result from the flow of information, skills and knowledge via human communication within the network (cf. Schortman and Urban 1992c). Because the construct places an emphasis on networking as an activity carried out multilaterally, it creates a natural

place for the consideration of 'people' – both as individuals and as groups – in the processes of social change (cf. Schortman and Urban 1992b: 237). As Yoffee notes, consideration of such ' "extra-systemic" modes of change represent[s] a needed openness for explaining the varying paces and scales of state formation through inter-societal contact' (1993: 72).

In using the framework of interaction studies as a 'paradigm', Schortman and Urban (1992b: 235) argue that the basic unit of analysis is a 'network of societies that maintain some degree of contact' and the purpose of analysis is to discover 'predictable relations among extrasocietal contacts and sociopolitical changes'. These specifications, however tentatively offered, suggest that we must decide the boundaries of societies in order to monitor what goes between them. I would argue instead that what goes on between *creates* societies, that activity expands the realm of sociability, and that many realms of sociability can operate simultaneously on different levels – as seen in the difference between hierarchical and peer interactions. Latour has voiced dissatisfactions with such dichotomies as agency/structure, actor/network and macro-level societal attributes such as norms, values, culture vs. micro-level face-to-face interactions (1999: 16–17) in defence of conceiving 'society' as a circulating entity. Perhaps it is the task of interaction studies to track these whirling entities across a geographical landscape and through historical time, identifying their pinpoint origins and monitoring their expansion and contraction, collision and replacement – somewhat like watching a multi-coloured screen saver – and evaluating the organizational changes created within the Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere (cf. Figure 1.1).

Two specific conceptions of interaction can be subsumed within the greater interaction network theory: core-periphery relations and Peer Polity Interaction, discussed later. Their applicability and beneficial uses with reference to the Japanese case study will be presented in the next chapter, which focuses on cross-straits relations of the Yayoi Wa on Kyūshū Island with their Bronze and Iron Age counterparts on the Korean Peninsula.

Core-periphery interaction

Archaeological employment of centre-periphery concepts grew out of Central Place Theory such as promoted by Christaller (1966) and its application in settlement pattern studies. These studies have been criticized for concentrating on spatial patterning within a small-scale setting rather than behavioural patterns of interaction within broader regions (Champion 1989a: 3). Moreover, as Ucko has noted (1989: xv), 'the effective centre as revealed by the evidence of past material culture may well not have been the solitary emic perception of one and the same centre as seen by all those within an archaeological periphery'. The second point of new centre-periphery studies in archaeology is that the periphery is a non-homogeneous place that may itself harbour relative centres of activity and serve as a locus of innovation.

This idea harks back to Toynbee's (1954) observation of 'the tendency for new and dynamic societies to emerge on the fringes of old and declining ones' (Champion 1989a: 3). Such potential for dynamism in the periphery, however, is missing from Wallerstein's proposal of core-periphery relations in the capitalist world (1974), where the periphery was characterized by dependence and passivity was subject to exploitation. This observation is extremely relevant to the Japanese case study as almost all Japanese archaeologists identify a single Kinai centre of overwhelming influence from the mid-3rd century onwards without considering other potential perceptions.

Wallerstein's work has had great impact in archaeology, stimulating the contrary idea of 'Peer Polity Interaction' as will be discussed later. It has also provoked an extended debate within the field of economic history as to China's role in the development of world capitalism. However, few scholars have critiqued his view of China's Han Dynasty as an example of one of his 'world-systems'.[1] Since the Han is one of the major frameworks of influence in Japanese state formation, the application of Wallerstein's ideas to East Asia will be examined in more detail in Chapter 3.

Champion has noted that prestige-good economies are 'particularly common on the fringes of early states and empires' as 'a regular means of articulating societies with very different structures of economic and social organization' (1989a: 12). Indeed, in the case of the Han Empire, the traditional practice of the Chinese court of gifting peripheral rulers with prestigious and valuable goods was one way of ensuring peace along the borders of empire and allegiance to the court. For European development beyond the Roman Empire, Haselgrove (1987: 129) has noted that the Roman Empire's policy of giving diplomatic gifts had 'inherent risks as it accelerated the internal dynamics of Germanic society'. The ensuing chapters will indicate how the operation of the Chinese 'tributary system' similarly acted as a major formative element in enhancing political hierarchies in the Japanese Islands in the period leading to state emergence.

Peer Polity Interaction

The model of 'Peer Polity Interaction' (Renfrew 1986) was formulated in direct reaction to the dominance relations in Wallerstein's world-systems analysis and reliance on diffusion as an explanatory mechanism inherent in civilizational analysis. Although Renfrew conceived the units of peer interaction to be anything from autonomous villages to the state, I found the model most useful in examining interactions among polities within the Pen/Insular periphery (Barnes 1986a). That centralized, hierarchically organized polities did exist at the edge of empire is fully attested in the Chinese dynastic records, and these are also visible in the archaeological record through the Yayoi chiefly burials excavated in the last quarter century, discussed in Chapter 5.

Two strategies of Peer Polity Interaction theory are important here, as they correlate with different uses of material goods. The first, Renfrew's 'competitive emulation', operates to homogenize the material culture among interacting elites, since they all try to outdo each other in adopting and then besting one another in conspicuous consumption of the same types of goods. The homogenizing effects are seen in the spread of a broad elite material sub-culture across the landscape. It does not follow, however, that the users belong to some sort of organic solidarity or political unity. Relations among the elite may be friendly or hostile, even while using the same material objects. The prestige goods employed in interaction merely identify the persons to be interacted with, demarcating the elite group from social inferiors. 'Balkanization' is a second strategy which I introduced into peer polity theory (Barnes 1986a, based on Freidel 1981): it produces separate and competing material cultures as if the local grouping, identified by a distinct repertoire of goods, is visually setting itself against those with whom it interacts. It does not presume absence of contact with others having different material signifiers. In the Japanese sequence, it is possible that balkanization characterized the period of Late Yayoi chiefly interaction, as seen in the different mound-burial types constructed across western Japan (Chapter 5), while emulation operated to produce a relatively homogeneous material culture of stratified society in the Kofun period (Chapters 6 and 7).

In adopting the Peer Polity Interaction model, with modifications, for analysing the patterns of interaction of the early Yamato state (Barnes 1986a), I originally divided Peer Polity Interaction in early Japan into two stages: the first, between the 1st and early 4th centuries, involving polities within the Japanese Islands; and the second, from the late 4th to early 7th centuries, among the polities of the Japanese Islands and the Korean Peninsula. This narrow focus in the early period accrued from a concern with endogenous development, characteristic of Kofun-period studies in the 1970s. With more detailed analysis and regional broadening of concern, such a simplified view becomes untenable since the historic sequence is much more complicated; both chronological refinements and geographical clarifications are therefore offered in this volume. In the following discussion I adopt Champion's (1989a: 9) definition of 'peer': 'polities equal in structural terms if not equal in actual economic, political, or military power'. In noting economic inequalities between peers, it is important to understand that smelting technologies were unknown in the Japanese Islands until at least the late 5th century AD. Thus, the procurement of strategic metals is of utmost importance to the early stages of Peer Polity Interaction with the continent.

The new first stage of Peer Polity Interaction ran from the end of Early Yayoi to early Middle Yayoi (ca. 175–100 BC) when the burials of emergent chiefs in North Kyūshū are supplied with bronzes and cast iron objects from the Bohai Bay region and perhaps Weiman Chosŏn in the northern Korean Peninsula (Murakami 2000b: 138–9). From late Middle Yayoi to

early Late Yayoi (ca. 100 BC–AD 200) comprises the second stage, when not only wrought-iron materials but forging techniques are introduced from the southern peninsula; bronzes also are obtained from the same area (Murakami 2000b: 146–7). The third stage begins in middle Late Yayoi and carries into Early Kofun (AD 100–350) with continued procurement of bronze and iron from the peninsula. The fourth stage begins in the mid-4th century and continues on into Middle Kofun, when craft technologies in the Yamato region are revolutionized by Paekche and Kaya immigrants. The fifth stage, beyond the scope of this volume, occurs in the 6th century with the introduction of Buddhism. All these stages involved the interaction of communities and individuals on the Korean Peninsula and in the Japanese Islands, quite apart from communications with the Chinese either directly or through their commandery portals.

Complex interaction

When combining the two models for centre-periphery and peer polity relations in terms of real societies, it is obvious that interaction may occur on many levels. Schematically, these may be illustrated by pyramidal conceptions representing individual societies (Figure 2.1)[2] on large and small scales. The dominance of the Han Empire, ruled by the imperial court, extended over peripheral societies which, nevertheless, were similarly organized but on smaller and less complex scales. Relations between Chinese court and peripheral ruler may be characterized in terms of formalized centre-periphery relations (Figure 2.1: A), while relations between and among peripheral rulers fall within the peer category (B). Peripheral rulers also interact with leaders of their own hinterlands (C), in a mirror of core-periphery relations. Interactions also occurred between lower levels of the socio-political hierarchies, such as when extracting goods from peripheries (D), obtaining goods from peer polities (E, F), or economic exchange of regional specialities among commoners and kin-based exchanges such as distribution of goods through family connections (F).[3]

Such multi-level patterns of interaction must be coordinated with the different types of goods moving across the landscape, coming to reside in their final depositional contexts through which the archaeological reconstructions of exchange relations are formulated. We must consider not only the types of exchange (market, gift, utilitarian barter, etc.) but also the fact that many of these types can occur at various socio-political levels; for example, official embassy representations to the court may provide the opportunity for private trade. Many of the goods moving in such systems would have been organic materials no longer accessible to the archaeologist, but Ucko (1989: xiv) further emphasizes the intangibles of socio-political intercourse such as allegiance or religious concepts.

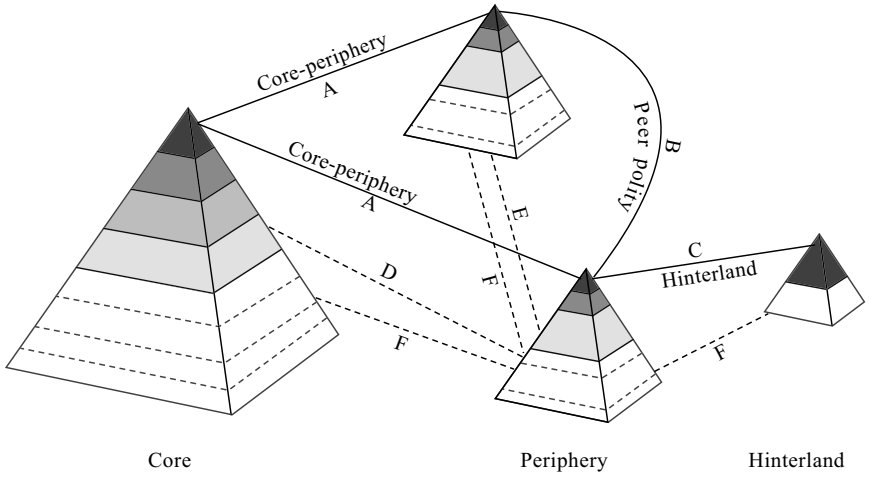

Figure 2.1 Multi-level interaction paths among hierarchical societies of various sizes (pyramid design after Terasawa 2000: 143)

(A) relations between rulers of core and peripheral polities (B) relations between rulers of peer polities (C) relations of rulers of peripheral polities with hinterland leaders (D) relations between lower core elite and peripheral commoners (E) relations between lower peripheral elite and peer polity commoners (F) relations between commoners of any of these polities

Amongst the possible changes resulting from intense interaction among pyramidal societies is the reinforcement and extension of their own hierarchical tendencies. The two strategies of competition and emulation operate in both contexts of core-periphery and peer relations, but the core-periphery context has more ideas and opportunities to offer than do peer relations. These may be considered the 'conscious' aspects of interaction that lead to the development of ideologies of rulership which try to steer change in a particular direction. However, such efforts at conscious control may be buffeted, deflected, and even totally derailed by historical circumstance so that the visions of any one group of political leaders remain unfulfilled. One of the most interesting things about hierarchical society at the edge of empire, though, is that once created, it tends to resurface in a different guise even after temporary collapse, through the continuing stimulus provided by the core. This was very much the case in the western Japanese archipelago following initial exposure to and stimulus by the successive Chinese empires (Chapters 3 and 6).

Prestige-good economies

On the surface, the term 'prestige goods' seems inherently to mean 'status symbols', that is, objects whose very possession endows the possessor with

elevated social status and identity. However, such an interpretation draws from the function of status symbols in modern society, whereas in pre-modern societies, prestige goods performed much greater ritual and ceremonial functions and served to create political power through the building of patron-client relationships in social hierarchies. Earle (1997: 73) includes prestige goods in his category of 'wealth finance' used as 'political currencies to compensate people within ruling institutions'.

Friedman and Rowlands (1977) have written the seminal paper on the operation of prestige-good systems in chiefly societies, but long before this, Caldwell (1964) constructed the concept of the Hopewell Interaction Sphere on the basis of long-distance circulation of rare goods such as seashell products, trinkets made of native copper, etc. Peebles and Kus (1977) dealt with prestige goods in another guise, as short-distance tributary goods to the chiefly paramount who then redistributed them to the top level of the ruling hierarchy. The Kwakiutl potlatch is an extreme example of localized circulation of prestige goods through leader largesse (Jonaitis 1992; Perodie 2001). Prestige goods, therefore, have been identified mainly with chiefly societies in anthropological studies, but they are also an entrenched feature of full-fledged state societies and empires.

The role of prestige goods in state societies more closely conforms to the modern situation as status goods possessed by the elite class, restricted in distribution because of their high cost and precious nature. In societies where money is used as a currency, the goods tend to 'trickle down' through the status hierarchy because there are no cultural restrictions on their possession other than the ability to buy them. The specific repertoire of elite goods in such societies, therefore, is constantly changing as distribution becomes wider and as the need to replace them with new and exotic objects at the top of the hierarchy becomes an objective in itself. Such prestige goods, therefore, become divorced from ceremony and ritual meanings within society and serve more as status markers.

In rare cases, prestige goods are retained by state societies to manipulate for political purposes. The exchange of state gifts among modern nations puts a strain on White House storage capacities and creates embarrassing moments for the British royal family in the divesting of their gifts. But few states have rivalled the Han Dynasty of China (206 BC–AD 220) for creating a clear state policy in using gifts from the court to generate ties of allegiance with surrounding polities – a policy which extended into the late 18th century (Hevia 1995). The Han tributary system which comprised the main strategy of its foreign policy will be introduced in Chapter 3 as the most important formative element in the construction of the prestige-good mentality in the early chiefdoms of the Japanese Islands.

In contrast to Fried (1967) who emphasized elite control over basic resources and Wallerstein (1974) who defined tribute in terms of essential bulk goods, scholars following Adams (1974) now focus on the *systemic*

utility of prestige goods within early states and empires. 'Perhaps, in reality, it is *non-subsistence* resources which are "basic" from the point of view of understanding increasing political centralization and the opening up of an unbridgeable social gulf between rulers and ruled' (Gledhill 1988: 15, emphasis added). As Peregrine has noted (1991: 199), luxury goods were *not* frivolous precisely because they were essential for social reproduction. Hayden has identified three primary purposes in creating prestige objects: (1) 'to display wealth, success, and power . . . to solve a social problem or accomplish a social task'; (2) to generate 'hierarchical indebted relationships' and (3) 'to store surplus production and labor in a transformed state' (1998: 11–12). Schneider (1991: 53) reduces these to just two uses: the creation and maintenance of status differences, and the creation and consolidation of social bonds:

> [the point was] not just a matter of an elevated group distinguishing itself through the careful application of sumptuary laws and a monopoly on symbols of status; it further involved the direct and self-conscious manipulation of various semiperipheral and middle level groups through patronage, bestowals, and the calculated distribution of exotic and valued goods.

Hayden (1998: 36) refers to this latter use of prestige goods as an aggrandizer strategy, with the aggrandizing elites underwriting craft-good production for their use in creating hierarchy. Moving away from the different purposes of prestige-good exchange, Blanton categorizes prestige-good systems in terms of their organization: those in kinship-based economies, those under state control of wealth distribution, and those in decentralized systems (1998: 142, 144). He further distinguishes between 'distributive' and 'exclusionary' systems, especially with regard to metals, characterizing a decentralized prestige-good system as a 'distributive metal age' (ibid.: 157).

There are thus several issues before us in examining prestige-good economies in the Japanese archipelago: the organizations, motivations and mechanisms of production, exchange, distribution and consumption, all of which might lead to different types of prestige-good systems at different times. Furthermore, there is the problem of defining a 'prestige good' as different from other types of goods. Here we may recall Appadurai's discussion (1986: 38–40) of how classes of objects can function in different exchange spheres at different times, so that a type of good does not have a single classificatory slot but may transmute from an everyday good to a luxury good and back again depending on social context and assigned value. Appadurai, speaking from the viewpoint of the social anthropologist, mentions that far too much work has been done on exchange and not enough on production and distribution. In Japan, much research has been done on the technology of production and typology of different artefacts, while copious distribution maps illustrate the artefacts' final resting places.

However, the mechanisms of exchange – requiring knowledge of production organization and production sites as well as intermediate exchanges before final burial – are sorely under-researched.

There are two prestige-good economies that will be examined in the following Chapters 3 and 7: that of the Middle Yayoi in conjunction with the Early Han Empire, and Early Kofun in conjunction with Wei and its successor, the Western Jin Dynasty (AD 265–316). These economies have never before been evaluated within the prestige-good system framework, and certainly they have never before been compared and contrasted with each other. The insights they raise on the shift from ranked to stratified societies are profound, and they can be considered as part of the same process, though interrupted briefly, of secondary state formation in Japan.

Chapter Three

Edge of Empire: Yayoi Interaction with the Continent (1st Century BC to Mid-3rd Century AD)

Han expansion and the Han tributary system

The Han Empire was as large and influential in the development of eastern Eurasia as the Roman Empire was in western Eurasia. These empires overlapped in time and were even in contact with each other through the trade routes across Central Asia that later became part of the Silk Road complex (Figure 3.1).[1] The Han inherited the territory conquered by the Qin Dynasty (221–206 BC) whence comes our name for China. The establishment of a unified empire that has exerted heavy influence on succeeding Chinese dynasties (Yates 2001) and peripheries cannot be ignored in East Asian history.

The expansion of the Han Empire is the seminal context within which the Japanese state ultimately arose. The cause of Early Han expansion has been unequivocally identified as 'a reaction to the barbarian threat . . . on the northern and northwestern frontiers' (Yü 1967: 2, 9), but the effects reverberated through the east, south and southwest as well. As Yü reminds us, in its original formulation the designation 'barbarian' was culturally rather than ethnically determined – referring to pastoralists as opposed to 'civilized' agriculturalists (ibid.: 4). The major northern barbarian tribe was the nomadic pastoralist Xiongnu (W.-G. Hsiung-nu), but barbarian status was also accorded to several other northern pastoralist tribes such as the Xianbei (W.-G. Hsien-pei). As the Han expanded to the east and south, however, agriculturalists such as the Yue (W.-G. Yüeh) in the south and the rice-growers in the Japanese Islands also were considered 'barbarians' as they were outside the Confucian cultural order of the time.

Yü Ying-shih's study of *Trade and Expansion in Han China* (1967) is several decades old but has not yet been bested. This work will therefore provide the basis for our view of Han tributary relations with peripheral peoples. As Yü has detailed, the Early Han Court attempted to secure its northern border against the Xiongnu using the *heqin* (W.-G. *ho-ch'in*)

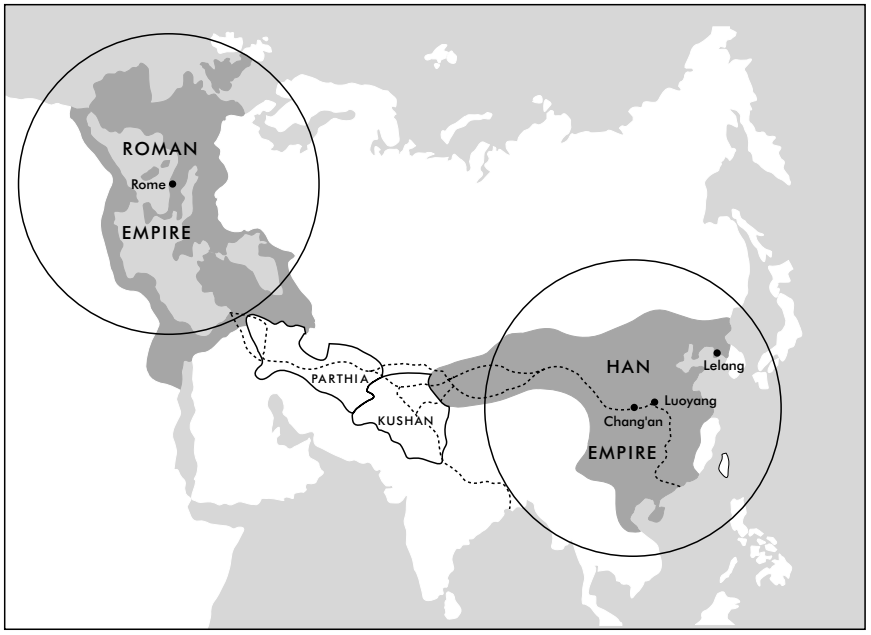

Figure 3.1 The Han and Roman Empires of Eurasia (redrawn by L. Elliott)

The Han Dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) in the East can be seen to have overlapped in time with the Roman Empire (23 BC–AD 427) in the West, so that Eurasia supported two large dynastic systems which were connected by overland trade routes through Central Asia. Each of these empires had profound influence on the development of societies on their peripheries: the northern Korean Peninsula was occupied by Han troops (at Lelang), while the southern Korean Peninsula and the western Japanese Islands lay outside direct administrative occupation by the Han

Chang'an = capital of Western Han (206 BC–AD 9)
Luoyang = capital of Eastern Han (AD 25–220) and Wei (AD 220–265)
Lelang = commandery established in 108 BC; destroyed by Koguryŏ in AD 313

'marriage treaty system' of gift-giving and marriage alliance between 198 and 133 BC (see Yü 1967: 36–43, 1986: 386–94; Di Cosmo 2002: 193–6). This strategy involved giving volumes of expensive products to the Xiongnu leader in hopes of 'buying' his allegiance and cooperation, sealing these negotiations with a marriage alliance. But the Xiongnu continued their raids, and the state treasury was drained.

By 135 BC it was recognized that the *heqin* system was generally a failure (Di Cosmo 2002: 209–27), and Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 BC) turned to military conquest to pacify the borders (Loewe 1974). In 108 BC, the Manchurian region and northern Korean Peninsula were invaded and four commanderies established; Lelang existed the longest, from 108 BC to AD 313, and can serve to define a chronological period that does not feature

in any of the national periodization schemes (Table 3.1). In 101 BC, the country of Ferghana in Central Asia was subdued. Both invasions had proximate causes in that Ferghana refused to supply the Han emperor with the 'Heavenly Horses' he desired, as recorded by the Han historian Ban Gu (W.-G. Pan Ku) (Di Cosmo 2002: 233), while Weiman, ruler of Chosŏn in Korea, became bellicose in manner [see SFK: p. 12]. The effect of the invasions, however, was to seal the eastern and western ends of the steppe region so that the Xiongnu could not create new allies for attacking China from the north.[2]

Simultaneous with pursuing a policy of 'expansion by force' (Di Cosmo 2002: 206–54), the Han instituted a new tributary system which, in theory, 'required that local products be presented to the court as tribute from various regions' and was applied to Chinese and foreigners alike (Yü 1986: 381). In practice, however, Chinese citizens were required to give much more than this in several forms of taxes, only one of which originated in tribute for use in rites and festivals at the ruler's shrine (Nishijima 1986: 595). The tribute system as applied to foreigners incorporated the concept of imperial gifts utilized in the former *heqin* system; it encouraged surrounding peoples to submit themselves voluntarily to the Han Court in return for court recognition in terms of titles, rank and seals and bestowal of many fine gifts (Yü 1986: 417). The dynastic histories record peoples from the northern Korean Peninsula in 128 BC and the modern Chinese province of Yunnan in the southwest in AD 51 and 69 voluntarily submitting to the court (ibid.: 448, 460). The southern 'kings' of the Nanyue in 196 BC and Dian in 109 BC were bestowed titles, seals and court rank (ibid.: 452, 458–9). Tributary envoys and military outposts were both accompanied by much non-tributary or private trade, resulting in the spread of availability of high-status as well as strategic goods such as iron. Thus, trade and defence can be identified as the two main concerns in Han expansion, and Yü (1967: 1) argues that economic trade and military expansion are so intertwined that neither can be identified as merely the cause or result of the other.

The efforts of the Han Court at pacifying its borders can thus be divided into three stages (ibid.: 11–13):

1. The Early Han up to 135 BC used the *heqin* system;
2. but when this proved ineffective, a policy of military suppression was instituted under Emperor Wu Di (r. 140–87 BC);
3. and in the Late Han (from AD 23), the standard Han tributary system was developed into which the Yayoi societies of North Kyūshū in the Japanese Islands were drawn.

For the Late Han Dynasty, Yü further describes the 'immediate concern of the empire [as] not to expand further but how to embrace all of these barbarian groups into the imperial arms without disturbing the internal order' (1967: 13).

Table 3.1 Chronology of seminal events surrounding the Commandery Period (108 BC–AD 313)

	China	*South/West*	*Korea*	*Japan*
2000–1027 BC	Shang Dynasty in China			
1027–221 BC	Zhou Dynasty in China			
667 or 660 BC				*Traditional dates of Jinmu's ascendance to throne*
400 BC–AD 0			Late Bronze/Early Iron Age in Korea	
200 BC–AD 0				*Middle Yayoi period in Japan*
221–206 BC	Qin Dynasty in China			
206 BC–AD 220	Han Dynasty in China			
206 BC–AD 9	Early Han period, capital in Chang'an			
196 BC		Bestowal of rank on King Nanyuë in southern China Mainland		
194 BC			Establishment of Weiman Chosŏn	
140–87 BC	Reign of Emperor Wu of China			
135 BC	End of *heqin* system; beginning of military expansion and Han Tributary System			
128 BC			Submission of tribute to Han from the north Korean Peninsula	

109 BC		Bestowal of rank on Dian king in southwestern China Mainland		
108 BC			Commanderies established in Manchuria and northern Korea	
108 BC–AD 313	Existence of Lelang (the Commandery Period)			
101 BC		Ferghana subdued; access to Arabian horses established		
1st c. BC				*Building of Yoshinogari mound-burial*
1st c. BC–4th c. AD	Cult of Queen Mother of the West in China			
3 BC	Queen Mother millennial movement in northeast China			
AD 0–300			Late Iron Age/Samhan/ Proto-Three Kingdoms in Korea	
AD 0–200				*Late Yayoi period in Japan*
AD 9–23	Wang Mang interregnum			
AD 23–220	Late Han period, capital in Luoyang			
AD 23	Late Han tributary system established			

(Table 3.1 continued)

Table 3.1 Continued

	China	*South/West*	*Korea*	*Japan*
AD 27–57	Reign of Emperor Guangwu of China			
AD 32–33			Koguryŏ sends embassy to Han Court	
AD 47			Koguryŏ raids on commandery(s)	
AD 51		Submission of tribute from peoples in modern Yunnan		
AD 57				*Bestowal of Chinese court rank on King of Na*
AD 69		Submission of tribute from peoples in modern Yunnan		
AD 81–88	Localized iron monopolies			
AD 105–106			Koguryŏ attacks Xuantu and Liaodong commanderies	
AD 121			Koguryŏ attacks commandery and sends tribute to Han Court	
AD 140	*Flow of Han Dynasty mirrors to Japan slows to trickle*			

AD 142	Daoist church founded by ZHANG Dao Ling		
AD 150	*Flow of Han Dynasty mirrors to Japan resumes*		
AD 147–189			Weizhi *reports Wa Disturbances*
AD 167			*Earliest deity-beast mirror in Japan*
AD 178–83			Liangshu *reports Wa Disturbances*
AD 167–169		Koguryŏ attacks	
AD 184–196	Revolt of the Yellow Turbans in Han China		
AD 190–350			*Era of Makimuku ceramics and existence of Makimuku*
AD 196–219	*Jian'an era mirrors made and distributed to Japan*		
AD 200–250			*Terminal Yayoi period in Japan*
AD 204–220		Daifang commandery established during this time by Gongsun warlord	
AD 207		Koguryŏ moves capital to Wantu	
AD 219–249			*Adjusted dates for Sujin's reign*
AD 220	End of Han Dynasty, succeeded by Three Kingdoms (Wei, Wu and Shu-Han)		

(Table 3.1 continued)

Table 3.1 Continued

	China	*South/West*	*Korea*	*Japan*
AD 220			Koguryŏ attacks commandery; sends tribute to Han Court	
AD 221–265	Wei Dynasty in northern China Mainland			
AD 221–263	Wu Dynasty in southeastern China Mainland			
AD 221–263	Shu-Han Dynasty in southwestern China Mainland			
AD 231	Centralized control of Daoist church disintegrates			
AD 233–297	Compilation of *Wei Zhi*, chronicles of the Wei Dynasty			
AD 238–65	Wei operates Daifang commandery			
AD 238	Wei takes over Daifang			
AD 238				*First embassy from Himiko to Daifang*
AD 240	*Wei envoy visits Himiko*	Koguryŏ plunders Yalu estuary		
AD 243				*Second embassy from Himiko to Daifang*

AD 244–45	Wei attacks Koguryŏ		
AD 248			*Third embassy from Himiko to Daifang*
AD 248			*Himiko's postulated death date*
AD 250			*Beginning of Sujin line of kings and Miwa Court*
AD 250–710			*Kofun period in Japan (Early 250–400, Middle 400–475, Late 475–710)*
AD 250–300			*EK-1 phase of Early Kofun*
AD 258			*Sujin's postulated death date*
AD 265	Wei collapses		
AD 265–316	Western Jin Dynasty on China Mainland		
AD 266			*Embassy from Iyo, Himiko's successor, to Western Jin Court*
AD 266	*Last mention of Wa in Chinese records*		
AD 280	Daifang commandery abandoned; end of Chinese dynastic power in East Asian periphery		
AD 300–668		Three Kingdoms period in Korea	
AD 302	LI De founded Cheng-Han Daoist state in Sichuan		
AD 311	Sacking of Chinese capital of Luoyang		
AD 313		Koguryŏ destroys Lelang commandery	

(Table 3.1 continued)

Table 3.1 Continued

	China	*South/West*	*Korea*	*Japan*
AD 317–419	Eastern Jin Dynasty established on China Mainland			
AD 346				*Traditional date of Ōjin's enthronement*
AD 350				*Makimuku abandoned*
AD 362				*Chūai's postulated death date; end of Miwa Court*
AD 375				*Beginning of Ōjin line of kings and Kawachi Court*
AD 421	*Resumption of mention of Wa in Chinese records*			
AD 443	Invention of *yuanjiali* calendar			
AD 461				*Nihon Shoki becomes chronologically valid*
AD 500				*Beginning of Keitai line of kings and Asuka Court*
AD 552				*Introduction of Buddhism from Paekche*
AD 581–618	Sui Dynasty			
AD 710				*Capital moved from Fujiwara to Heijō*
AD 710–94				*Nara period in Japan*
AD 618–90	Tang Dynasty in China			
AD 665	Invention of *ifengli* calendar			
AD 794–1185				*Heian period in Japan*

For more dates for Korea, see Barnes 2001 (SFK Appendix 1A). Events directly involving Japan are in italic

Two strategies were adopted: (a) an ancient tactic of 'using barbarians to attack barbarians', and (b) a new tactic first used by Wang Mang, the dynastic usurper between Early and Late Han: to 'divide and rule' using 'money and honour to drive a wedge into the barbarians so that they would be turned to fight against each other' (ibid.: 14–15). The first strategy, as recorded in the *Hanshu*, involved recruiting Koguryŏ mounted warriors, among others, to fight the Xiongnu (Gardiner 1964: 103–5), resulting in the exposure of Koguryŏ to formal military tactics. This strategy may have backfired, as Koguryŏ subsequently used their military skills in raids against the Chinese commanderies established in their own territory [SFK: 20–6]. The second strategy, effected through the Lelang commandery, was used in dealing with the Wa, inhabitants of the Japanese Islands whom we know archaeologically as the Yayoi peoples. It is known that a similar tactic was used by the Romans 'to split alliances between Germanic tribes by means of bribery ("diplomatic gifts")' (Hedeager 1987: 127). Competition for Chinese goods among the North Kyūshū Yayoi may have triggered much conflict and warfare, as will be seen later.

The tributary system was applied differently to various categories of barbarians, often determined by how close they resided to the Han borders, whether connected by land or sea, and whether they requested integration into Chinese territory as residential groups. While 'outer' barbarians might be treated with respect and lavished with gifts, 'inner' barbarians were often exploited as cheap labour (Lattimore 1940; Yü 1967: ch. 4). The tributary system as instituted in the Pen/Insular region appears to have consisted of imperial gifts given to barbarian leaders who voluntarily submitted token tribute goods to the Han Court and pledged their allegiance. The giving of imperial gifts is obviously a remnant of the *heqin* system, but in the Late Han period, a pledge of allegiance was reciprocally required and the threat of military force was always present to ensure faithfulness to the pledge. The gifts also represented the 'money and honour' of Wang Mang's strategy mentioned earlier, in that expenditure was entailed in the giving of fine fabrics, jewels and bronzes, while honour was conferred by the bestowing of Han Court titles and gold seals (Figure 3.2) to integrate the barbarian chiefs into the court hierarchy as well as legitimate their status in their own societies.

Such an honour was bestowed on the chief of a small country in northern Kyūshū Island of western Japan in AD 57 by Emperor Guangwu (r. AD 27–57) as recorded in the *Houhanshu*:

> From the time of the overthrow of Chao-hsien [northern Korea] by Emperor Wu (B.C. 140–87), nearly thirty of these communities [*guo*] have held intercourse with the Han [dynasty] court by envoys or scribes . . . In the second year of the Chien-wu Chung-Yüan era (A.D. 57), the Wa country [*guo*] Nu [*guo*] sent an envoy with tribute

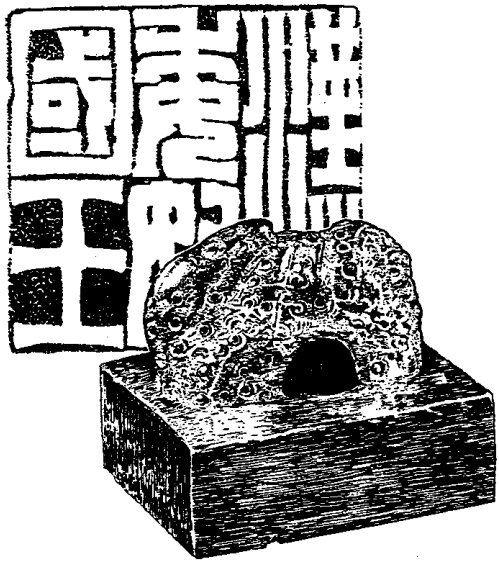

Figure 3.2 Gold seal (after Barnes 1999: fig. 107). The inscription, carved in reverse on the seal's base, reads (in modern Japanese) 'Han no Wa no Na no Kokuō', translatable as 'The King of Na of Wa, affiliated with Han.' Location of find is marked with 'X' on Figure 3.6

> who called himself *ta-fu*. This country [*guo*] is located in the southern extremity of the Wa country [*guo*]. Kuang-wu bestowed on him a seal. (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 1–2, their added dates and bracketed romanized phrases; my added designations of *guo* where it occurs in the original).

Further, the *Weizhi* states:

> The people of Wa dwell in the middle of the ocean on the mountainous islands southeast of [the prefecture of] Tai-fang. They formerly comprised more than one hundred communities [*guo*]. During the Han dynasty, [Wa envoys] appeared at the Court; today thirty of their communities [*guo*] maintain intercourse [with us] through envoys and scribes. (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 8, their bracketed romanized additions; my added designations of *guo*).

It should be noted that the name of the *guo* transcribed by Tsunoda and Goodrich as Nu is transcribed as Na by Japanese scholars (cf. Terasawa 2000: 359).

Though much has been written on the relationship between successive Chinese dynasties and their northern nomadic neighbours (Lattimore 1940;

Eberhard 1965; Watson 1972; de Crespigny 1984; Barfield 1989, 2001; Yü 1990; Di Cosmo 2002), there is little on the Han influence in the eastern periphery, and indeed the east is not even mentioned in more general works (Schneider 1991: 54).[3] Gardiner (1964, 1969) researched the development of the Koguryŏ with reference to Han, developing a view of the commandery situation on the peninsula; and Pai (1992) further investigated the effect of acculturation of Korean populations within the Lelang commandery region, developing her own concept of the Lelang Interaction Network (Pai 1989, 1992, 2000: ch. 6). This is a specifically hierarchical approach and it cannot be stretched beyond the Commandery Period or beyond Lelang itself (Park 2004). Works in Japanese archaeology are just now beginning to examine continental history for the socio-political context of Himiko and the Mounded Tomb Culture which her burial was supposed to have inspired as the starting point of Japanese state formation.

In this chapter, I review Han influence in the Pen/Insular region from a more theoretical position to add to the historical work and fill the gap. This entails looking at the Han from the perspectives of World-Systems Theory and its civilizational adjunct, core-periphery analysis.

Han as a world-empire

The category of world-empire

As a subset of civilizational studies, empires have inspired much scholarly research in the past, from substantive work on the Roman, Ottoman and Persian Empires, the Napoleonic, Hapsburg, British and Russian Empires, Inca and Aztec Empires, as well as the Han and Tang Empires of China, to more theoretical investigations of bureaucracy by Max Weber (1947, 1968) and of empire operation and decline by Eisenstadt (1963, 1967) and cross-cultural archaeological studies (Rowlands *et al.* 1987; Cherry 1992; Alcock *et al.* 2001). The most recent theoretical burst of scholarship has been inspired by Wallerstein's initial presentation of his world-systems analysis (1974), in which he identified three types of world-systems – world-economies, world-empires and minisystems (Hall 2000a: 4) – which are cross-cut by the categories 'modern' and 'ancient'. Unfortunately, this terminology is vague and neither well defined nor well applied in the literature. Some authors have adopted the acronym CWE for the 'capitalist world-economy' (e.g. So and Chiu 2000), while others simply speak of Wallerstein's 'modern world-system'; but those who cast all their comments and criticisms merely in terms of Wallerstein's 'world-system' invite confusion, as this is a heterogeneous concept. In the following discussion, I have prefixed such references to the 'world-system' with '[capitalist]' when I believe the authors cited are drawing on his capitalist conception. Further, I maintain the distinction of 'world-system' with a hyphen and 'world

system' without the hyphen (Thompson 1983; Wallerstein 1993), the former belonging to Wallerstein's strict theorizing and the latter referring to the literature expanded beyond his timeframe.

Wallerstein argued that the post-16th century capitalist world-system is a completely different construct than previous world-empires. Wallerstein as well as Amin (1993) view the 'ceaseless accumulation of capital' (Wallerstein 1993: 293) as the cornerstone of the modern capitalist world-system and believe that other types of world-systems, such as world-empires, are based on different economic modes, such as tribute-bearing. Therefore, they perceive a great discontinuity between previous world-systems and the dominant economic mode of today.

This perception of discontinuity is echoed in the Chinese case by the author on whom we rely for information about the Han tributary system as discussed earlier. Yü sees the Han period as 'institutionally speaking . . . the formative stage in which the basic pattern of the Chinese imperial order took shape' (1967: 3); this order lasted through the 19th century when the Chinese tributary system 'collapsed beyond repair' in confrontation with the West (ibid.: vii). Obviously Yü saw no elements of economic continuity between the traditional imperial system and either communism or capitalism. So and Chiu (1995, 2000) have further pinpointed specific cultural values inherent in the historical empires that hindered China's incorporation into the capitalist world economy. Nevertheless, there is a trend in world systems scholarship to fault Wallerstein for not according China its due in contributing to the 'rise of the West' (Abu-Lughod 1989; Frank 1998; Hall 2000a: 10). McNeill (1995: 316–17) writes that:

> the rise of medieval European civilization after AD 1000 coincided with an eastward shift of the world system's center from the Middle East to China. . . . it requires a real leap of the imagination to recognize China's primacy . . . . Europe's world success after 1500 also depended on prior borrowings from China.

China's role in the zig-zag nature of development of the current world-system therefore needs further elucidation. Wong (1997) is doing just that, judging the equivalences of Europe and China up until the point of capitalist departure under unique colonial (slave labour) and geological (coal) circumstances.

The postulated discontinuity between capitalist and pre-capitalist world systems has been challenged in a different way by 'continuationists' who argue either that it is possible to find capitalistic strategies in pre-modern systems or that the dominance of capitalism in the modern world-system does not of itself warrant viewing the historic systems as totally discontinuous with the modern. Thus, much work has concentrated on either identifying continuities between historic civilizations or empires and capitalism in defiance of Wallerstein (e.g. Frank and Gills 1993; Hall and Chase-Dunn 1993;

Gills 1995; Stein 2000: 10–81), or trying to adjust Wallerstein's capitalist world-systems model for application to earlier historic situations (Rowlands 1987; Champion 1989b; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991; Peregrine 2000; Stein 2000), or simply viewing civilizations as world systems (Wilkinson 1991, 1993). Since talk of 'world systems' is now common in archaeological writing, particularly in the last five years, it is necessary to address these issues despite their having become passé in other disciplines.

Our concern here is not the roots of capitalism but the operation of historic empires, particularly the Han, so that we should be interested in the latter two initiatives noted earlier. These are necessary because Wallerstein, although he identified the Han as a world-empire, did not develop a detailed model to describe its operation: he only specified that it operated as a tributary system, extracting tribute from local, mainly rural autonomous producers and distributing it among the empire's elite. Amin, following Wallerstein's lead, uses the Han tributary system as 'the "model" *par excellence*' for his 'tributary mode' of production (Amin 1993: 264). He further identifies Japan ('especially') as one of its peripheries (ibid.: 255 and fig. 8.1), but he focuses almost exclusively on the late historical Tokugawa period where Japan is viewed as a feudal entity and on the Choson Dynasty of Korea viewed as an extension of the Chinese court (ibid.: fig. 8.1). Despite this attention to Japan and Korea in his text, he includes neither in his table of tributary system participants (ibid.: table 8.3).

It is in Amin's earlier work that a fuller description of what he means by the 'tributary mode of production' is presented (1980: ch. 3). What we find here is that the world-systems concept of 'tributary' is completely different from what area specialists mean by the Han tributary system. To Amin and Wallerstein, the tributary mode is the major economic form of pre-capitalist systems, providing their sustenance and finance, and 'tribute' is extraction from the peasants on land within an empire's jurisdictional realm. But Han China was much more sophisticated than this: the government was supported not by 'tribute' but by three different categories of taxes – payable not only by peasants but merchants, too, and levied on profits, property and as poll taxes with some sorts (e.g. corvée labour or military duty) commutable to payment in kind (Nishijima 1986: 595). In Han studies, the concept of 'tributary system', involving 'tributary trade', is considered the major strategy in foreign relations for dealing with groups *outside* direct Han jurisdiction. Yü makes it perfectly clear that barbarians, as outsiders who were eligible for lavish gifts of the court in return for pledges of allegiance, could apply to join the empire as surrendered barbarians; in doing so, they then lost their right to court gifts and were governed in special administrative units (*shuguo*, 'dependent polities', Loewe 1967.1: 61–3). Some surrendered barbarians were free to pursue their own way of life (Yü 1986: 383), while others were subjected to heavy tax payments and corvée labour, sometimes to the point of enslavement (Yü 1967: 72, 204).

They thus moved from the externally focussed tributary system into the internal system of taxation, much to their detriment.

The importance of the Han tributary system, as opposed to a presumed 'tributary mode of production', is completely overlooked by Wallerstein and Amin, most likely because they dismiss trade in luxuries as unimportant compared to the supply of basic staples. Schneider (1977) challenged this view, drawing on works by Adams, Malinowski and Mauss on long-distance trade and gift-giving. She identified luxury-good trade as a major political tool for creating client relationships in addition to its role in status maintenance, using the Han tributary system as her exemplar (Schneider 1991: 53, 55):

> The relationship of trade to social stratification was not just a matter of an elevated group distinguishing itself through the careful application of sumptuary laws and a monopoly on symbols of status; it further involved the direct and self-conscious manipulation of various semiperipheral and middle level groups through patronage, bestowals, and the calculated distribution of exotic and valued goods. . . . gift-bestowal was just an instrument of Chinese foreign policy, the crux of which was expansion.

Her realization has been cited as the key to allowing prehistorians to join the debate on world-systems analysis (Peregrine 1991, 2000; Sanderson 1995a: 263; Stein 2000: 15), by focussing on prestige-good systems as the modus operandi of early centralized societies. Prestige-good exchange was not only important to Chinese foreign relations: it had an internal function as well. 'Local products' were required to be submitted to the Chinese court by provinces within the empire, and imperial gifts were given to 'meritorious officials as well as model citizens' (Yü 1967: 189). But it is important to note that most research on prestige-good systems in archaeology focuses specifically on the status creation and maintenance aspect – not the patron-client aspect. These different roles are further explored in Chapter 7 later. Before going that route, however, let us clarify the status of the Han eastern periphery in relation to Wallerstein.

Applying Wallerstein to the Han

Schneider (1977) has been cited as having opened the door to applying of Wallerstein's world-systems principles to pre-16th century societies, although Wallerstein himself (1995) does not believe they are applicable. Reviewing such efforts over the last twenty years, Stein (2000: 31) notes that Wallerstein's [capitalist] world-systems model is based on three main tenets: (1) the dominance of the core over the periphery, (2) asymmetric exchange systems and (3) the instrumental importance of exchange in restructuring political economies in the periphery. Each of these tenets has

garnered its own form of criticism particularly applicable to pre-modern systems: (1) The emphasis on relations of domination, giving a passive role to the periphery, does not allow nor account for agency of individuals or groups in the peripheral societies; (2) The focus on extraction or tribute of raw materials or finished goods does not allow for the role of prestige goods, which circulate in small quantities but have enormous ideological impact; and (3) The means of integration is more political than purely economic in pre-modern systems (Champion 1989a: 7).

In terms of the second tenet, the operational natures of Wallerstein's terms core, semiperiphery and periphery are challenged as being too geographically specific and restrictive in content. His original divisions were based on the division of labour, as Hall summarizes (2000a: 5):

1. a core that employs advanced industrial production and distribution and has strong states, a strong bourgeoisie, and a large working class;
2. a periphery that specializes in raw materials production and has weak states, a small bourgeoisie, and many peasants; and
3. a semiperiphery that is intermediate between core and periphery, in its economic, social, and political roles and its own internal social structure.

Because Wallerstein acknowledged the Han as a world-empire, it is not appropriate to evaluate it as a capitalist world-system. However, to bring this case study into line with other archaeological works and also to bring certain issues into focus, we will briefly review how the Han tributary system stands up to these basic tenets and criticisms of world-systems analysis and specifications of core-periphery designations.

It can be argued that after establishing the Lelang commandery, the Han Court instituted a two-tiered tributary system – corresponding to their designations of 'inner' and 'outer' barbarians – one tier operating in the southern Korean Peninsula and another in the western Japanese Islands, both areas being outside the commandery territory per se. This two-tiered tributary system was apparently inherited by the Wei Dynasty (AD 221–265), which succeeded Han in northern China and took control of the new commandery of Daifang in 238. The first tier of the tributary system operated on the Samhan peoples [see SFK, pp. 27–31], who occupied the southern Korean Peninsula; it focussed on goods extraction and seems to have been accomplished by setting up agents within local societies and making them responsible for goods collection with the possible backing of force. It has been argued by the Japanese historian HATADA Takashi (1969) that the activities of such commandery-appointed agents overseeing goods extraction effectively suppressed the development of local status hierarchies among the Samhan peoples on the southern peninsula during the existence of the Chinese commanderies. Unfortunately, we lack quantitative measures

of the materials produced by the Samhan, but it is thought that timber and iron as well as salt and fish were collected by the Lelang commandery in fairly large quantities to be shipped back to the Chinese interior (Han, W.K. 1970: 19–21).

The fact that goods extraction on the southern peninsula operated for raw materials and perhaps finished products set it apart from the exchange of luxury goods that comprised Han tributary relations with island chieftains. In this sense, the situation resembled the construction of the Roman periphery, with a 200-kilometre buffer zone above the Roman border in western Europe but rich 'princely' graves containing Roman imports scattered across the northern Germanic region (Hedeager 1987: 127–8). In the European case, however, the buffer zone has been explained by Haselgrove as arising from the 'sheer length of the common frontier [where] it was impossible for local groups to establish and hold on to monopolies over Roman trade' (ibid.: 120). Whereas Roman rule did not extend into this European buffer zone, the presence of Chinese agents for resource extraction in the southern Korean peninsula may have been instrumental in suppressing both trade and competition for Chinese goods in that region.

This is not to say that Chinese goods are completely absent in the southern peninsula. Excavation of the Taho-ri site in on the south coast (Anon. 1988) produced a Han bronze mirror, lacquered wood canister, length of cord, fragment of a writing brush, and a peninsular double-edged bronze sword in a lacquered sheath. The sword is of a local Bronze Age type, whereas the lacquered materials and writing implements suggest Chinese crafts and administrative activities. The problem with these objects is how to interpret them. Could they have belonged to a Samhan chieftain who allied him/herself with the Lelang commandery? Or to a Chinese agent living among the Samhan to oversee extraction of goods and maybe even the production of iron? Which one is chosen has the potential to revise our view of Samhan political sophistication. With few Han mirrors in evidence, instead of the hundreds known from Japan, it is difficult to acknowledge Samhan political autonomy. The general absence of Chinese mirrors in the southern peninsula can be taken in one of two ways: that the peoples there were not privileged (as 'inner' barbarians) to receive court gifts, or that whatever was received may have been melted down to produce local bronzes (Richard Pearson, pers. comm.).

The tributary relationship established between the Han Court and the western Japanese Islands was quite different because there was no conquest and military occupation as suffered by the northern peninsula or imposition of resource extraction as suffered by the southern peninsula. The physical separation and distance of the islands allowed more autonomy to local polities participating in the Han Court's unique system of tributary exchange in which two groups of unequal goods were moving in opposite directions. The 'tribute' sought by the Han and Wei Courts was an abstracted pledge

of allegiance; it was importantly accompanied by token material goods including 'slaves', rough fabric and pearls – a local speciality (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951). The quantities of material tribute collected from the Japanese Islands were miniscule in relation to the empire's needs, but the tribute symbolized political submission, and the pledge of allegiance and pacific intentions of the Wa were all-important to the Han. To the Wa, on the other hand, the gifts given by the Han Court in return to acknowledge the tributary relations had a great impact on the local societies receiving them.

Not only were relatively large amounts of precious goods provided by the Chinese court in exchange for allegiance, but local chiefs also could be given status in the court hierarchy, affirmed by a gold seal and other accoutrements. Hudson identifies the Chinese concept of 'investiture' as 'a crucial aspect of the East Asian world-system after about 200 BC' (1999: 183). This unique function of the tributary system not only offered opportunities to the islanders to procure precious goods and participate in a socio-political system more elaborate and sophisticated than their home societies: the material goods and court status bestowed by Han on Yayoi chieftains who submitted tribute could then be used in enhancing their own positions and bolstering the socio-political hierarchies in their home groups. Manipulation of such opportunities might have led to competition and even hostilities among groups in the islands, as intended by the Han policy of 'divide and rule'.

How do these areas of the southern peninsula and western archipelago correlate with Wallerstein's postulated periphery and semiperiphery? In the [capitalist] world-system, the semiperiphery is specified as intermediate in both its political and economic systems of organization. In purely geographical terms, the southern peninsula may be considered the semiperiphery, located between the core's representative (Lelang) and the furthest extent of communication with outer peoples in western Japan (the periphery). However, the southern peninsula, instead of being intermediate in political and economic organization, was depressed politically but progressive in metal-working. The political hierarchies previously developing in the pre-conquest Bronze Age were decapitated through the substitution of Chinese agents, with virtually no court prestige goods flowing to these acephalous groups as they did to emerging polity heads in Kyūshū. The area around the modern city of Pusan on the southern Korean coast, however, developed into an industrial region supplying both the commandery and the surrounding peoples with smelted iron. As this area of P'yŏnhan, one of the Samhan, emerged into the historical literature, it was referred to as Kaya and is known to have been economically progressive but politically fragmented [SFK, pp. 37–40].

The western Japanese Islands were more politically developed than the Samhan but economically dependent on the importation of metals: items from the peninsula were imported to forge (in the case of iron) or melt and

re-cast (bronze) objects to be used in local production and ritual systems. Both Chinese and peninsular metals were reprocessed in this system. The formation of two socio-political systems (Figure 1.2) in western Japan – Western Seto based on Chinese mirrors and on weaponry from both Mainland China and the Korean Peninsula, and Eastern Seto based on re-castings of imported bronzes into large bells – indicates the creative use of continental prestige goods in enhancing the social systems of emerging chiefly complexes in this outer region.

These transformations of the islands' economic and political systems did not result in passive, degraded, subjugated, dependent societies as specified by Wallerstein and hypothesized by Hatada for the peninsula; instead they demonstrate, through the creation of ideological and hierarchical systems using imported goods in different manners from the originals, the active role of agency among the island peoples. As noted by the historian David Landes (quoted in Algaze 2001: 80): 'Whenever and wherever [a disparity of power] has existed people and groups have been ready to take advantage of it. It is, one notes with regret, in the nature of the human beast.' Landes made this observation about the tendency of societies in the *ascendant* to take advantage of disparities of power, but it can equally be said of socio-political *inferiors* who will take advantage of opportunities to improve their own situations if not oppressed to the point of being unable to do so. This is the source of creative energy that has been noted for peripheries by such scholars as Toynbee and Lattimore. Thus, investigation of secondary state formation requires much more historical enquiry into the opportunities available from already existing states and empires, and how people respond to them – the strategies and processes by which changes in status and organization in their own society are instituted.

In summary, then, both the tenets and criticisms of Wallerstein's [capitalist] world-systems can be critiqued with reference to Han and Wei China in Pen/Insular East Asia. Yes, the core Han dominated the Pen/Insular periphery, but in different degrees and in different ways for different areas. The southern peninsula was politically passive, but at least one area around modern Pusan was economically stimulated through raw material processing. Certain western areas of the islands were politically stimulated through prestige goods circulation but economically dependent on resource importation, while northern regions were left unaffected by core-periphery relations – falling into the area 'external' to the Han world-empire. Core dominance and asymmetric exchange therefore do not correlate with peripheral activity or passivity. Moreover, neither area reproduces the conditions that could allow them to be termed 'semiperiphery' and 'periphery' in [capitalist] world-systems terms. Such core-periphery relations cannot be broad-brushed in homogeneous terms but must be subjected to fine-grained regional analyses, as they are fragmented across geographic areas. Finally, in the Pen/Insular case, whether a specific area was subjected more to

resource extraction or to prestige-good circulation had vast ramifications for its subsequent economic and political development.

In closing this section, I concur with most archaeologists that 'the [capitalist] world-system theory cannot be applied wholesale to precapitalist settings' (Hall 2000a: 10, qualification added). The problem is that even 'reworking, redefinition or other adjustments' made to Wallerstein's tenets to make them applicable to pre-modern systems (Schortman and Urban 1992a: 19) do not solve the basic problem before us: that of Japanese state formation. This is primarily because *core-periphery analysis is not enough* to understand Japanese state formation: the relationship with empire was *not the only relationship* that characterized interaction in the Pen/Insular region. There was also interaction among peers that operated alongside that with empire. Although Sasaki has also viewed core-periphery and peer polity models as complementary, I disagree with his conclusion that 'the [Peer Polity Interaction] model is not very useful in interpreting regional interaction and the development of social complexity in Yayoi and Kofun Period' (Sasaki 1996: 387). Peer relations are particularly discernable within the importation of metals from the peninsula, though the exact exchange mechanisms are unknown. Moreover, interaction between regional Yayoi chieftains, as peers, was critical in the formulation of the Mounded Tomb Culture. Beginning with the Yayoi political economy, we can view the multi-level structuring of exchanges, using *both* core-periphery and peer polity concepts, which served to supply the Yayoi of Western and Eastern Seto with the bronze and iron needed for their agricultural, military and ritual systems.

Yayoi political economy

Procurement of bronze

Two different continental bronze-casting traditions supplied bronze to the Japanese Islands. One derives from the Shang bronzes, particularly the weapons, while the other is the Northeast Asian tradition heavily influenced by Scythian bronze development across the northern steppes. The Korean Bronze Age is part of the eastern extension of this steppe tradition, and its repertoire is substantially different from the bronzes of the Zhou and Han successors of Shang. The bronzes found in Yayoi Japan are a mixture of both traditions, but bronze-working as a technology was clearly borrowed from the peninsular societies, not China, as it was based on bivalve stone mould production of double-edged swords from the Korean Peninsula. The technological transfer was accomplished at the end of Early Yayoi (2nd century BC) apparently from the southwestern peninsula, as evidenced by the major distribution of bronze moulds in Chŏngnam and Cholla provinces facing the Yellow Sea (Shimojō 2000: 120).

During the first centuries BC–AD, when the flow of Chinese goods into North Kyūshū was at its peak, cist and jar burials of the socially exalted were furnished with both Chinese *and* peninsular bronzes: Han Dynasty bronze mirrors (Figure 3.3), halberds, spearheads and single-edged swords, as well as peninsular double-edged swords and an occasional bell or fine-lined mirror. The two lineages of bronzes indicate that hierarchical core-periphery relations and Peer Polity Interactions operated *simultaneously*. Many such imported bronzes were directly interred in individual burials in North Kyūshū, but others were melted down for re-casting in local versions of weapons. The locally cast broad-bladed ceremonial sword has been thought by Japanese archaeologists to be one of the emblems of chiefly status within Western Seto perhaps with greater significance of authority than imported swords. But tallies of North Kyūshū grave goods show that broad-bladed ceremonial swords are far out-numbered by narrower-bladed utilitarian ones (K. Terasawa 2004), bolstering the idea that warfare was endemic in this area. Hashiguchi reports that 52 examples of death by weapon had been recovered from 35 sites in North Kyūshū as of 1987; dating from the latter half of Middle Yayoi to early Late Yayoi, these sites are contemporaneous with the burials containing utilitarian bronze weapons (Hashiguchi 1987: 187) and illustrate considerable competition within the region.

The Eastern Seto region (Figure 1.2) emcompasses the distribution of bronzes in central Honshū and acts as the furthest portion of the imperial periphery. In this region, almost all imported bronzes were melted down and re-cast into unique types of bronze bells. It is not at all certain to what extent the bronze imports were brought into Eastern Seto directly from the peninsula or obtained second-hand through the North Kyūshū polities. However, the survival of one fine-lined bronze mirror of the peninsular Bronze Age, buried together with a bronze bell at the Nagara site in Nara (G. Barnes 1988: Figure 5.5), may indicate the contribution of peninsular craftsmanship in the fine incising of the stone moulds to cast the new types of decorated bronze bells. The general absence of Chinese prestige goods in Eastern Seto in the Middle-Late Yayoi periods might indicate that it was not in direct contact with the Lelang commandery at this time. In contrast to the rich burials of individuals in North Kyūshū, burials in Eastern Seto are notably without grave goods and are usually constructed in family groups. Among prosperous Middle Yayoi sites which formed an extensive network in the Kinai region (Figure 3.4), several hosted moated precinct burials as at Saki and Miwa in the Nara Basin. The evidence thus suggests that peer interaction from Eastern Seto was directed mainly at Western Seto for the second-hand procurement of bronze objects rather than obtaining them directly from the continent.

In summary, the bronze record shows that Peer Polity Interaction characterized Western and Eastern Seto in different ways during the

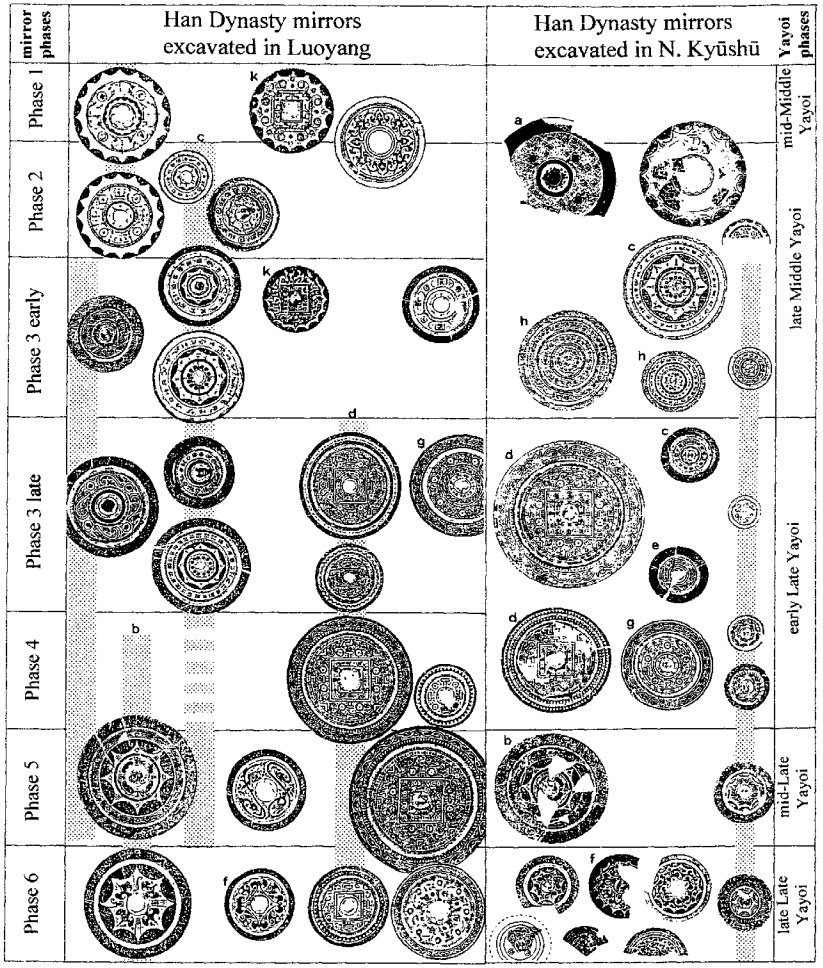

Figure 3.3 Han-Dynasty bronze mirrors as found in Luoyang and North Kyūshū between the late 1st century BC to the early 3rd century AD (after Takakura 1998: fig. 5); mirror types have been interpolated from Tanaka (1979) except for TLV mirrors, a well-known type in English for resembling the letters T, L and V in its design. The TLV mirror ostensibly represents a cosmological board game popular among Han elite (see Loewe 1979)

(a) thunder-pattern mirror (Warring States period)
(b) inner-petal mirrors
(c) inscription-band inner-petal mirrors
(d) TLV mirrors
(e) four-snake mirror
(f) beast-head mirror
(g) thin-lined beast panel mirror
(h) multiple inscription-band mirrors
(k) square with tendrils mirror

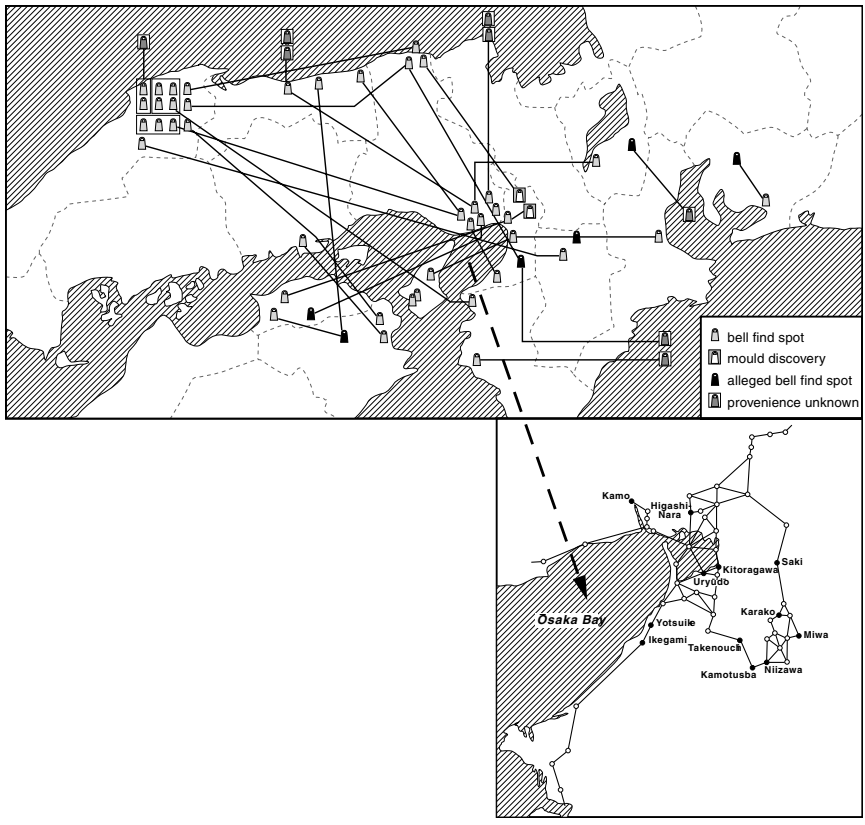

Figure 3.4 Kinai network of sites (lower) and bronze bell distribution (upper) in Middle Yayoi (after Okauchi 2003: fig. 3–8). Site locations are not coterminous with bronze bell find spots

Commandery Period: cross-straits relations between peninsular and North Kyūshū chiefdoms bringing in peninsular bronzes (Figure 2.1: B), and insular relations between communities in Western and Eastern Seto ensuring the latter had bronze to melt and re-cast into bells (C). Moreover, in the Middle to Late Yayoi periods during interaction with the Lelang commandery, polity development in the Japanese Islands – judged by an ability to bring in foreign and exotic goods used to enhance individual status – appears to have been more advanced in the region closer to the continent (W. Seto) than in those areas further away (E. Seto).

The procurement of Chinese-type bronze mirrors, halberds and socketed spearheads is postulated as a clear case of core-periphery diplomatic trade (Figure 2.1: A), leading to efforts in reproducing these items by recasting in Japan.

Procurement of iron

The Chinese policy of simultaneously promoting local iron production yet prohibiting trade in iron affected that metal's occurrence on the Korean Peninsula. In the Late Zhou Warring States period (475–221 BC), the production of iron and trade of iron with 'barbarian' groups are acknowledged for two Zhou states, Shu in the southwest (Yü 1967: 7) and Yan in the northeast (Wagner 1993: 176–82, 261). The infiltration of Chinese iron into the peninsula, presumably via contact with Yan, is used to define the start of the Korean Iron Age (ca. 400 BC).

The major method of producing iron in China was the blast furnace (Wagner 1993; see Barnes 1999: box 9). The product was a brittle iron whose high carbon content (C > 2 per cent) derived from the mixing of much charcoal with the iron ore in the furnace. The carbon lowered the melting temperature, allowing a molten stream of iron to be cast into moulds. The term 'cast' iron obviously comes from this activity of mould-casting, but metallurgists use the term specifically to mean 'high-carbon'. Iron was the most important sector of Early Han industry, and iron workshops manned by 'conscripts and convicts' were established in 48 provinces under the state monopoly system established by Emperor Wu (Yü 1967: 25). Discoveries of foundry sites corroborate Zhou and Han texts referring to iron production, especially around Beijing and the Shandong Peninsula (Wang 1982: 125).

The monopoly system strictly regulated trade of iron goods; in acknowledgement of the strategic nature of iron, it was forbidden to trade iron with or export it to the outlying 'barbarians'. Nevertheless, the *Hanshu* described how 'Han envoys and surrendered soldiers had taught the people of . . . Ferghana how to cast iron weapons' (Yü 1967: 167, 169). From the old state territory of Yan along the northwestern coast of Bohai Bay, cast iron products were also filtering eastwards into the peninsula; Murakami (2000b: 142) hypothesizes this as the earliest source of iron for North Kyūshū, dependent on chiefly relations with Weiman Chosŏn before the establishment of commanderies in the area. The flat axe and chisel shapes of this earliest stage of importations were used and reused by edge re-grinding until the beginning of wrought iron procurement from the P'yŏnhan region (ibid.: 142, 147).

In contrast to the Chinese production method of blast furnaces producing cast iron, most of the world until the 14th century AD produced low-carbon iron by the bloomery method. In a bloomery furnace, high temperatures could not be sustained and charcoal was not used in great quantities, so the iron ore did not melt completely. Instead, the product was a spongy mass of iron and slag called a 'bloom'. The bloom must be refined through hammering to expel slag impurities. Depending on the carbon (C) content, the product was either steel (C = 2~0.1 per cent) or wrought iron (C < 0.1 per cent).

Bloomery iron production on the southern Korean Peninsula must have begun close in time to the establishment of the commanderies, as non-Chinese wrought iron objects from the peninsula and forging technology started to appear in later Middle Yayoi. The source of bloomery technology in East Asia is unclear. Northeast Asian wrought iron technology was available from the spread of the 'classic nomadic steppe culture' in the 6th century BC onwards (Di Cosmo 2002: 57–8). Or peninsular bronze-workers could have discovered iron smelting independently – since copper ore often contains a considerable amount of iron – as is hypothesized to have happened in southern China (Wagner 1993: 48–9, ch. 3).

In late Han, except for an eight-year period of localized monopolies in AD 81–88, the monopoly system was abandoned for a laissez-faire attitude of government towards merchant activities. The *Houhanshu* states that the 'people should be given freedom to engage in salt production and iron casting and pay taxes to the Emperor' (Yü 1967: 20–1). Yü identifies such 'people' as merchants who have the necessary capital and technological knowledge and characterizes the Late Han policy as 'liberal and encouraging' (ibid.: 21). The growth of the P'yŏnhan iron industry contemporaneous with Late Yayoi should thus be understood in relation to commandery demands for goods and taxes and the encouragement of local industry. By the 3rd century AD, the *Weizhi* states, all the surrounding peoples (the Korean Han, the Ye and the Wa) were coming to procure iron from P'yŏnhan, on the southeastern Korean coast, for use in their 'markets' (Nabunken n.d.: 38).

White cast iron, the typical product of Chinese blast furnaces, and wrought iron and steel from peninsular bloomery furnaces have all been recovered from Yayoi-period sites. While thin cast iron objects are brittle because of their high carbon content and will break if hammered, both steel and wrought iron (with their lower carbon contents) are malleable and can be forged into different shapes. Murakami (2000a: 52–69) summarizes the ideas about imported iron and iron technology, but there is still much dissension in understanding the who, what, when, why and how. In the 1990s, it has been newly hypothesized that decarburized cast iron (cast iron whose carbon content has been lowered through heating and 'evaporating off' the carbon atoms as carbon dioxide) was imported from the China Mainland; such iron is malleable and thus *can* be hammered, but it does not leave slag residue in the forging process (ibid.: 62–7). The final products of forged decarburized cast iron cannot easily be distinguished from objects made originally from low-carbon wrought iron or steel, so there is considerable uncertainty in identifying whether a forged object in Yayoi or Kofun Japan was made from peninsular bloomery iron or malleable (decarburized) Chinese cast iron.

The introduction of forging technology is attested mainly in Western Seto, where several well-constructed forging hearths have been excavated. Most have forging slag, so that both blooms and ingots of iron are thought

to have been imported and refined of their impurities on site (Murakami 2000a: 68). Murakami notes the likelihood of direct contact between North Kyūshū and communities in the Inland Sea region facilitating direct transfer of iron technology, but he identifies a clear north-south line in Eastern Seto (at the eastern edge of Shikoku Island) beyond which iron diffused secondarily (Murakami 2000b: 152) (Figure 3.5). Iron-working sites in Western Seto consisted mainly of small forging hearths either inside pit-buildings or outside (Murakami 1994). The distributional pattern so far is one forge per settlement with the settlements evenly distributed around northern Kyūshū between late Middle Yayoi and the end of Late Yayoi. Middle to Late Yayoi smithing tools were mainly stone, except for an iron chisel used to cut iron sheets into tool shapes. The by-products of these activities – triangular trimmings and hammer scale – are the most obvious remains at these forging sites. The tool range produced included arrowheads (tanged and untanged) and a variety of fold-socketed axe/adzes, hoe/spades and sickles.

From late Middle Yayoi onwards, manufacture of low-carbon iron tools facilitated agricultural production in the islands. Paddy field construction expanded from the wet clayey lowland plains, which could be dug with wooden tools, to the higher, drier and stony alluvial terraces and basin aprons which needed iron tools (Tsude 1988, 1989: 26–36). By the end of Middle Yayoi, wooden spades and hoes came to be edged with iron throughout the western Japanese Islands, and in Late Yayoi the stone reaper was completely replaced by iron sickles. These developments required a steady supply of iron for agricultural production. Whereas the importation of peninsular bronze may have been sporadic and opportunistic, it is necessary to envision a gradual regularization of contacts to ensure the supply of iron.

The procurement of iron was thus a very important aspect of sociopolitical development in Yayoi-period Japan. Scholars hypothesize that white cast iron and then decarburized cast iron were imported from sources around the Yellow Sea. It is unlikely that iron was obtained directly from Lelang in diplomatic exchanges, but given that private trade could be accomplished on a diplomatic mission, the commandery region may still have been an important source area. Such trade, directly with either producers or merchants, represents one possible version of relations among individuals in the mid- and lower levels of the political hierarchies (Figure 2.1: D). The procurement of bloomery iron from the southern peninsula, however, may have been obtained through a top-level route (B) between peer polities, or among lower members of the political hierarchies (E, F).

The prestige-good system

In the Eastern Seto sphere of Yayoi culture, bronze bells were certainly precious goods, cast by specialist craftspeople from exotic materials obtained

through long-distance trade. But the use of the bells in Eastern Seto was not for the promotion of individual or group prestige, as far as most archaeologists can tell. The ritual embodied in bronze bell burial is thought to have ensured agricultural fertility and community solidarity. There was indeed a distribution network emanating from the production sites that served to provide distant, non-producer communities with bells, but these bells were not used as wealth or status objects by individuals. Nor is there any indication that the producer community as a whole had enhanced status or power over the bell-receiving communities because of its casting expertise.

In contrast, the prestige goods recovered from individual Yayoi graves in North Kyūshū have been interpreted in terms of status ranking, with the emphasis on identifying the richest graves in order to pinpoint the location of *guo* centres and postulate the burial of kings. Such grave goods are implicitly acknowledged to have been a form of wealth and a source of power. However, Stark's findings mentioned later that chiefly figures of specific *guo* did not have steady access to prestige goods invites the interpretation that the warfare between *guo* polities as postulated by Terasawa was related to competition specifically for access to prestige goods.

An incipient prestige-good system was already in place in North Kyūshū at the end of Early Yayoi with peninsular Bronze Age chieftains, before the establishment of Lelang. The items in circulation included shells for bracelets, both beadstone and glass beads, peninsular bronzes and iron for tools. The addition of Chinese bronze mirrors and bronze and iron weaponry, not to mention gold seals and court status, stimulated the system to greater hierarchization within Yayoi communities of North Kyūshū. The most important of the prestige goods was the Chinese bronze mirror, followed by the Chinese ring-pommeled single-edged iron sword. The mirrors and swords were certainly received through the Chinese tributary system. However, iron and bronze per se were not necessarily treated as prestige goods. Few iron tools were buried in Yayoi graves, indicating that they functioned in the 'everyday' exchange register but not in the 'luxury' register (Appadurai 1986).

Considering the North Kyūshū situation not just as a listing of grave goods but in terms of a dynamic exchange system, we see that it did not consist entirely of importing finished goods such as Chinese bronze mirrors but also of integrating goods fashioned within the Japanese Islands. Figure 3.5 illustrates the complementary movement of goods into and out of North Kyūshū. Iron and bronze can be seen coming in from the continent and continuing into the Seto region. Two other long-distance goods were equally important to this system: a variety of sub-tropical shells transported from the Ryūkyū archipelago and beads brought in from bead-making villages on the Japan Sea coast. Evidence from Okinawa indicates that some shells were processed into bracelets there and transported northwards via Tanegashima Island (Pearson 1990) or Yakushima and Amami Islands

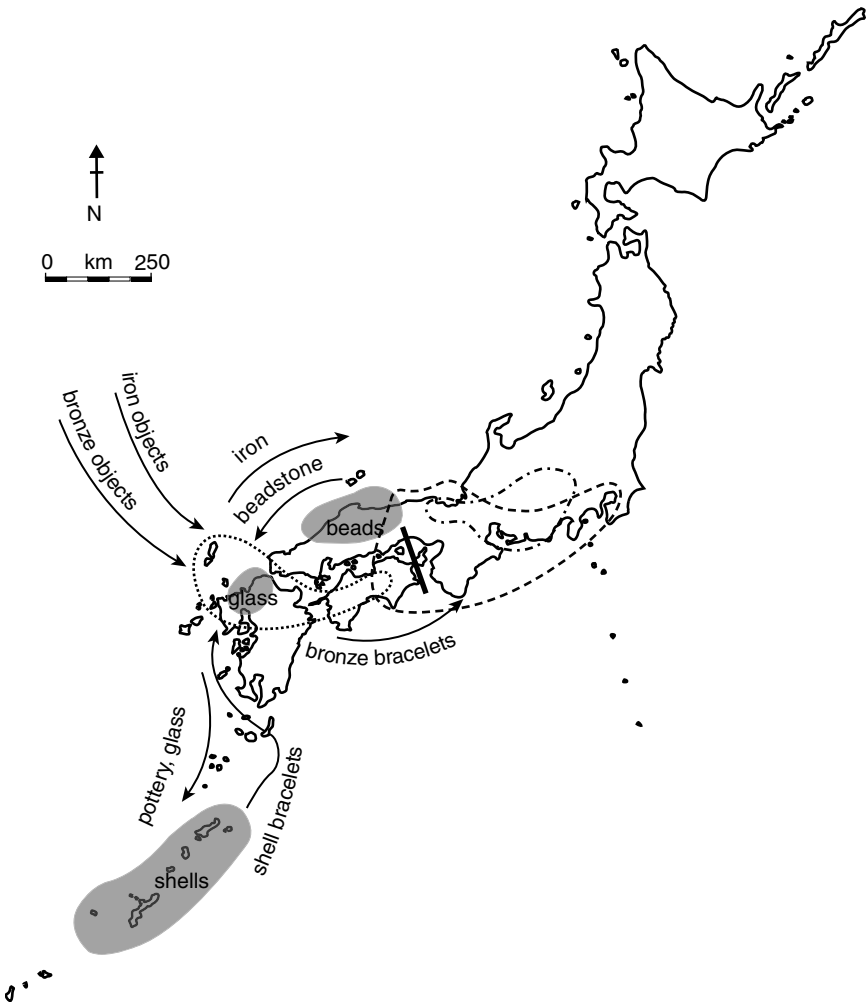

Figure 3.5 Movement of goods in the Yayoi prestige-good system of North Kyūshū

The solid line at the eastern edge of Shikoku Island indicates the eastern limits of iron forging technology in Middle Yayoi. Dotted enclosures are labelled in Figure 1.2

(Kinoshita 2005). Pottery and perhaps iron were moving against the shells in trade. Some of these shell bracelets were reproduced in bronze, cast locally; other bronze bracelets were imported from Lelang (Kinoshita 1983). Beads made of stone were manufactured in the Izumo area of San'in and western Hokuriku (Kawamura 2004: fig. 1); cylindrical beads were always made of jasper/green tuff, while curved beads (*magatama*) were always

made of jade/jasper.[4] They are thought to have been traded as finished objects against iron, but Kawamura (ibid.: 58) suggests that raw jade/jasper was being imported to North Kyūshū to be manufactured there into curved beads. Within North Kyūshū itself was a glass manufacturing industry, producing round beads, cylindrical beads, some curved beads and glass bracelets, etc all blue.

Overall, North Kyūshū prestige goods can be seen to have incorporated items obtained from the Chinese hierarchical tributary system, from peer producers of bronze artefacts on the peninsula, and from hinterland producers of local exotics for trade. In addition, manufacturing of other precious goods took place locally: glass bead-making, forging of iron objects, and re-casting of bronze. Among these, it is particularly difficult to source metal weapons. Many narrow bronze double-edged swords of peninsular type have been identified, but medium- and broad-bladed bronze swords were re-cast in Kyūshū. It is unclear whether many, most or all of the iron swords were imported as finished objects or forged within the islands. A specific type of tanged iron halberd not occurring in China has been identified as a local Kyūshū product (Sasaki 1984: fig. 2), but generalizations applicable to entire artefact categories cannot otherwise be made – sourcing must be carried out on individual artefacts. This problem of sourcing metal objects to their manufacturing loci, especially when the materials themselves (bronze and iron) are known to be imported, prohibits the full understanding of production and distribution in the North Kyūshū prestige-good system.

Nevertheless, Shirai has established a model for trading relationships with the continent that distinguishes three phases: Nŭkdo Trade (through late Middle Yayoi); Haru-no-tsuji Trade (through the 2nd half of Late Yayoi); and Hakata-wan Trade (Early Kofun) (Kusumi 2004: 59). Kusumi reports that Nŭkdo Trade is evidenced by much Yayoi pottery at the Nŭkdo site near Sach'ŏn City on the southern peninsula, while Haru-no-tsuji Trade is evidenced by both Lelang-type and Samhan-type potteries at the Haru-no-tsuji site on Iki Island and Lelang-type pottery at the Mikumo site cluster. The Haru-no-tsuji distributions are explained as Samhan peoples from the peninsula visiting Iki to trade, but Han representatives from Lelang journeying directly to Mikumo; in return, people from the various *guo* visited the continent, but much trade was also done indirectly.

This brief description of such a complicated system does not do it justice, and much more research is needed to coordinate all the data known from production and distribution patterns into a living system. The opportunities for local chiefs to link into exotic trading networks and to oversee local manufacturing obviously provided a two-pronged strategy for enhancing their status within their social environment, and what could not be gained legitimately through trade may have been extracted from neighbours through warfare.

Yayoi interaction

Polities in North Kyūshū

Contact with the Bronze Age chieftains on the Korean Peninsula resulted in the emergence of community chiefs in northern Kyūshū towards the end of the Early Yayoi period, as seen in the archaeological record. From the Chinese documents, we know that upon submitting tribute to the Han Court via the Lelang commandery, some of these insular chiefs earned the title of *wang* ('king') from the Chinese. K. Terasawa (2004) has compiled a listing of all Yayoi chiefly burials throughout Japan, and it is notable that the 'kingly' burials he identifies among them are all located in North Kyūshū until Late Yayoi. The natural disjunction between the archaeological record and Chinese documents (cf. Chapter 1), where individuals play prominent roles in the latter but are invisible in the former, does not allow for sure identification of particular graves as the burials of the *wang* mentioned in the chronicles. The richest and most highly structured, however, have been proposed by several archaeologists as, for example, the burial of the King of Iki at Haru-no-tsuji site, the King of Na at the Sugu-Okamoto site, the Kings of Ito at the Mikumo and Ihara-Yarimizo sites, or the King of Matsuro at the Sakurababa site. Iki, Na, Ito and Matsuro are all mentioned in the *Weizhi* as the names of *guo* and have been correlated by historians with placenames in North Kyūshū and Iki Island (Figure 3.6).

Emergent chiefs are identified as having had more grave goods and been buried more centrally in the local cemetery; however, later Yayoi 'kingly' burials are generally physically separated from the local cemeteries and have a wider range of goods, including imported Chinese objects indicating integration into the commandery trade (Shimojō 2003). Terasawa has undertaken a complicated analysis of burial ranking based on grave-good content and burial location and structure. The important grave goods are designated to be Chinese mirrors, beads and swords following earlier analyses by MORI Kōichi and HARADA Dairoku. K. Terasawa (2004: 43–4) comments importantly that other kinds of artefacts deposited in burials (bronze and iron arrowheads, beads and shell bracelets, and iron agricultural tools) are so ubiquitous that they do not contribute to social ranking. The selection of mirrors, beads and swords may be seen as somewhat teleological as they constitute the historical imperial regalia of Japan; but there is no doubt that these three categories of items are prominent in rich Yayoi graves in North Kyūshū. Moreover, bracelets made of conch shells – available only from sub-tropical waters of the southern Ryūkyū archipelago – were reserved for chiefly figures.

Some of the major items in cross-straits burials, showing their commonality, are illustrated in Figure 3.7. These are keyed to listings in Table 3.2 which indicate their source or style. A distinction is made particularly

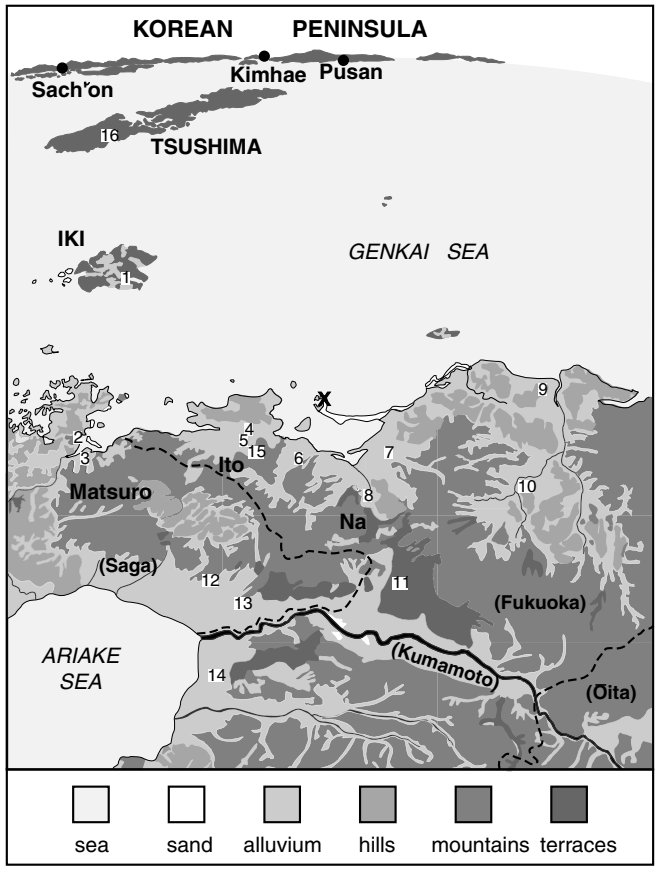

Figure 3.6 Location of *guo* in North Kyūshū: Iki (Island), Matsuro, Ito and Na (after Shimojō 2003: 220). Modern prefectural names appear in parentheses. This map is an oblique horizon perspective, looking north from Kyūshū to the Korean Peninsula. From Pusan, a modern city in Korea, Tsushima Island can be seen 60 km distant on a good day

X = location of gold seal find (Figure 3.2). Site names keyed to numbers:

1 Haru-no-tsuji
2 Sakurababa
3 Ukikunden
4 Mikumo
5 Ihara
6 Yoshitake
7 Hirazuka
8 Sugu-Okamoto
9 Okagaki
10 Tateiwa
11 Higashi Odamine
12 Mitsueda
13 Yoshinogari
14 Kamenokō
15 Hirabaru
16 Shimogaya-no-ki

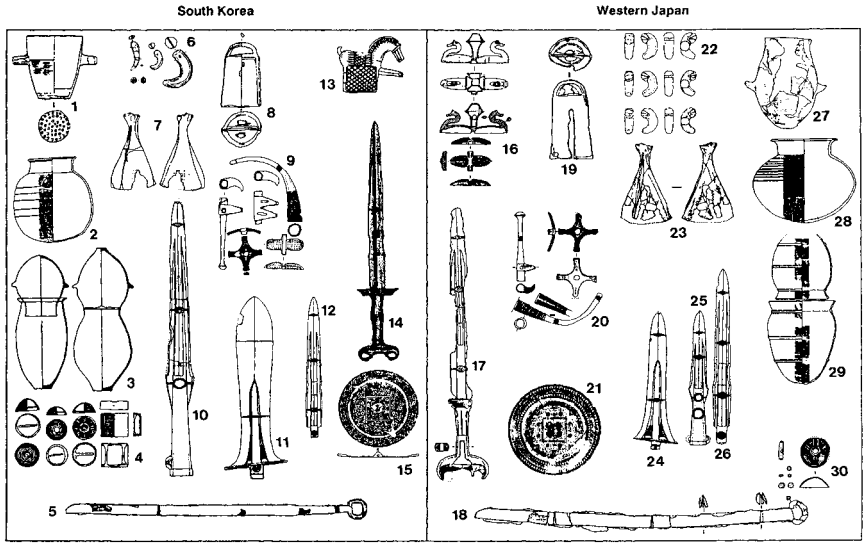

Figure 3.7 Artefacts common to high-ranking burials in the southern Korean Peninsula and northern Kyūshū in the first centuries AD (after Seyock 2003). See Table 3.2 for fuller list of burial contents

between double-edged thrusting swords of peninsular/Northeast Asian type (often described as 'daggers') and single-edged slashing swords of Chinese type. Burials commonly have both, but it is the single-edged sword that is developed into the main weapon of the Kofun period and later becomes the curved slashing sword of the samurai. The relationship of Yayoi and Early Kofun grave goods will be returned to in Chapter 7 in discussing prestige-good systems.

Terasawa has theorized an organizational hierarchy (Figure 3.8) for Yayoi societies in North Kyūshū based on the construct developed in Yayoi settlement studies of a mother village and the daughter hamlets it has spawned; usually there is only one communal cemetery located near the mother village (2000: 143–62). This organically related settlement cluster he terms a 'small community' (*shō-kyōdōtai*) headed by a Lesser Chief (*shō-shuchō*). From two to five of these small communities form a 'large community' (*dai-kyōdōtai*), usually focussed on part or all of a riverine drainage catchment and headed by a Great Chief (*dai-shuchō*). Terasawa equates these large communities with the hundred *guo* [*kuni*] of distant times alluded to in the *Weizhi* quotation near the beginning of this chapter. He further postulates that a collection of these large communities into a regional polity, headed by a king (C. *wang*, J. *ō*), forms one of the fewer *guo* [*koku*] of later times, corresponding to the political consolidation hinted at in the *Weizhi* quotation. Terasawa thus uses an orthographic means of

Table 3.2 Comparative artefact repertoires of burials in the southern Korean Peninsula and North Kyūshū during the Commandery Period (compiled from Seyock 2003)

Proto-Three Kingdoms burials in southern Korean Peninsula	*Middle-Late Yayoi burials in Tsushima, Iki and N. Kyūshū*
Local ceramics:	
Wajil pottery (1, 3), some paddled stoneware (2)	Yayoi pottery (29)
Non-local ceramics:	
Yayoi pottery	Wajil pottery, Mumun pottery (27) stoneware (28)
Weapons:	
Chinese-style:	
halberds (11)	bronze and iron halberds (24)
socketed spearheads, iron and bronze (10)	socketed bronze and iron spearheads (25)
iron arrowheads	iron arrowheads
ring-pommelled 1-edged iron sword (5)	ring-pommelled 1-edge iron sword (18)
Peninsular-style:	
narrow bronze 2-edged swords (12)	narrrow bronze and iron 2-edged swords (26)
stone arrowheads	
Chinese bronzes:	
Han mirrors (15)	Han mirrors (21)
horse and carriage fixtures (9)	horse and carriage fixtures (16)
	Wang Mang and other coins
Nomadic bronzes:	
animal-style objects (belt hooks (13), hilts)	animal-style objects (hilts)
ornamented buttons (4)	ornamented buttons (30)
antennae 2-edged swords (14)	antennae 2-edged swords (17)
Personal ornaments:	
glass, agate, stone round, cylindrical, curved beads (6) blue, green	glass, agate, stone round, cylindrical, curved beads (22) blue, green
bracelets of different materials	bronze bracelets
Tools:	
stone and clay net-sinkers	net-sinkers
iron spade shoes	iron spade shoes
small iron knives, axes	small iron knives
stone reaping knives	stone reaping knives
stone & iron sickles	iron sickles
iron or bone fish hooks	harpoons, iron fish hooks
stone & iron adze	iron adzes
Ritual objects:	
animal scapulae oracle bones (7)	wild boar scapulae oracle bones (23)
imitation bronze mirrors	imitation bronze mirrors
bronze bell (8)	bronze bells (19)

Keyed by number to illustrations in Figure 3.7

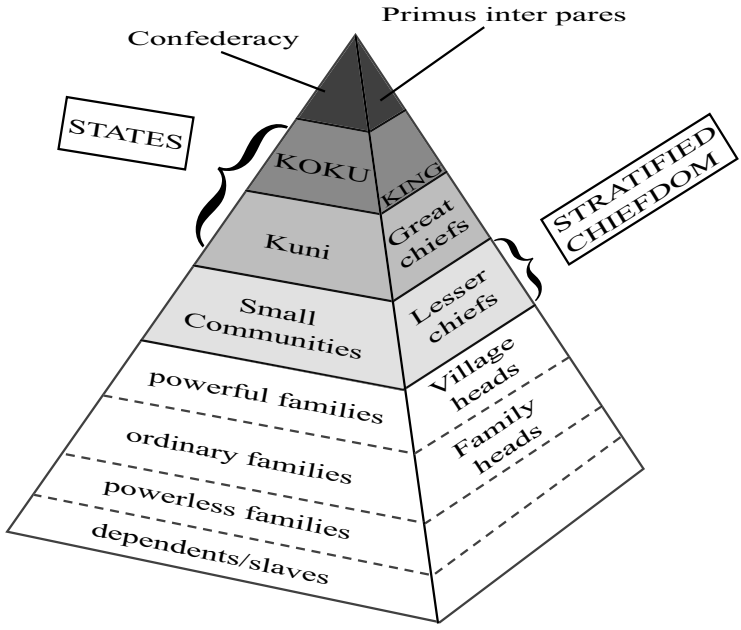

Figure 3.8 Organizational hierarchy of Yayoi *guo* hypothesized by Terasawa (adapted from Terasawa 2000: 143). Terasawa calls small communities having commoners plus Lesser chiefs 'stratified chiefdoms', while *kuni* and *koku* having commoners plus Great Chiefs or Kings are called 'states'

distinguishing polity development through time: while the Chinese refer to all these polities as *guo* 國, he uses the native Japanese word, *kuni* くに, assigned to the *guo* character to refer to the smaller, earlier polities and the Sino-Japanese pronunciation of the simplified *guo* character, *koku* 国, to refer to the larger, later polities. Several *koku* form a confederacy headed by a *primus inter pares* from among the kings (*wang*).

The emergence of Lesser Chiefs in small communities is apparently taken by Terasawa as an indication of social stratification into two classes, illustrated in Figure 3.8 with shading for the elite and no shading for the commoners. However, the emergence of Great Chiefs heading *kuni* (large communities) signifies the formation of states, since in his system both *kuni* and *koku* are states. The commoner stratum is occupied by several different kinds of families, which are not successively inclusive (as are the components shown in the elite stratum) but are certainly ranked in status. As Terasawa is one of the pre-eminent Yayoi scholars, his theories on Japanese state formation are widely influential. Having presented the outline of his ideas here, I will comment on them further in Chapters 7 and 8.

How does Terasawa's organizational hierarchy appear when viewed within the landscape? He has modelled several of the North Kyūshū *guo* to

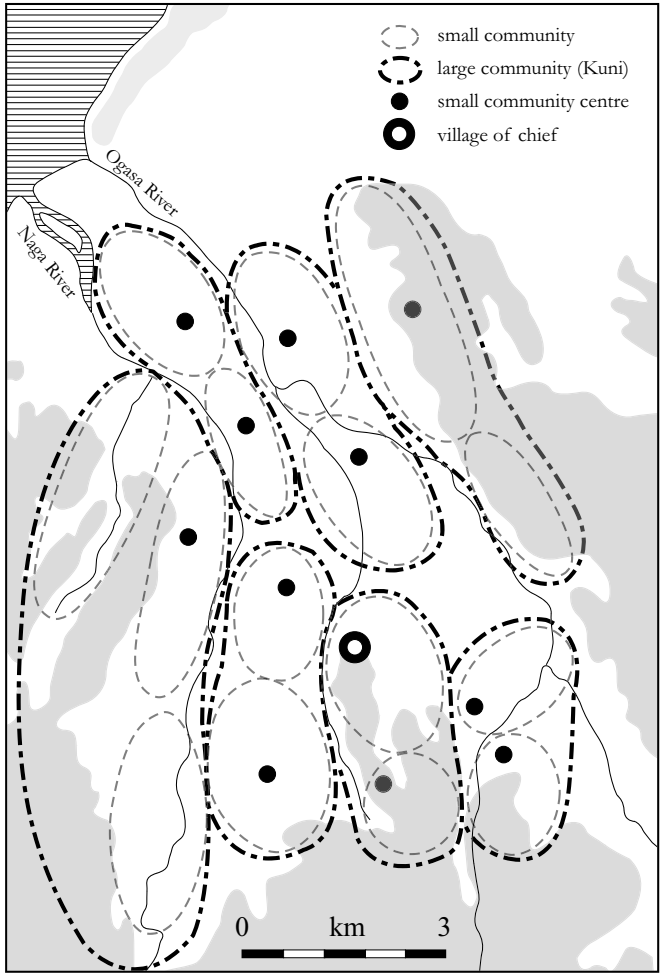

Figure 3.9 Reconstruction of Na-koku's territorial hierarchy (after Terasawa 2000: 158)

illustrate the nested nature of small and large communities within *koku* (Figure 3.9). One will notice, however, that the territorial hierarchy is incompletely shown. Although small communities are structurally focussed on a mother village functioning as the community centre, some small communities are presented without a centre and no hamlets are shown; furthermore, no centres are illustrated for large communities, most of which have two small community centres. This may be a function of the incorporation of these large communities into a *koku* (Na in this case), but this begs

the question of the territorial chain of command. If the king resides at the capital, are the Lesser Chiefs of small communities directly responsible to him/her? What has happened to the Great Chiefs of the *kuni* that ostensibly formed the building blocks of the *koku*? Theoretically, the *koku* should have a four-tiered settlement hierarchy by Terasawa's reckoning: daughter village, mother village (small community centre), large community (*kuni*) centre, and kingly capital. But the *kuni* centre is notably absent in the geographical presentation. Moreover, the small communities are not collected together into large communities in any coherent manner, with some crossing over drainage units or splitting a drainage unit upstream and downstream. Thus, rather than having a postulated four-tiered settlement hierarchy, there is actual archaeological evidence for only three: the *guo* centre, the mother villages and their daughter hamlets.

According to K. Terasawa (2004), 'kingly' burials date between late Early Yayoi and Terminal Yayoi, and he believes that if the richly accoutred burials are assessed by the same criteria as the mounded tombs of the Kofun period, then it could be argued that North Kyūshū society achieved social stratification in the Yayoi period. However, North Kyūshū burials in Late Yayoi show a range of grave facilities and a sliding scale of grave-good deposit that indicate gradual degrees of social difference with some families and individuals singled out for preferential burial (Matsuura 2003). Stark's analysis of wealth levels in burials (cited in Pearson 1990: 921) also suggested that 'chiefs in different communities within a single valley did not have constant access to scarce objects.' Thus, there seemed not to have been a consistent or rigid socio-political hierarchy within the *guo* territories.

Given that there seems to be a continuous distribution of material goods throughout the social hierarchy without clear divisions into two classes, aristocrats and commoners, I would argue that North Kyūshū society consisted of highly ranked centralized and hierarchical communities. But because such hierarchical formations were in part dependent on the ability to obtain continental prestige goods, rank may not have been ascribed by birth but achieved through aggrandization. The widespread but variable occurrence of prestige goods in graves that were not otherwise distinguished from each other suggests that there was considerable competition to obtain goods, leading to warfare and conflict.

North Kyūshū archaeology has produced considerable evidence of death by weaponry (embedded arrowheads in skeletons) and mutilation (decapitated burials, skull burials, etc.) in the Yayoi period (Hashiguchi 1995; K. Terasawa 2004). Hashiguchi proposes that conflicts between North Kyūshū settlements were rife in the 1st century BC, tailing off towards the turn of the millennium, and then becoming large-scale warfare between regions in Late Yayoi (1995: 75–7). He notes that warfare between settlements did not aim to capture population, as burials of people with mortal wounds and a

disproportionate number of infants are in evidence. This seems to imply the elimination of competition of neighbouring communities over sought-after resources, of which land for feeding the populace was the most important. The time period dealt with here coincides with the maturation of society based on wet-rice agriculture. By 100 BC, the process of diffusion of migrants out of North Kyūshū carrying rice technology throughout the western Japanese Islands had been completed, and the steady population growth within North Kyūshū would not have abated. Villages grew to very large sizes (Hashiguchi 1995: 73), and the strengthening of chiefs through community warfare would have then made them able to establish links with Lelang. Hashiguchi notes that 'slaves' were an important component of the local tribute sent to the Chinese court, and these may have been war captives, if there were any survivors left.

Inland Sea developments

Conflict is hypothesized to have spilled out of North Kyūshū into the Seto corridor in late Middle Yayoi. Terasawa has identified three phases of upland site construction in the Inland Sea region (2000: 199), the first two of which are illustrated in Figure 3.10.[5] He hypothesizes that such defensive positions were created for brief periods due to conflict with the kings of Ito in North Kyūshū. Indeed, by the second stage of upland site construction, Ito had extended its influence into west-central Shikoku, judging by the distribution of bronze weapons (Figure 1.2).

However, another source of friction may have emanated from the east. At the end of Middle Yayoi in the Ōsaka Bay region, several large sites (including Uryūdō and Kitoragawa in Figure 3.4) were flooded to the extent that they were entirely abandoned by the beginning of Late Yayoi (Sasaki 1995: 94). The cause of this flooding seems localized and therefore may have been due to tectonic faulting and subsidence of the Ōsaka Basin. Nevertheless, the displaced population would have sought new homes and may have spread out into the Seto corridor, causing local coastal people to take refuge from migratory incursions.

Whether due to these natural or social disruptions, the Kinai Middle Yayoi settlement system and bronze bell network collapsed in early Late Yayoi (Shimojō 2003). Bell production, however, was reinstituted on a grander scale than before: Late Yayoi bells were visually important ritual objects rather than auditorial adjunct objects in the ritual. The continued need for bronze for remelting to cast bells, which were larger and more elaborate than ever, was augmented by the increased use of iron and the eventual replacement of stone agricultural tools by iron in the latter half of Late Yayoi. Local chieftains emerged who were interred in mounded burials together with small numbers of iron weapons and tools. These regionally diverse burials are the first indications of status differentiation among

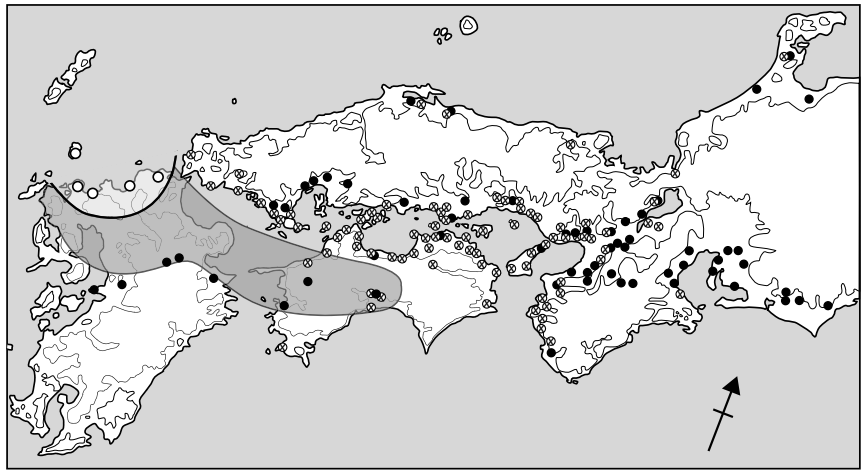

Figure 3.10 Stages 1 and 2 of upland site construction (after Terasawa 2000). 'Upland' generally indicates elevated terrace or hilly areas even at coastline, as opposed to 'lowland' sites on alluvial flats

Stage 1: from the late 1st century BC through the 1st century AD
White circles in light-shaded bounded area = Ito polity area
White crossed circles = non-Ito upland sites
Stage 2: the Wa Disturbances (AD 147–189)
Extended dark shading = expansion of Ito into western Shikoku
Black circles = Late Yayoi upland sites

individuals outside of Kyūshū and led directly into the Mounded Tomb Culture of the Kofun period (see Chapter 5).

The second stage of upland site construction (Figure 3.10) can be correlated with the 'Wa Disturbances' (*Wakoku Dairan*)[6] between AD 147 and 189 and the spread of iron weapons through the Seto region. This period of warfare may be interpreted as the logical and intended consequence of the Late Han 'divide and rule' strategy described by Yü (1986: 403–5), with Seto chieftains vying with North Kyūshū chieftains for access to metals. Or it may indicate a reaction to the interruption of trade – noted as a common cause of warfare in Eurasia by Teggart (1939) – as Han power waned in the region.

Relations again with China

China in Late Han was beset by peasant unrest and uprisings (Elvin 1973: 35; Kleeman 1998: i), which could have affected supplies from the mainland to the commanderies; it is notable that the years of the Wa Disturbances correspond precisely to those imperial reigns in which Yü tells us (1986: 444–5)

that Han was besieged from the north by the Xianbei tribes. This may have left insular groups fighting for the existing, non-renewable supply of Chinese bronze mirrors that were so important to the status hierarchy in Western Seto. The production of locally made bronze mirror imitations in North Kyūshū in Late Yayoi[7] points to a lack of available imports; but these were small and coarse and clearly inferior to the technically superb Chinese mirrors obtainable through the commandery. After the Yellow Turbans revolt in 184, Han imperial power 'existed in little but name' (Elvin 1973: 35), so that even after the Wa Disturbances ended, interaction with the Chinese court was not resumed.

The Han Dynasty collapsed at virtually the same time as the Xianbei nomadic confederacy, whose spread into Pen/Insular East Asia the Han had been working so hard to prevent. As recounted by Gardiner (1964: 317–22), the great Xianbei leader Tanshihuai (W.G. T'an-shih-huai) died in AD 181 and his successor son was killed in battle in AD 188 or 189. In the subsequent political vacuum in northeastern China, the Han commandery areas were taken over by various military officials who set themselves up as independent warlords. Gongsun Du was sent from Luoyang to take over the Liaodong commandery and in AD 190 proclaimed his independence, assuming the title Marquis of Liaodong. He apparently established a political alliance with Koguryŏ and a marriage alliance with the Fuyu (K. Puyŏ). In AD 204, his son, Gongsun Kang, succeeded him as Marquis; sometime during the first half of the century, he reclaimed the southern part of Lelang and opened as a new commandery, Daifang (Gardiner 1964: 335, 342).

Simultaneous with the Gongsun family establishing itself in the Liaodong region, some of the polities in the Japanese Islands appear to have formed a substantial hegemony in the wake of Han and the Wa Disturbances. They were led by a person named Himiko, referred to as Queen of Wa in the *Weizhi*, which states (Goodrich and Tsunoda 1951: 13; brackets added):

> The country formerly had a man as ruler. For some seventy or eighty years after that there were disturbances and warfare. Thereupon the people agreed upon a woman for their ruler. Her name was Pimiko [Himiko].

We have no idea when Himiko became the Wa paramount, with her court in Yamatai (as introduced in Chapter 1). We do know, however, that she sent an embassy to Daifang as soon as the Wei Dynasty captured it from the Gongsun family in AD 238. She must therefore have assumed power some time during the 49 years between the end of the Wa Disturbances in AD 189 and the Wei takeover of Daifang in AD 238. She sent a second tribute embassy in AD 243, while Wei envoys visited her in AD 240 and 247 (see descriptions in Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951).

Himiko is believed to have died in AD 248 (Edwards 1996: 56); her successor is described in the *Weizhi* (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 16; their brackets):

> A relative of Pimiko named Iyo, a girl of thirteen, was [then] made queen and order was restored. Cheng issued a proclamation to the effect that Iyo was the ruler. Then Iyo sent a delegation of twenty under the grandee Yazaku, General of the Imperial Guard, to accompany Cheng home [to China]. The delegation visited the capital and presented thirty male and female slaves. It also offered [to the Court] five thousand white gems and two pieces of carved jade, as well as twenty pieces of brocade with variegated designs.

The assertion of Wei power over the Daifang commandery in 238 marked a turning point in socio-political development in the Japanese Islands. Wei's brief tenure at Daifang provided a new context for external legitimization of competing chiefly communities in the Islands after the Wa Disturbances. The embassies sent to Daifang played an important role in obtaining the imperial gifts that subsequently functioned to create an elite stratum of rulers throughout western Japan.

The Wei Dynasty was itself replaced by the Western Jin Dynasty (265–316). The Jin records state that in 266 'the Queen of Wa sent interpreters with tribute' (Aston 1972.I: 253; Shiraishi 2002: 73). We do not know if these were sent to Daifang or to the central court. This is the last mention of embassies, however, until the 5th century. Furthermore, we do not know whether the Queen of Wa who sent tribute to Western Jin was Himiko's recorded successor, Iyo. Regardless, the Chinese records indicate that Yamatai and the Wa were ruled by female paramounts for a substantial part of the mid-3rd century. Both these queens were quick to acknowledge the new Chinese courts, Wei and Jin, in turn, and Chapter 8 will explore how this legitimization enabled the establishment of a hegemonic rule throughout the western archipelago.

The lack of further information in the Chinese records has bequeathed two major problems to the scholarly community. First, from the itinerary outlined in the *Weizhi*, it is not clear exactly where Himiko's country of Yamatai was located. Two hypotheses have been avidly debated among scholars for several centuries, with Yamatai placed in either North Kyūshū or the Kinai region. The rich burials described above for North Kyūshū underwrote the former interpretation, while new discoveries in Nara prefecture have swung opinion in favour of the latter.

The second problem is posed by Daifang as operated by the Gongsun family: Did the insular polities pay tribute to Daifang under the Gongsun? What were the relations with the continent during the period of Wa Disturbances and Gongsun rule? The events of this period are crucial to understanding the emergence of Yamatai in the mid-3rd century, and

attention is beginning to be turned to the archaeological reconstruction of these events, which are invisible in the written records.

Summary

Three and a half centuries at the Edge of Empire provided the main historical context for the development of Yayoi polities, first in North Kyūshū and then throughout the western Japanese Islands, ending with the recording of Yamatai's existence in Wei dynastic histories in the mid-3rd century AD. During the years from the establishment of Lelang (108 BC) to the Queen of Wa's embassies between AD 238 and 266, insular peoples were communicating with possibly five different courts: Early Han, Late Han, perhaps that of the Marquis of Liaodong, Wei and Western Jin. All the while, relations were presumably maintained with peer communities around the edge of the Yellow Sea. The waxing of dynastic powers provided opportunities for the flow of goods, ideas and information into the insular polities, while their waning disrupted and shifted the course of developments in the various areas.

The last official embassy before the century of silence (*yonseiki no kūhaku*) is recorded for 266, but it was from this time onwards that the fruit of the relationship with empire would ripen. Himiko, her alleged tomb, the description of her settlement, and the bronze mirrors she is said to have received from the Wei Court frame the ensuing investigation into the development of stratified society in the Japanese Islands.

Chapter Four

From Yamatai to Yamato[1] (3rd Century)

Two historical views of early Japanese statehood

Introduction

Unlike many investigations of early states around the world which rely exclusively on archaeological data, the Japanese case is blessed with not one but two historical traditions that give insight into the structures and processes of emerging socio-political complexity. These traditions are the Chinese dynastic histories and the indigenous Japanese court chronicles. However, far from complementing each other, these traditions actually present conflicting views of incipient states in Japan. The former tell of a woman named Himiko succeeding to power as the Queen of Wa, while the latter give a list of primarily male sovereigns ruling over the emergent Yamato Court (Table 1.3). Himiko is not among them.

The search for Himiko and her country of Yamatai in the historical records of Japan has been occupying *historians* for several centuries (cf. Young 1958) and has, increasingly, preoccupying *archaeologists* over the last eighty years (Suzuki 2002: 18). Since the 1980s, Japan has experienced a second 'Himiko boom' – the first having occurred in the 1960s (Tanabe 1968; Ishii 1991) – stimulated by sensationalist media coverage of new excavations and fed by media-sponsored conferences and innumerable publically oriented books (e.g. Tanabe 1982; Rekihaku 1991; Takemitsu 1998; Watanabe *et al*. 1998; Ōba 1999; Senda 2000). These works attempt to put the finds and scholarly enquiry into historical context, and the public conferences have been avidly participated in and the books consumed especially by the older generations in Japan who wish to overcome their pre-war conceptions (Ishii 1991).

English-language scholarship has also been drawn into the debates about Himiko. Young (1958) gave a detailed overview of Yamatai scholarship up to the Second World War; Piggott (1997) has used the queen as the baseline

for examining the evolving nature of Japanese 'kingship' in the protohistoric period; and Edwards has investigated Himiko's political role through gender studies, the position of Yamatai studies in post-war Kofun-period archaeology (1996), and the significance of bronze mirror finds (1995) particularly in locating Yamatai (1998, 1999). Kidder has dealt with Himiko's capital and location (1991a,b) and has undertaken a new study of Himiko and re-translation of parts of the *Weizhi* (forthcoming). The works by Young and Edwards give full background to the Japanese scholarship and data up to this point in time. What I intend to add here is a review of the arguments linking the Chinese and Japanese documentary evidence, and those linking the documentary and archaeological evidence. This exercise is important since Yamatai and Yamato have previously been seen as two different polities that existed in different regions and were temporally successive. Now, there is a trend to view them as one and the same entity, viewed from differing perspectives by the Chinese and Japanese courtiers. It is necessary to understand how the arguments are built up from a series of assumptions, so that we can clearly discriminate between accepted historical fact and hypothesis.

It is axiomatic of protohistoric archaeology that historic persons are seldom identifiable in the archaeological record unless there is inscriptional evidence found with their remains that names them personally, for example Ō no Yasumaro.[2] This has not stopped the Japanese archaeological community from trying to find Himiko's country and her tomb – both mentioned in the Chinese chronicles but not attributed to a specific location – among Japan's material remains. However, the directions and distances written into the *Weizhi* for travelling to Yamatai are indeterminant. Various efforts have been made to adjust either distance or direction or both to make the written itinerary end in a more acceptable place (see Young 1958: 39–41; Edwards 1996: fig. 1) but to no avail. With this literary impasse, scholars turned to the archaeological record to see where rich remains could indicate the presence of a queen in the mid-3rd century. On these grounds, two opposing areas have been favoured by scholars over the centuries: either North Kyūshū or the Kinai, corresponding to the foci of the dominant bronze cultures in the Yayoi period (Figure 1.2). The Kinai has the added distinction of being the acknowledged homeland of Yamato, the first and only state of early Japan acknowledged historically.

It is worth noting that the drive to equate Yamatai and Yamato was inspired in large part by the phonetic similarity between the two names. Is the divergence between the final sounds of the two terms acceptable? Linguists have not reached a consensus, and I am not qualified to officiate between rival claims. For one view supporting the Kinai hypothesis, see Miller (1967: 16–18), who judges that it was linguistically possible for the 'ai' at the end of Yamatai to have been replaced by the final 'o' of Yamato in a natural phonetic evolution. A different kind of hypothesis has been

offered by Furuta (Takemoto 1983), whose complicated argument is based on the fact that in the original Chinese documents the characters for Yamatai 邪馬台 were actually written Yamaichi 邪馬壱, which is accepted by most scholars as a copyist error. Furuta argues, however, that the latter was correct and referred to a polity in Kyūshū, thus supporting the Kyūshū hypothesis.

Edwards (1996) has briefly reviewed the swing of the pendulum in favouring either Kyūshū or Kinai as the locations for Yamatai. He notes that Kyūshū was championed in the Tokugawa period by the 18th-century scholar MOTOORI Norinaga and continued to find favour in the Meiji period until 1910. Thereafter, the Kinai hypothesis came to the fore with textual analyses of the *Nihon Shoki* and the identification of Himiko with figures named in the Japanese chronicles. This identification was amalgamated with archaeological evidence in the postwar period, with KOBAYASHI Yukio of Kyōto University arguing for a Kinai locus and MORI Kōichi of Dōshisha University favouring Kyūshū. The excavation of the Yoshinogari site in Fukuoka prefecture in 1986–89 (see Hudson and Barnes 1990; Kidder 1991b) strengthened the Kyūshū hypothesis; then the 1997 excavation of the Kurozuka Tomb in Nara prefecture vaulted the Kinai hypothesis to prominence (Edwards 1999).

When Kyūshū was the favoured locus for Yamatai, the question of the relationship between Yamatai (as mentioned by the Chinese records) and Yamato (as described in the Japanese chronicles) was fairly easily characterized as a temporal succession of regionally distinct polities, from 3rd-century Yamatai in North Kyūshū to 4th-century Yamato in the Kinai. However, the relationship was more complicated under the Kinai hypothesis. In the early post-war period it was difficult to justify the geographic equation of Yamatai with Yamato, since there were neither rich burials nor differentiated settlements in the mid-3rd century Kinai region that might indicate a political hierarchy headed by a queen. Moreover, Himiko's burial in a large mound, as described in the *Weizhi*, preceded the accepted 4th-century beginning date of the Mounded Tomb Culture (signifying the emergence of the Yamato elite) by 50 years, and there were no tombs in the Kinai recognized for the mid-3rd century. Thus, if Himiko's country existed in the Chinese chronicles, it was invisible in 3rd-century Kinai archaeology. Succession of polities was not a possibility due to the absence of material evidence, and conflation of the polities was equally infeasible due to the half-century difference in dating Yamatai and Yamato.

New discoveries, however, have closed the hiatus between Himiko's death and the beginning of the Mounded Tomb Culture, so that now a conflation rather than a succession of polities is suggested. Is Yamatai simply Yamato seen through Chinese eyes? If so, then why is Queen Himiko not mentioned in the Japanese chronicles? These and other issues will be

discussed below in order to portray the current understanding of incipient Japanese statehood as known archaeologically and through the historical records.

Through Chinese eyes

As seen in Chapter 3, the Chinese commanderies on the Korean Peninsula, particularly Lelang (established by the Han Dynasty in 108 BC) and Daifang (established in the early 3rd century by the Gongsun warlord and controlled by the Wei Dynasty from AD 238–265), formed the nucleus of an economic network designed to draw in peripheral peoples and make them tributaries of the Chinese court, with status in the court hierarchy accorded to their rulers. One such peoples mentioned in the Chinese chronicles were the Wo (J. Wa), whose identity is somewhat obscure. Most historians agree that 'Wa' is the traditional Chinese name for the occupants of the Japanese Islands, but 3rd-century and earlier Chinese documents indicate that they lived on both sides of the straits, that is, among the peoples of the southern Korean Peninsula (Inoue 1995: 81). This brings into consideration the relation between Wa and Kaya in the protohistoric period and recalls to mind that Kaya, and its Samhan predecessor P'yŏnhan, was the major supplier of bronze and iron to the islands.

The nature of interaction between the Wa and Kaya in the Kofun period has given rise to much anguished scholarship concerning Pen/Insular relations [SFK, ch. 1: 37–40]. There also arises the necessity that the Wa must be distinguished from Yamato, in that all the peoples occupying the Japanese Islands were not initially incorporated into the early Yamato state. On the one hand, Himiko was referred to as the 'Queen of Wa' by the Han and Wei Chinese during the existence of Yamatai, but both Tang and Silla seem to have applied the term Wa to North Kyūshū in contrast to Yamato (Inoue 1995: 81); we have already seen that North Kyūshū was very much involved in cross-straits interaction.

The *Weizhi* records that in the 3rd century, the Wa region was divided into many small 'countries' (*guo*), the largest, Yamatai, being ruled by a queen named Himiko (or Pimiko) who was chosen to replace a king after the Wa Disturbances of AD 147–189. The section within the *Weizhi* dealing with the Wa, known in Japanese as the *Gishi Wajinden*, is focussed almost exclusively on the polities of the Wa in tracing an itinerary from the Daifang commandery to Himiko's polity of Yamatai. Despite the ambiguity of Yamatai's location itself, the locations of several polities along the way have been matched with local placenames on the southern Korean Peninsula and Kyūshū, indicating at least a knowledge of the straits region. A section of the *Gishi Wajinden* is given to the social customs of the Wa in general, and the last section is a description of Himiko's embassy to Daifang in 238, the goods exchanged, and the arrangements for her burial and political succession upon her death, somewhere around the year 248.

The Chinese chronicles thus identify emerging chieftains and incipient polities in the archipelago as early as AD 57, and from that time onwards such entities are tied into intermittent tributary relations with the Chinese court during successive dynasties. The Chinese chronicles, in documenting routine dynastic relationships such as tributary missions, provide a view of insular *political* development in the protohistoric period that is wholly in conflict with the picture of history presented in the Japanese chronicles, although description of the cultural material is consistent with Yayoi archaeology. The Japanese chronicles, on the other hand, do not acknowledge any precursor to the Yamato Court, fail to refer to any tributary missions to the Han and Wei Courts, Lelang or Daifang, and make no mention of a queen Himiko and her country Yamatai or of any other *guo* polities and their kings in such terms. However, the compilers of the 8th-century Japanese chronicles were acquainted with some of the Chinese records, and accommodations to them were made in the writing of the *Nihon Shoki*. For example, various early sovereigns were credited with having made anachronistic Chinese-style speeches (cf. Aston 1972.I: 160), and the *Weizhi* is explicitly quoted in one imperial chronicle (Aston 1972.I: 245). But these are minor footnotes to a very different view of Japanese state development in the Japanese chronicles, which is based on a unique perception of time and space that integrates the native cosmologies into a descent framework for the imperial family of early historic Japan, as detailed in the next sections.

According to the official histories of Japan

The chronicles offered to the Nara Court in the early 8th century mark the culmination of state formation processes and the maturation of the archaic Ritsuryō State, which succeeded the Yamato State and was based on a Chinese-style administrative system. Writing in the Chinese language was introduced to the 5th-century Yamato Court by scribes from the peninsular state of Paekche [SFK, pp. 32–6], and it was presumably these same scribes who introduced the Chinese concept of keeping historic records. The Japanese chronicles give us an unprecedented view into early state society in Japan and the minds and motives of Nara-period courtiers. The compilation of these works, by courtiers under imperial command, from divers clan records and earlier imperial documents comprised a massive effort by the court 'to consolidate its power [through] the creation and dissemination of a "mythistory," a religio-political ideology that sought to legitimate the new order, most especially the position and power of the imperial family and other major clans', as Ebersole so succinctly puts it (1989: 3).

The combined chronicles of early Japan present a special perception of time, which may be referred to as '*amakudari* chronology' (Barnes 1990c). Starting in the Age of the Gods with the activities of the primordial deities

in the Plain of High Heaven (Takama-ga-hara), the early venues of Japanese history are considered to have moved spatially downwards (*ama* 'heaven', *kudari* 'descent') through time (Barnes 1990c: fig. 1). The story of the descent began when a 5th-generation primordial couple in heaven created the first islands on earth by stirring a jewelled sword in the primeval seas and withdrawing it, a droplet falling from the sword coagulating to form an island below. Descending to the island, the couple then created the many Islands of Japan and their inhabitants in the form of all the trees and animals and myriad gods. The couple then bore three offspring, whom they made the rulers of heaven, land and ocean. The god of the land, Susa-no-o,[3] challenged his sister, Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess or the goddess of heaven; but he was defeated, and the grandson of Amaterasu, Ninigi, descended (*kudaru*) from heaven (*ama*) to earth to rule in his place. It should be noted that the islands were not uninhabited at this time: they were populated by those 'trees, animals and myriad gods' that the primordial couple created.

Such a chronology does not allow for 'prehistory' as we know it today on the ground; there was no history other than the creation of the archipelago and its peopling by heavenly descendants. Thus, the Palaeolithic, Jōmon and Yayoi prehistories recovered through archaeology and the Chinese documentation of later Yayoi society are basically irreconcilable with the Japanese traditional chronology and mythological genesis of their nation and peoples. However, a close analysis of the chronicles does reveal loopholes in this orally transmitted chronology that the compilers and later scholars have exploited in devising their own schemes. The 'regional deities' (*kuni-tsu-gami*) – the 'myriad gods' of the descent myth – were considered by the chroniclers to be the ancestors of the Japanese people (aside from the imperial family, who descended from the Sun Goddess) and were equated by early archaeologists with the Yayoi peoples as known through their material culture (Kudō 1974: 17). The incorporation of these regional deities, as expressed in the 8th-century geographical treatises (*fudoki*; see Appendix Two) into the Yamato pantheon has been interpreted by Japanese historians as a metaphor for the expansion of the protohistoric Yamato State. In particular, there is the myth of the 'country-yielding-god' *kuni-yuzuri-gami* of Izumo (modern Shimane prefecture) who was rewarded for bequeathing (*yuzuru*) the country to Yamato (see Piggott 1989; Torigoe 1995; Yamaue 1995; Aoki 1997: 75–162).

Thus, the Japanese chronicles essentially describe the creation by the gods of an autochthonous peoples, whose ruling elite descended from heaven and thereafter ruled the Japanese Islands as the historical imperial line. The sovereigns are stated in the chronicles to have been buried in large mounded tombs, providing archaeologists (and the Imperial Household Agency) an opening to coordinate Kofun-period archaeological remains with the historical records. Earlier material remains, however, especially

stone tools and pottery, were simply assigned to known primitive peoples named in the chronicles and assumed contemporaneous with the imperial line. This equation of material culture with texts also occurred in European prehistory before archaeology was recognized to have an anonymous existence prior to and independent of the texts (Daniel 1962; Barnes 1990c).

Though the Age of the Gods chapters are undated, the chronicles of the individual sovereigns in the *Nihon Shoki* do have a chronology, given in the traditional Chinese sexegenary cycle. The first date recorded is the 51st year (*kinoye tora*) in the cycle, an auspicious year – indeed one revolutionary in nature. It was this year in which Ninigi's own grandson or grand-nephew is recorded to have set out on his legendary march through the Inland Sea from Kyūshū to Yamato and seven years later he is said to have 'assumed the Imperial Dignity in the Palace of Kashiha-bara' as Emperor Jinmu in Nara (Aston 1972.I: 132).[4] The accession date of Jinmu is a ficticious date thought to have been set by counting back either 21 cycles (1260 years) or 22 cycles (1320 years) from the auspicious *kinoye tora* years of AD 601 or 661 during the reigns of the sovereigns Suiko or Tenchi, when the first efforts were being made to create national histories on the Chinese model (Okada, Y. 1995: 175).[5] The ficticious dates of Jinmu's legendary march and accession thus can be equated to the Western calendar dates of 667 and 660 BC, respectively. Since this was approximately the time that early rice agriculture was being practiced in Kyūshū but the rest of the Japanese Islands were still experiencing a Jōmon way of life, the historical supposition that there were elite rulers in Japan from this time onwards is not supported by the archaeological record.

The traditional list of Japanese sovereigns begins with Jinmu and proceeds through 124 sovereigns until today, with the current Emperor Akihito being the 125th in the Japanese imperial line. Despite this appearance of continuity, we have already noted that historian MIZUNO Yū has identified three different kingly 'lineages' in the protohistoric period – not to mention any medieval hiatuses that might be identified. Piggott (1997) has further argued strongly that we should not perpetuate the ideology of Yamato dominance in periods when rulership was not well developed nor authority far-reaching. She suggests that we should eschew referring to the early rulers, before the adoption of the term *tennō*, as 'emperors' in favour of using the original identification *ōkimi*, which can be translated as 'great king'. I shall here use the word 'sovereign' to avoid further problems in gender identification. The full list of sovereigns, as presented in the Nelson character dictionary (Haig 1997: 1253–7), is said to be derived from three 1950's authoritative documents derived directly from the *Nihon Shoki* and later state histories and has not been subjected to scholarship on chronological revision; the early portion is represented as the traditional chronology in Table 1.3 together with a revised chronology as published in Kidder (1959).

There are many problems with this list in terms of traditional successions and dates, as with the whole of the *Nihon Shoki*. For starters, many dates inscribed in the *Nihon Shoki* for interaction with the continent are often incorrect by two sexegenary cycles (120 years), as discovered by the Tokugawa scholar MOTOORI Norinaga and rediscovered by Aston in an independent study (Aston 1887–89). The Meiji-period scholar NAKA Michiyo extended this observation to the entire reigns of Jingū (about whom we shall learn much more below) and her alleged son, the 15th sovereign Ōjin (Nakano 1995: 145). Moving the reigns forward 120 years would bring the beginning date for the Sujin line of kings up to AD 23 instead of 97 BC. On top of this adjustment, the historicity of Jingū's existence itself is much contested (Sakamoto *et al*. 1967: 606; Uemura 1977; Okada, A. 1995; Allen 2003); if her 68-year reign were removed altogether, then the Sujin line would begin in AD 91. Scholars are also suspicious of the historical validity of the 13th and 14th sovereigns, Seimu and Chūai (Ōmi 1992: 31). If these reigns totalling 69 years are also removed, then the Sujin line begins at AD 160. The adjusted chronology given in Table 1.3 lists the reign of Sujin himself, the first acknowledged historical ruler, at AD 219–249. This timing approximates Sujin's postulated death date by TANAKA Takashi in AD 258; in contrast, a death date of AD 370 has been proposed for Sujin on the basis of 10-year average reign lengths (Okamoto 1998: 24), of which we will see more later. Such is the negotiable nature of the chronology for the early Yamato rulers before dates which are confirmed by outside sources occur in the *Nihon Shoki*, beginning at AD 461 (Aston 1887–89: 78). The way the imperial chronology is interpreted has major ramifications for the attempted matching of the Chinese and Japanese versions of Japanese history, as discussed in the next section.

Reconciling the conflicting views

Much effort has been expended in trying to reconcile the conflicting views of the incipient Japanese state presented by the Chinese and Japanese chronicles. Two major strategies have been employed: textual analyses, where the contents of the documents themselves have been compared; and archaeological investigation, usually in conjunction with the documents. The textual approaches allow an understanding of how two very different views of Japan's protohistory might be treated not as right and wrong but as two sides of the same coin.

The following discussions involve aspects of Himiko's character and activities as attributed in the Chinese records:

> Remaining unmarried, [Himiko] occupied herself with magic and sorcery and bewitched the populace.
>
> (*Houhanshu*, Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 2, brackets added)

> She occupied herself with magic and sorcery, bewitching the people. Though mature in age, she remained unmarried. She had a younger brother who assisted her in ruling the country.
>
> (*Weizhi*, Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 13)

Several hypotheses have been put forward by historians who believe the person of Himiko is represented in the *Nihon Shoki* but in vastly different form from the way she is depicted in the Chinese chronicles (cf. Young 1958; Edwards 1996). The basis of comparison, however, is that some of the attributes of Himiko listed above are consistent with the selected figures in the *Nihon Shoki*, the first being her name itself. Himiko might be a convenient shortening of a common gender-rank name ending (-hime no Mikoto) of 'princesses' named in the *Nihon Shoki* (Senda 2000: 194).

One of the most recent proposals is that Himiko is identifiable with the goddess Amaterasu herself (Yasumoto 1995). This interpretation is constructed by the adoption of a 10-year average reign for every generation in the imperial line, including the godly ancestors of Jinmu, as given in the *Nihon Shoki*. By arranging all the reigns in such short segments and generating reign dates by computer, Amaterasu is assigned to the period of Himiko, at either AD 189.7–258.9 (within 95 per cent accuracy) or AD 176.7–271.9 (within 99 per cent accuracy). The 10-year reign duration is justified by the author on the grounds that this was the average reign for monarchs within the 300 years (ca. AD 457–794) from Yūryaku through Junnin. Needless to say, there is no justification for thinking that this reign duration was strictly adhered to in the era preceding the period of historically confirmable dates, and this computer project totally ignores all other efforts at redating the sexegenary cycles of the *Nihon Shoki* and the historicity of its figures as discussed earlier. It seems prudent to reject this spurious application of statistics to solving the intricate and complicated chronological relationships of data in the chronicles.

Influential scholars such as Tsuda and Mizuno (cf. Uemura 1977; Allen 2003) proposed that Himiko was fictiously written into the Japanese chronicles as the figure of Jingū,[6] the empress regent who allegedly reigned between the time of death of her husband, the 14th sovereign Chūai, and her son, the 15th sovereign Ōjin. Although Himiko's name does not occur anywhere in the *Nihon Shoki* or *Kojiki*,[7] Jingū's chronicle contains direct quotes from the Chinese sources that refer to the 'Queen' or 'Ruler' of Wa – meaning Himiko, but transferred to Jingū by association. In the traditional unadjusted chronology, she is said to have reigned precisely during the time Himiko was documented to live.[8] Whereas, in the adjusted chronology, this gap disappears:[9] Chūai's reign ended in the same year as Ōjin took the throne (AD 346); Jingū's reign was not only removed from Himiko's time period, it was reduced to nil.

Many scholars believe that at least Jingū and possibly Chūai and even his predecessor Seimu were hypothetical additions to the imperial line at the time of compilation.[10] Such additions would have fulfilled two purposes: to account for the Chinese records of Himiko in an oblique way, and to provide a natural link between what have been identified as two discrete 'lineages' in the early imperial line (Mizuno 1968; Kiley 1973). Since Chūai was the last sovereign of what has been identified as the Sujin line of kings, and Ōjin was the first of the Ōjin line of kings, the placement of Jingū between these two sovereigns as wife and mother gave a natural succession through what is thought to have been a shift in Yamato rulership. However, since Jingū is depicted primarily as a wife, mother and warrior but NOT a shamaness as was Himiko (though Jingū might have had mystic powers in common with other females at this time [Barnes 2006a]), and because the redating of the chronicles eliminates her entirely from the succession, Jingū is accepted by most Japanese historians to be an 8th-century fabrication and not a real reflection of Queen Himiko in the ruling structure of Yamato. If there is a 'kernel of truth' to the Jingū chronicle, Allen (2003) proposes that she was a late 4th century personage, which would fit the archaeological record in terms of increased interaction with the Korean Peninsula.

A different kind of hypothesis was proposed by the 18th-century scholar MOTOORI Norinaga (Edwards 1996: 60): that Himiko was a Kyūshū usurper presenting herself as Queen of Wa to the Chinese. This supports the Kyūshū hypothesis of Yamatai location, but it is based on the identification of Himiko with Empress Jingū in the Kinai, so that the Kyūshū usurper could pose as the Kinai ruler. If the figure documented by the Chinese was a usurper, then there still had to have been a real figure behind the claimant, and that real figure could not be Jingū if she was created merely to reflect the Chinese records nor her if she existed 150 years later.

A third hypothesis by NAITŌ Torajirō links Himiko with Yamato-hime no Mikoto, the daughter of the 11th sovereign Suinin (r. 249–280) and sister of the 12th sovereign Keikō (r. 280–316) (see Young 1958: 105–8; Edwards 1996: 56, ftn. 9). She was allegedly entrusted with serving the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu and making sacrifices to her. Aston notes from an early Shintō text that 'on the accession of an Emperor, an unmarried Princess of the Imperial House was selected for the service of the Shrine of Ise, or if there was no such unmarried Princess, then another Princess was fixed upon by divination and appointed worship-princess' (Aston 1972.I: 176, ftn. 4). However, since Shintō shrines are not thought to have come into existence until faced with the challenge of Buddhism in the 6th century (cf. Matsumae 1978), it is possible that this historical tradition of choosing a virgin princess as the imperial shrine maiden was anachronistic in Keikō's reign, interpolated there by the 8th-century compilers of the *Nihon Shoki*. If so, then the equation of Himiko with Yamato-hime no Mikoto on the basis

of their ritual roles would be spurious. Still, the shamanic function of unmarried elite females is referred to often in the *Nihon Shoki* accounts (Barnes 2006b), and it is likely that this tradition gave rise to the historic shrine maiden phenomenon. Thus, Yamato-hime no Mikoto could have functioned as a shamaness in the manner ascribed to Himiko in the Chinese chronicles even before the post of shrine maiden became formalized; but she still lacks other characteristics that might have strengthened the match: she was allegedly born the year after Himiko died and would not have become elderly until the early 4th century.

Another hypothesis, by KASAI Shin'ya, is that Himiko appears in the *Nihon Shoki* in the guise of an elderly aunt of the 10th sovereign Sujin (See Young 1958: 131–2; Edwards 1996: 56, ftn. 9), who is widely regarded to have been the first historical ruler of Yamato, and possibly conflatable with the legendary Jinmu (cf. Hoshino 1976) despite the listing of nine intervening sovereigns. The aunt of Sujin was a Princess named Yamato-totohi-momoso-hime; she is said to have 'married' the deity Oho-mono-nushi-no-kami and is recorded as being able to 'forsee the future' (Aston 1972.I: 156). These attributes of Princess Yamato-totohi-momoso-hime – elderly, unmarried (to a human being), and acting as a seer – accord well with Himiko's description. In this hypothesis, the 'younger brother' mentioned in the *Weizhi* passage is understood to have been her nephew, Sujin. For brevity's sake, we will hereafter refer to this seeress aunt as Princess Yamato.

The match between Himiko and Princess Yamato is supported by the convergence of their personal attributes and another factor they had in common: both are recorded to have been buried in great mounded tombs. The Chinese chronicles note that Himiko was interred in a mound one hundred paces in size, while the Japanese chronicles report that the Princess – upon discovering the true shape of her deity-husband as a small snake – killed herself with a chopstick and was buried in the mounded tomb called Hashi-no-haka ('Chopstick Tomb'). The number of women recorded in the *Nihon Shoki* to have been buried in mounded tombs is extremely small, with only three mentioned for the Sujin line of kings: two consorts and Princess Yamato herself. This suggests that the Princess had a higher rank than might have been expected for just a mere shamaness aunt of the male ruler.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the relationship between the seeress Princess and her nephew resonates with the Chinese description of Himiko and her 'younger brother' who is said to have 'assisted her in ruling the country'. However, it is not just this similarity that is important but the fact that male/female ruling pairs appear to have been common in early Japanese rulership patterns (cf. Piggott 1995, 1997: 39, 1999; Allen 2003), as was gender complementarity in the ruling structure of protohistoric Silla (Nelson, S. 1991, 2003). Piggott reports the research of TAKAMURE

Itsue, who identified a pattern of 'chieftaincy of dual-gender pairs' (*hime/hiko-sei*), often flagged by shared name components with the *(hi)me* signifying female gender and *hiko* the male gender (e.g. Kitsuhiko/Kitsuhime, Sarutahiko/Sarume). References to such ruling pairs occur not only in several early Japanese documents such as the *Nihon Shoki*, *Kojiki*, *Harima Fudoki* and *Kogo Shūi* but also in the pre-modern ritual structure of the Okinawan kingdom of Shuri in the Ryūkyū Islands (Libra 1966; Piggott 1997: 39).

The fact that Himiko is acknowledged by the Chinese not to have ruled alone, together with the possibility that she might have formed half of a standard 'ruling pair', provides the opportunity for differential perception of the more important member of that pair in Chinese or Japanese eyes. Even prewar scholars apparently surmised that 'Chinese observers being unused to such a system mistook her for the paramount, relegating the male . . . to a subordinate role' (Edwards 1996: 56, ftn. 9). On the other hand, it should be noted that the compilers of the *Nihon Shoki* in the 8th century were working in a newly instituted Confucian-influenced system that placed great emphasis on the paternal lineage. Rather than the Chinese being mistaken in their perceptions, perhaps it was the *Nihon Shoki* compilers who obfuscated the protohistorical situation by elevating 'brother' Sujin as head of state and relegating his co-ruling seeress 'aunt' to a peripheral position. In such a way may the extraordinary divergence in Chinese and Japanese perceptions of rulership in the early 3rd century perhaps be explained, though not proven.

Notwithstanding the ursurper hypothesis, which Edwards laments that we will never be able to disprove (1996: 60, 1999: 106), accepting any of the above-postulated links between Himiko and figures in the *Nihon Shoki* provides automatic support for the Kinai hypothesis since they are all associated with Sujin's lineage based in the Nara Basin. And it does not really matter which hypothesis is more convincing since they are all based on the phenomenon of 'ruling pairs' as evidenced in both the *Weizhi* and the *Nihon Shoki*. Thus, the documentary evidence is heavily in favour of the Kinai hypothesis of Yamatai location; do aspects of the chronicles that refer to material culture also support this interpretation?

Himiko and protohistoric archaeology

We can look at this problem in three dimensions, guided by the texts themselves. The *Weizhi* states that Himiko lived in a palisaded settlement, was buried in a large mound, and was given many bronze mirrors by the Chinese court. This section will assess the arguments put forward for links between these three aspects of material culture and 3rd-century archaeology.

Himiko and the Hashihaka Tomb

The most important archaeological aspect that can be compared to the Chinese documents is the mounded tomb record. All three critical figures in the hypothesis relating Himiko to Princess Yamato, the seeress aunt of Sujin's reign, are stated to have been buried in large mounds:

> When Himiko passed away, a great mound was raised, more than a hundred paces in diameter.
>
> (*Weizhi*, Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 16)

> [Sujin] was buried in the Misasagi above the road at Yamanobe.
>
> (*Nihon Shoki*, Aston 1972.I: 164)

> [Princess Yamato-totohi-momose-hime, who is said to have killed herself with a chopstick], was buried at Oho-chi. Therefore the men of that time called her tomb the Hashi no haka.
>
> (*Nihon Shoki*, Aston 1972.I: 159)

Actual keyhole-shaped mounded tombs identified as the Sujin Mausoleum and Hashihaka[11] exist within the Miwa area of the southeastern Nara Basin. These have been traditionally dated to the early 4th century and both are maintained by the Imperial Household Agency (IHA) as tombs in which members of the imperial family were buried. However, it is not certain that either of the tombs is exactly the ones referred to in the chronicles. The tombs maintained today by the IHA as imperial tombs were chosen for preservation in the early Meiji period. The identification of a particular tomb with a particular sovereign was based on documentary references and local legends but no maps (Edwards 2000), and as Tsude has remarked, 'few of the so-called "imperial mausolea" can be securely linked with actual historical emperors' (1992: 70). As can be seen in the quotations above, the tombs named in the *Nihon Shoki* as imperial burials are identified as to general geographical location, but they are not linked specifically to any particular tomb on the ground. It is generally understood that the Meiji Imperial Household agents toured those geographical locations mentioned in the *Nihon Shoki* and selected the largest or most magnificent tomb in the area as the most likely one being referred to by the chroniclers. Thus, it is entirely possible that the tomb maintained as the Sujin Mausoleum is not actually the burial place of Sujin himself, nor the tomb called Hashihaka the resting place of Princess Yamato. This basic potential for disjuncture between the documentary and archaeological records must be remembered in subsequent analyses.

Since the Princess Yamato of the *Nihon Shoki* is potentially identifiable with the figure of Himiko in the *Weizhi* as argued above, and the Princess is recorded to have been buried in the Hashi-no-haka mound, which may be equated with the existing Hashihaka Tomb, then the logic can be extended that Hashihaka might be the burial place of Queen Himiko.

In fact, it is widely accepted by Japanese archaeologists that this is the case, but there are three problems of tomb size, shape and date in correlating the documentary Hashi-no-haka with the archaeological Hashihaka.

The *Weizhi* did not specify the shape of Himiko's tomb, although it was said to have been 'more than a hundred paces in diameter' (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 16). The use of the word 'diameter' in translating the character 徑 (C. *jing*, J. *kei*) suggests it was a round tomb, but this is not definitive. The common meanings of this character given in both Japanese and Chinese dictionaries are 'path, by-way, short-cut' (Matthews 1966; Nelson, A. 1966; Shinmura 1969; Morohashi 1989), with the concepts of 'transect' (*sashiwatashi* = the direct distance, the distance across; or *tate* = lengthwise, vertical) and 'measure' (*hakaru*) elemental to its meaning. Only in its secondary usage does the character mean 'diameter', so that it is possible that in the *Weizhi*, the measurement applied to tomb length, as on a keyhole-shaped tomb. Given the ambiguity of the meaning of the character, a translation of 'more than a hundred paces *across*' might be most appropriate to describe Himiko's tomb, allowing one to walk across a keyhole tomb from top to bottom to assess its length.

As for size, Edwards (1996: 56–7, ftn. 10) notes that the character for 'pace' was a Wei unit of linear measurement equalling ca. 1.45 m. This would make Himiko's tomb ca. 145 m in diameter if it were a round mound. Even the largest *independent* round mounds in Japan are rarely more than 45 m in diameter, so Himiko's tomb would have been far larger than any surviving today. On the other hand, the rear round mounds of *keyhole* tombs, including Hashihaka, often reach 150 m in diameter,[12] so it is possible that the measurement only applied to the rear round mound of a keyhole tomb (Figure 4.1).

Conversely, if the 145 m measurement applied to the *length* of a keyhole tomb, then the documentary Hashi-no-haka would fall into the *medium*-size category of archaeologically known keyhole tombs in Nara (average length = 101 m). However, if the 145 m measurement applied to the *diameter* of the rear round mound of a keyhole tomb, then it would fall into the large-size category (average length = 226 m) (cf. G. Barnes 1988: 187–8, figs. 58). By comparison, the extant Hashihaka Tomb, at 280 m in length with a rear round mound of 163 m in diameter, is one of the largest tombs in Nara. If Hashi-no-haka = Hashihaka, then perhaps the latter interpretation of the measurement as one of a rear round mound on a keyhole tomb is preferable. But one can never dismiss the possibility that, as Edwards and K. Terasawa (2004: 305) also note, the measurement of '100 paces' was just an approximation or merely an expression of 'great size'.

A third problem is the dating of the tombs. The adjusted chrnology for Sujin's reign (AD 219–249) in documentary sources suggests an early-to-mid-3rd century date for Hashi-no-haka, as the burial place Princess Yamato. However, we cannot discount the possibility that the scholars who

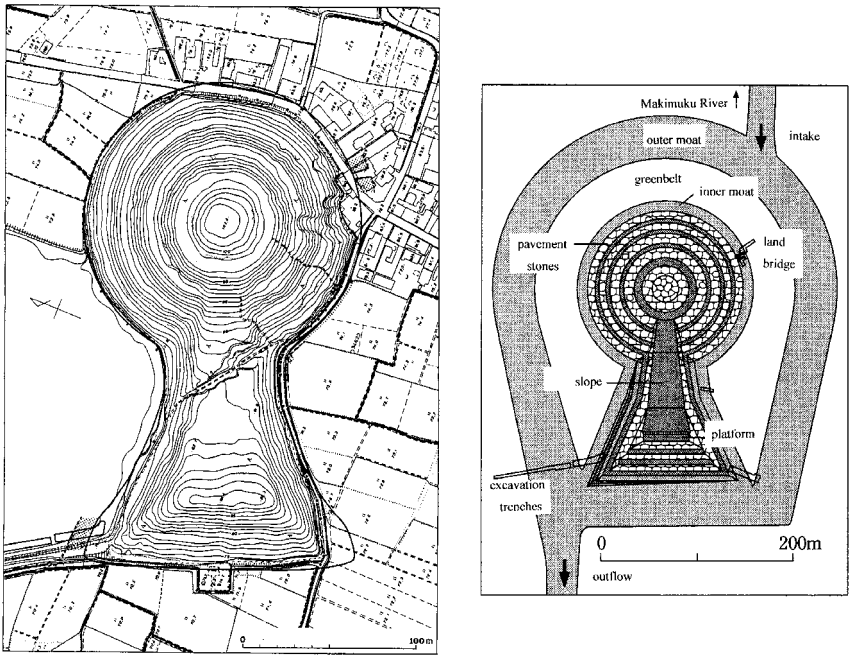

Figure 4.1 The Hashihaka Tomb in Makimuku, Sakurai City, Nara Prefecture (left after Shiraishi 2002: fig. 17; right after Terasawa 2000: 304). The solid line around the tomb on the left indicates a more flared front mound than survives; the reconstruction on the right draws on IHA excavations of the moated areas to provide a much more elaborate layout than seen today

proposed the adjusted reign dates positioned Sujin's reign there to match the Chinese chronicles' records of Himiko and her burial mound. Archaeologists have traditionally dated both Hashihaka and the Sujin Mausoleum to the early 4th century (Ōtsuka 1966). In the redatings published in the keyhole tomb atlas (Kondō 1992–2000), the Sujin Mausoleum is assigned to the early 4th century (EK-2), but Hashihaka is considered earlier. A date of the late 3rd century (EK-1) has been proposed for Hashihaka on the basis of recently recovered ceramic fragments of ritual jar stands found on its surface (Kawakami 1995: 88, 91), while Terasawa (2000: 305) extends the possible construction date to the end of the 3rd century and associates it with a king after Himiko. The compromise seems to be a date of 280.

Conflict in *traditional* datings between Hashi-no-haka (as known from Sujin's reign dates of AD 219–249) and Hashihaka (in the early 4th century), had been a great obstacle to the wholesale adoption of the Kinai hypothesis of Yamatai location. With the re-dating of the beginning of the Kofun

period to match Himiko's death date, the half-century gap that separated Himiko from the Mounded Tomb Culture has been closed. But there still remains the disjunction of up to 30 years between Himiko's ostensible death date and the building of Hashihaka. And, there is still a half-century gap between the Sujin Mausoleum and the traditional Sujin reign dates.

Despite these problems, there are several considerations here in defence of the Hashihaka = Himiko equation. First is that the date of Himiko's demise is not known for sure but only estimated at 248, 'soon after' her last embassy was sent to Wei in 240. Second, we do not know if her tomb was raised immediately upon her death or took several years or decades to accomplish. Third, the Wei Dynasty did not end until 265, and their dynastic chronicles were not completed until 297, giving time for the news to filter through that Himiko had been buried in a large mounded tomb. Unfortunately, it is unlikely these dating problems will be solved anytime soon because Hashihaka is an imperial tomb and cannot be excavated; without knowing the internal structure and contents of the burial chamber, comparative datings cannot be made.

Thus, the archaeological evidence does still not coincide exactly with the documentary evidence, with perhaps 30 years or more separating Himiko's death and the current dating of Hashihaka, and a half-century separating the tombs of the seeress aunt and her nephew Sujin. These disparities, however, have not led to a rejection of the Kinai hypothesis, since the first hiatus can be explained away, if one was forced to do, by the time it took to build the mound and the second by the time Sujin survived his elderly aunt. However, if the Hashihaka Tomb or the Sujin Mausoleum are not the true burial places of the figures they are associated with – due to the vagaries of the selection process for imperial tombs by the early Meiji administrators – or if the relations between Princess Yamato-totohi-momose-hime and Sujin as stated in the *Nihon Shoki* are ficticious, then the most powerful assumptions supporting the Kinai hypothesis are undermined.

Himiko's capital

Two references to Himiko's residence occur in the Chinese documents:

> She resided in a palace surrounded by towers and stockade, with the protection of armed guards.
>
> (*Houhanshu*, Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 3)

> She resided in a palace surrounded by towers and stockades, with armed guards in a state of constant vigilance.
>
> (*Weizhi*, Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 13)

The excavation of the Yoshinogari site in North Kyūshū between 1986 and 1989 excited much speculation that it was the palace of Himiko as recorded

in the Chinese documents (Nakamura 1989). It had a similar structure as recorded in the documents, with a surrounding ditch and ramparts and a watchtower in its interior (Figure 4.2). Moreover, the site contained an inner moat that partitioned off a section that has been interpreted as an elite residential precinct, thus encouraging the idea that Yoshinogari housed a 'palace'.

The biggest obstacle to accepting this interpretation of Yoshinogari is that its location in Saga prefecture is within northern Kyūshū, adjacent to the country of Na in Fukuoka prefecture – which received the gold seal in AD 57 and is stated in the *Weizhi* to have been approximately 30 days travel by water and one month by land from Yamatai (see Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 9). The Yoshinogari site is thus interpreted by archaeologists, if not the Japanese media, as the site of a local chieftain in one of the small polities (*guo*) alluded to in the *Weizhi*. The value of the Yoshinogari excavation is NOT that it is Himiko's palace but that it illustrated for the first time archaeological correlates for the Chinese description of an elite settlement. We shall return to the problem of Himiko's capital in Chapter 8 in a Nara Basin context.

Himiko's mirrors

A final complication arises with consideration of the *Weizhi* documentation that Himiko was given one hundred bronze mirrors. Bronze mirrors have been an important artefact for arguing both the beginning of the Kofun period and the location of Yamatai. Again, the pivotal bit of information is contained in the Chinese chronicles. The *Weizhi* reports that Queen Himiko sent her ambassadors to Daifang on the Korean Peninsula in AD 238 to pay tribute to the Wei Court (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 14). It is significant that the Wei Dynasty had only just regained control of Daifang, so the gesture was a politically ambitious one for Himiko to get into the good graces of the new Chinese court. Himiko was granted the title 'Queen of Wa Friendly to Wei', and her ambassadors were sent home with the following gifts:

> five pieces of crimson brocade with dragon designs; ten pieces of crimson tapestry with dappled pattern; fifty lengths of bluish-red fabric; and fifty lengths of dark blue fabric. . . . three pieces of blue brocade with interwoven characters, five pieces of tapestry with delicate floral designs, fifty lengths of white silk, eight taels of gold, two swords five feet long, ONE HUNDRED BRONZE MIRRORS, and fifty catties each of jade and of red beads.
>
> (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 14–15, emphasis added)

Moreover, two years later in AD 240, a Daifang commandant was sent to Yamatai to deliver an Imperial rescript and ribbon seal, plus 'gifts of gold

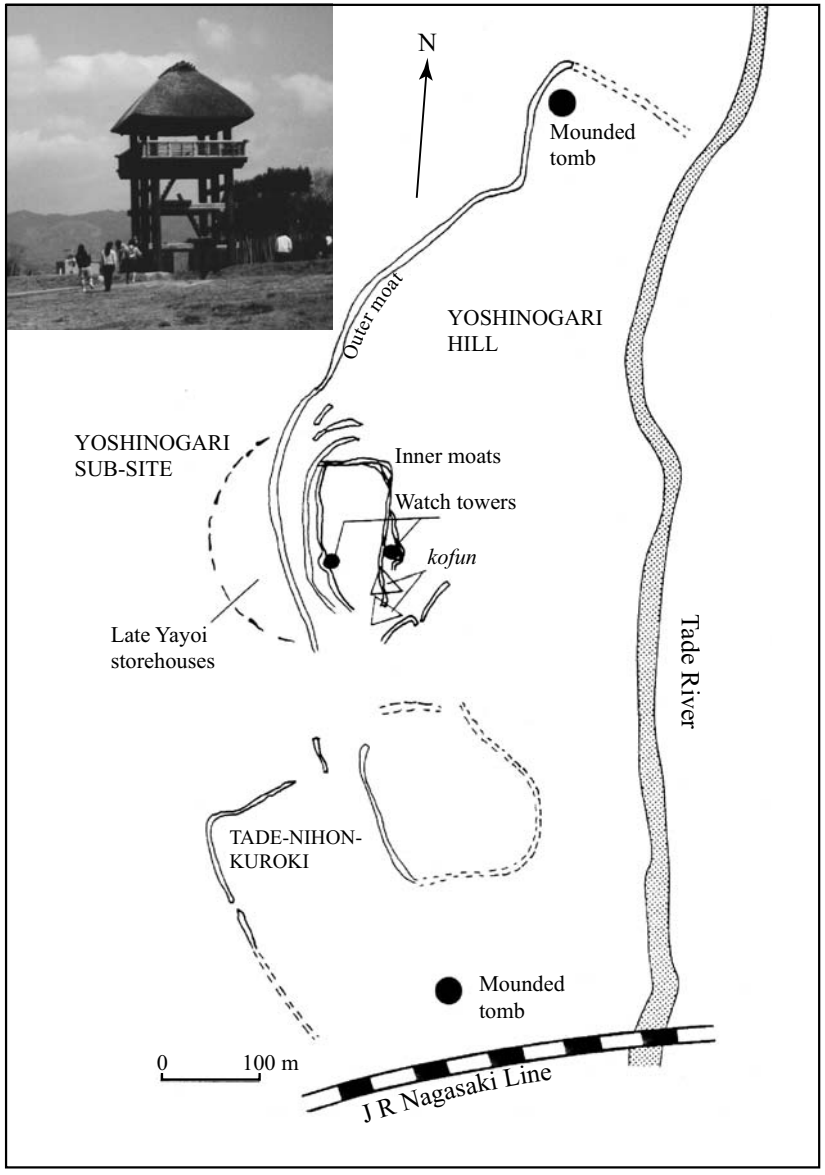

Figure 4.2 The Yoshinogari site layout[13] (after Hudson and Barnes 1990) with photo of one of the reconstructed watchtowers (courtesy of Harold Nelson)

brocade, tapestry, swords, MIRRORS, and other things' (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 15, emphasis added); it is not known if he ever arrived.

Of all these luxury items, the gift of bronze mirrors has attracted archaeologists' attention the most – not just because the fabrics were biodegradable and hard to recover but because mirrors are a common grave good in *both* mid- to late-Yayoi burials of Kyūshū and in Early Kofun-period tombs. Interestingly not much has been made of the gift of 50 catties each of jade and red beads, which also should have survived in the archaeological record.

One of the great unanswered questions of protohistoric archaeology in Japan is *what kind* of mirrors did Himiko receive from the Wei Court? Han-dynasty mirrors are found both in Yayoi burials of Kyūshū and in Early Kofun mounded tombs, but Wei-dynasty mirrors are usually found only in Early Kofun mounded tombs, centring on the Kinai. One type of Wei mirror is used in arguments about the location of Yamatai, particularly the type called a 'triangular-rimmed' mirror with deity-beast design (*sankakubuchi shinjūkyō*) (hereinafter referred to as a TR-mirror, Figure 4.3). It has been reasoned that if Himiko received Han mirrors, then it was more likely her country was located in Kyūshū because Late Yayoi burials containing Han-dynasty mirrors are quite numerous there (Mori 1964); however, if she received Wei mirrors, then this would support the Kinai hypothesis of Yamatai location because TR-mirrors are most prolific in the Kinai region (Kobayashi 1961).[14]

The argument linking Himiko with TR-mirrors contains a logical fallacy: Himiko received Wei mirrors, and TR-mirrors are Wei products, therefore TR-mirrors were the kind given to Himiko. In fact, we have no way of knowing what kind of mirrors were given to Himiko, since a number of different types of Wei mirrors are found in Japan. Moreover, far more than 100 TR-mirrors have been excavated in Japan: more than 500 of them are perceived of as 'authentic' TR-mirrors derived from the continent (Edwards 1999: 82–83, ftn. 22). This numerical mismatch has not stopped archaeologists from hypothesizing about the linkage between Himiko and TR-mirrors, and indeed they must have been important as they are the most prominent component of Early Kofun grave goods assemblages. These are topics which will be revisited in Chapters 6 to 8, with one caveat. Shiraishi laments (1998: 4) that even if the issue of mirror sourcing is eventually solved, we can never know whether the mirrors themselves were further passed on after Himiko received them; if they had, any attempt to identify Himiko's grave by the presence of mirrors would be rendered futile. However, we will not be trying to identify Himiko's grave nor the location of Yamatai but trying to understand the prestige-good system of the Early Kofun period, for which information on production and distribution are crucial.

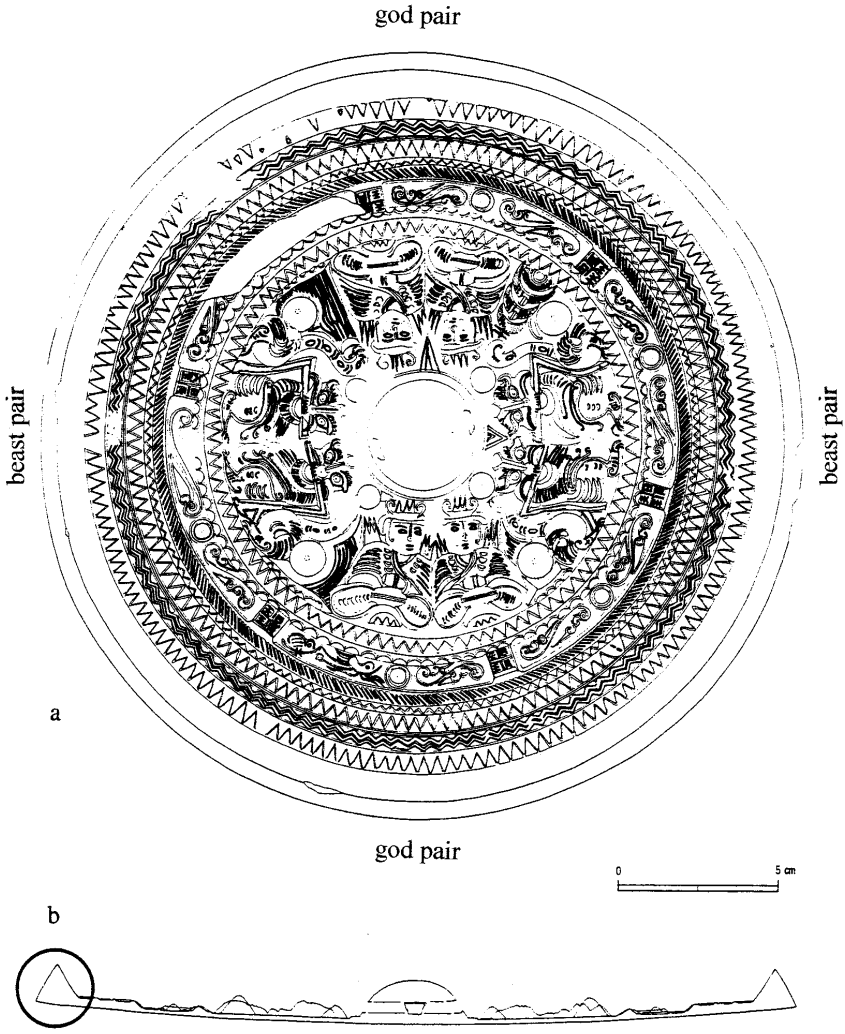

Figure 4.3 Wei-dynasty triangular-rimmed deity-beast mirror, showing the raised decoration on the back (a), and the triangular cross-section of the rim (*sankakubuchi*) (b) (after Edwards 1999: fig. 2). Around the central knob can be seen two pairs each of gods (*shin*), consisting of the Queen Mother of the West and her male consort, and beasts (*jū*)

Working assumptions

The current tentative identification of Yamatai (as known from the Chinese court records) with Yamato (as known through the Japanese court chronicles) is thus seen to be a working assumption supported by considerable

documentary, some linguistic and a modicum of archaeological evidence. The documentary evidence is strong in two dimensions: the plausible identification of Queen Himiko with Princess Yamato, and the likely burial evidence if the Hashi-no-haka = Hashihaka tomb identification is accepted. The linguistic evidence provides no strong reasons to reject the equation of Yamatai = Yamato. The archaeological evidence is weakest of all, since there is no overwhelming reason to believe that Himiko received TR-mirrors rather than some other kind of Wei-dynasty mirrors or even Han-dynasty mirrors.

I have always maintained that Himiko and Yamatai comprise a historical problem that cannot be solved by archaeological means unless we suddenly obtain new inscriptional evidence. Taking into consideration the current documentary evidence, however, there is a reasonable case for accepting as an *assumption* the equation of Yamatai with Yamato, especially now that the temporal hiatus between mention of Himiko's tomb and the beginning of mounded-tomb construction in Nara is being closed with new dating evidence. The nature of mounded burial and its evolution from Late Yayoi chieftain burial to standardized keyhole-tomb construction modeled on Hashihaka is the subject of the Chapter 5. We will see there that new archaeological discoveries have provided an elite history for the Nara Basin that serves as the foundation for understanding the Chinese records regarding Himiko. This, more than any formal argument for the Kinai hypothesis, has shifted the focus of Japanese state formation enquiry firmly to the Nara Basin.

Chapter Five

Hashihaka and Mounded Burials (3rd Century)

Introduction

We saw in Chapter 4 how references to alleged 3rd-century ruling figures in both the Chinese documents (Queen Himiko) and the Japanese chronicles (Emperor Sujin) can be tied to the archaeological record in Japan. The Hashihaka Tomb in the southeastern Nara Basin serves both as a tie to the documentary evidence for rulers of a 3rd-century polity and as one of the type sites for defining one aspect of the Mounded Tomb Culture (*kofun bunka*) that characterizes the period of state formation.

In theoretical terms, the Mounded Tomb Culture (MTC) provides archaeological evidence for the social stratification of early Japanese society. Amongst the variously shaped mounds, the keyhole-shaped tomb is assumed to be associated with the ruling class due to the vast resources demanded by its monumental size and rich grave goods. The spread of the MTC, however, did not signify the emergence of local rulers – this had already happened in Late Yayoi as attested by mound-burial construction following regional styles. Rather, it embodied the creation of a new, supra-regional elite grouping, tying such local rulers together in a socio-cultural network of peer polities. How this came about both in substantive and generalized terms is the subject of this chapter.

In post-war archaeology, when the beginnings of the Kofun period were initially being theorized, mounded tombs were understood to have appeared suddenly in the archaeological record at the beginning of the 4th century. This understanding has changed dramatically in the last quarter-century, first with the discovery of smaller mounds built during the preceding Yayoi period (cf. Kondō 1986; Anon. 2003), and then with the redating of some Kofun-period mounded tombs themselves to the 3rd century. The sections below review the nature of Yayoi-period mound-building, as we now understand it, finishing with the construction of Hashihaka. Considerable attention is given to mound terminology in order to reflect the

way certain types of mounds are interpreted in Japanese archaeology as representing different levels of society or different regional or temporal traditions. But the import of the Yayoi-Kofun transition is that there was a qualitative jump in the nature of mound-building which needs explanation; different theories as to why and how Hashihaka was built are entertained as examples of the imposition of human agency on a socio-cultural process of increasing socio-political complexity.

From mound-burials to mounded tombs

Yayoi-period mound-burials

One of the earliest known mounded burials in Japan was built in North Kyūshū in the 1st century BC. This is the large oval north mound at the Yoshinogari site in Saga prefecture, excavated between 1986 and 1989 (cf. Hudson and Barnes 1990); it measured 30 m × 40 m and was originally 4–5 m high. Built with a version of the Chinese tamped-earth technique, the mound structure suggests communication with or knowledge of the Han commandery at Lelang on the Korean Peninsula, where the Chinese had constructed an earthen-walled fortress and earth-mounded tombs. The Yoshinogari mound housed eight double-jar burials dating to Middle Yayoi. The central burial is the oldest and largest; its double jars painted black inside and out, contained human teeth and a bronze dagger. Seven other burials radiated out from this central burial. Though these were smaller, one contained richer grave goods: a rare style of bronze dagger and 79 cylindrical glass beads. The bronze dagger, of peninsular type, was likely to have been imported into rather than made in Kyūshū, indicating links with the Bronze Age peoples on the Korean Peninsula.

Similar to the speculative claims of the media that the Yoshinogari settlement was Himiko's capital (see Chapter 4), the jar burial yielding the glass beads has also been interpreted as Himiko's grave by implication. In 1990, the eminent Yayoi-period archaeologists SAHARA Makoto and KANASEKI Hiroshi advised on a reconstruction of Himiko's costume for the pop singer YUKI Saori, using a headdress copying those glass beads; and the artist EINAGA Daijirō painted an imaginary portrait entitled 'A Vision of Himiko' (Museum of Yayoi Culture 1991: pls. 17, 19-3) showing the headdress. These public presentations implicitly support the Kyūshū theory of Yamatai location despite the fact that the jar burials predate Himiko by three centuries or so. Most archaeologists interpret the above jar burial, belonging to a male in his thirties, as that of a chief – not of Yamatai but of an unknown polity (*guo*) dating to early Middle Yayoi, agreeing with K. Terasawa's (2004) allocation of this burial to the rank of Greater Chief but not of 'king'.

In Chapter 3, we looked at kingly burials in Kyūshū only but noted that similar high-status burials appeared throughout western Japan in Late

Yayoi. Tsude has argued that a mature system of wet-rice agriculture was established by then, allowing 'the ruling class to exploit social surplus as tribute' paid to themselves (1989, 2001: 55). It is interesting that he specifies 'social' rather than 'agricultural' surplus, implying that the local polity leaders commandeered labour and craftgoods rather than, or perhaps more importantly than, staples. Nevertheless, it is assumed that local chieftains could mobilize adequate food and labour to build mounded burials for their predecessors.

A tabulation using K. Terasawa's database (2004) indicates the Late Yayoi existence of 19 burials of 'kings' of whom 14 ruled regional *guo*, four were kings of federations of regional *guo*, and one may have been either (Table 5.1). These burials are spread from North Kyūshū through the Seto and San'in regions to the Kinki region (Figure 5.1), and most occur in what are designated in the literature as a *funkyūbo* (lit. 'mound-grave'), which I have specifically translated as 'mound-burial' (see Kondō 1986). The different regional forms of mound-burial built by Late Yayoi chieftains may be given as one example of the 'balkanization' of material culture in this period. In this particular case, we may hypothesize that balkanization functioned to strengthen regional identity in contrast to neighbouring polities. This emphasis on regional identity or local cultural affiliation may have been accompanied by a sense of responsibility by the chieftain primarily to his/her local followers and relatives. This situation altered dramatically with processes that created a supra-regional elite grouping in which the primary obligations of a chieftain to his/her own people were redirected to affiliation with other, geographically distant elites – what I hypothesize happened with the spread of the Mounded Tomb Culture.

Early mound-burials in Kyūshū generally contained multiple graves, as at Yoshinogari, but in late Yayoi, mound-burials began to be built for single individuals. The narrowing of the occupant list suggests preferential burial for powerful individuals rather than powerful families or lineages. This same trend is seen in another type of Yayoi burial, the *hōkei shūkōbo* ('square moated burial'), for which I have created the English term 'moated precincts' (cf. G. Barnes 1988: 95–106). These were constructed throughout the Yayoi period, rarely contain grave goods, and occur in clusters near settlement sites. An unmoated form of the burial precinct has also been identified and is termed a 'platform burial' (*daijōbō*). A complementary topographical distribution has been noted between moated precincts and platform burials (Ueda 2002: 17), with the latter usually located on higher ground where water drainage is not needed. These two burial type, particularly common in the Kinki and Tōkai/Kantō regions, and are thought to be family plots. However, under the influence of Late Yayoi mound-burials, some moated precincts have also been converted into burials for prominent individuals (Akatsuka 2002: 29).There is a vast difference in size between moated precincts and mound-burials: the former usually measure 10 m to

Table 5.1 Kingly burials in the Yayoi period (compiled from K. Terasawa 2004)

STATUS/Site	*Date (ceramic)*	*Region/City*
King of federation of GUO		
Mikumo Minami-koji #1*	KIIIb (MY)	N.Kyūshū, Maebaru city
Mikumo Minami-koji #2*	KIIIc (MY)	N.Kyūshū, Maebaru city
Sugu-Okamoto D*	KIIIb (MY)	N.Kyūshū, Kasuga city
Hirabaru #1 mound*	**LY6 (TY)**	**N.Kyūshū, Maebaru city**
King of federation or GUO		
Tatesuki mound-burial*	**VI-2 (TY)**	**Seto, Kurashiki city**
King of GUO		
Yoshitake-Takagi #117 jar*	KIc (EY)	N.Kyūshū, Fukuoka city
Yoshitake-Takagi #3 coffin*	KIc (EY)	N.Kyūshū, Fukuoka city
Yoshitake-Hiwatari #62 jar*	KIIIc (MY)	N.Kyūshū, Fukuoka city
Tateiwa #10 jar	KIIIc (MY)	N.Kyūshū, Iizuka city
Tateiwa #28 jar	KIIIc (MY)	N.Kyūshū, Iizuka city
Tateiwa #34 jar	KIIIc (MY)	N.Kyūshū, Iizuka city
Tateiwa #35 jar	KIIIc (MY)	N.Kyūshū, Iizuka city
Sakurababa jar burial	KIVa (LY)	N.Kyūshū, Karatsu city
Shimogaya-no-ki Loc. F	LY1 (LY)	N.Kyūshū, Tsushima city
Hirabaru #5 mound*[a]	2 1/2 LY (LY)	N.Kyūshū, Fukuoka city
Zuiryūji burial #2*	YV-1 (LY)	Kinki, Gifu city
Nishitani #3 mound, coffin #1*	**YVI-2 (TY)**	**San'in, Izumo city**
Nishitani #3 mound, coffin #4*	**YVI-2 (TY)**	**San'in, Izumo city**
Ōfurō-minami mound #1*	YVI-2/Shōnai 1(TY)	**Kinki, Kyōto Iwataki-cho**
Hokenoyama	**Shōnai 3 (TY)**	**Kinki, Sakurai city**

Datings: EY = Early Yayoi, MY = Middle Yayoi, LY = Late Yayoi, TY = Terminal Yayoi
Mound-burials are starred*, Terminal Yayoi mound-burials are **emboldened**
[a] Classified as a 'mound'burial' by K. Terasawa (2004) but as a 'moated-precinct' by Kusumi (2004)

a side, while the latter are often 40 m to a side. The investment of labour, restriction of occupancy and spatial isolation of the larger mound-burials indicate increasing socio-political hierarchization in Late Yayoi society.

Chiefly mound-burial construction outside North Kyūshū, according to the current database (K. Terasawa 2004: 372–83), began at the end of Middle Yayoi (e.g. phase Y-IV at the Kami site, Ōsaka prefecture). As indicated earlier, Late Yayoi mound-burials took no single form but evince a wide variety of shape and size throughout western Japan (cf. Yamauchi 1992).

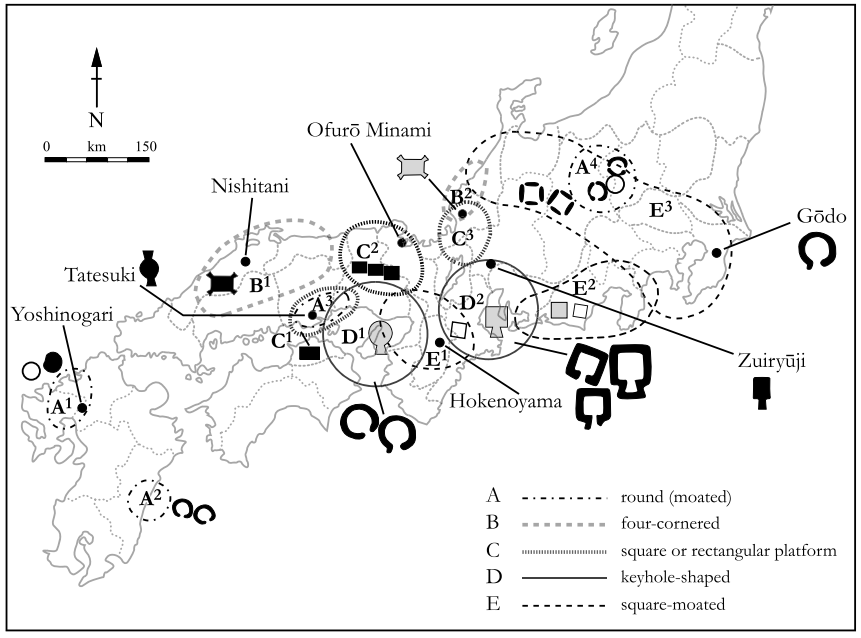

Figure 5.1 Regional variations in Yayoi mound-burial shapes (after Akatsuka 2002: 30)

In particular, square mounds with projections at all four-corners are characteristic of the northern coastal regions. Kondō (1986) proposed that one feature possessed by all Late Yayoi mound-burials was some kind of projection from the main mound. Any shape of mound-burial may have been surrounded partly or wholly by moats, indicated by affixing the term *shūkō* ('moated').

In size, late Yayoi mound-burials generally range up to 40 m in diameter. One, at Tatesuki, had a round mound of 43 m dm and two projections. The reconstructed length of this unusually shaped mound is calculated at about 80 m, but interpretation of the projection shapes is controversial, as we will see later. The Tatesuki mound uniquely contained a wooden chamber burial, bringing to mind typical Chinese nested wood-chamber coffins; burial facilities in other mound-burials were variously constructed as plank coffins, split-log coffins, stone cist coffins and even stone chambers built in a pit (Kondō 1986). Grave goods were meagre but precious: a few beads, a bronze bracelet, an iron or bronze weapon and rarely, an imported Chinese bronze mirror or two. Clearly, the range and volume of grave goods were not as vast as in North Kyūshū, but the deposition of any goods at all represented a sharp change in the philosophy of burial ritual in regions where precious goods such as bronze bells had previously been

deposited in caches (interpreted as community property) but not with individuals. This change in grave goods deposition occurred between late Late Yayoi and Terminal Yayoi when Chinese iron plain-ring-pommelled swords and iron socketed spearheads together with peninsular double-edged iron swords began to be imported; it represents the breakdown of the bronze weaponry and bronze bell spheres of social interaction of prior Yayoi phases (Teramae 2001: 24).

The evolution of mound shape is important in accounting for the emergence of the keyhole-shaped mound as the ultimate elite identifier in the Kofun period. First, Shiraishi postulated that the mound-burial tradition grew out of the moated precinct tradition, with the projections serving as a formalization of land-bridge access from outside the moat into the burial precinct (1998: 13). Then, limitation to one land-bridge began the keyhole shape, where the access projection from the main mound was flared to act as a locus for grave-side ritual. Finally, the whole was surrounded by a moat, doing away with the land-bridge. The keyhole with a square rear mound appears before the keyhole with a round rear mound (Ueda 2002: 26) (Figure 5.2c,d), and these shapes characterize certain regions: square in the Ise Bay and round in the Ōsaka Bay regions (Figure 5.1). Based on statements in the *Weizhi*, Akatsuka (2002) interprets these mound forms as representing competing polities: round keyholes for Himiko and Yamatai, and square keyholes for her rival, the country of Kunu mentioned in the *Weizhi* – notwithstanding that Ise Bay is located to the east of Yamato (cf. Figure 6.1b) rather than south as suggested in that document as follows:

> To the south [of the Queen's country] is the country of Kunu, where a King rules. Its official is called *kukochi-hiko*. This country is not subject to the Queen.
>
> (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 10, their brackets; italics added)

In the mid-20th century the origin of keyhole tombs was a highly debated topic, especially whether the form was imported from the continent or not. There are evident Chinese influences in keyhole tomb structure and outfitting, as reviewed by Tsude, but it is now accepted that the keyhole shape itself was an indigenous Yayoi tradition leading into monumental keyhole tomb construction (Tsude 1992). With the solution to this problem of origins, however, come two more problems: (1) how does one account for the monumentalizing of the tradition from keyhole-shaped mound-burials to keyhole tombs; and (2) how does one distinguish between keyhole-shaped predecessors, monumental keyhole tombs, and keyhole tomb imitators. The transition will be examined later in conjunction with dating the beginning of the Kofun period, but let us first solve the terminological problems.

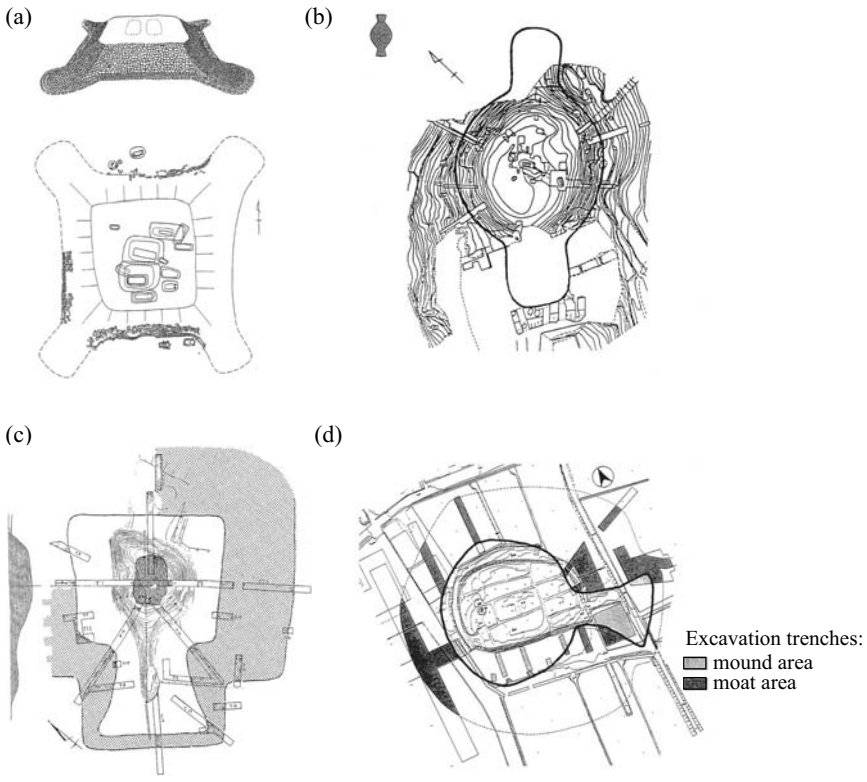

Figure 5.2 Well-known mound-burials (not to scale)

(a) Square mounds with four corner projections, Shimane (Izumo)

Upper: reconstruction of Nishitani No. 3 mound (40 m × 50 m) with double burial (after Wada 1998: fig. 12)

Lower: plan of Chūsenji No. 10 (20 m × 20 m) mound with multiple burials (after Shiraishi 2004: 50)

(b) Round mound with double projections: Tatesuki, Okayama (Kibi); reconstructed length ca. 80 m. Note that the shape of the projections is not known for sure (after Tsude 1998b: fig. 10); inset by Terasawa (2000: 259) gives them a flared shape to account for his thesis that the keyhole shape is derived from Tatesuki.

(c) Square keyhole mound: Shingō Kamezuka, Shiga; 35.5 m long with moat, in plan and profile (after Ueda 2002: fig. 1)

(d) Round keyhole mound: Ishizuka, Nara (Yamato); ca. 100 m long with moat (after Kondō 1992–2000, Kinki-hen: 495); legend for (d) only

Mounded burial terminology

Discussions of mounded burials in Japanese entail highly nuanced terminology leading to major translation problems in English. The term 'keyhole tomb' has developed in English from Kidder's original translation of *zenpō-kōen-fun* (lit. 'front-square rear-round mound') as 'keyhole-shaped

tomb', based on the plan of the tomb viewed from above reminiscent of old-fashioned keyhole shapes (Kidder 1959: 149, 1964: 21). Keyholes shaped like this still accommodate standard keys in Britain today but are scarce in the United States, so that even this term is difficult to understand for some English-language readers.

The adoption of the term 'keyhole tomb' in English, moreover, did not accommodate the parallel tradition of keyhole-shaped tombs with a square rear mound instead of a round one: *zenpō-kōhō-fun* ('front-square rear-square mound'). There has subsequently never been an adjustment to the English term 'keyhole tomb' to accommodate this shape distinction, but the difference is important if the two types of tomb were used by opposing political groups. Other shape distinctions involve the front mound, which may not be square at all but rectangular, triangular, flaring, or a stubby projection giving the keyhole tomb the appearance of a scallop shell. These distinctions also are not reflected in the blanket English term 'keyhole'. Because the shape of the rear mound has now become important, I suggest we extend the term to reflect that shape by referring to 'round keyhole' for keyhole burials with round rear mounds, and 'square keyhole' for those with square rear mounds. These extensions can be used either with monumental keyhole tombs or with keyhole-shaped mound-burials.

The next terminological problem is to distinguish between mound-burials and tombs (Table 5.2). This is more difficult since the distinction is not rigid in Japanese, as can be found in an illustration in Shiraishi (1998: fig. 3), where the the burial is labeled a *zenpō-kōhō-fun* ('keyhole *tomb* with square rear mound') in the figure but referred to as a *zenpō-kōhōgata funkyūbo* ('keyhole-shaped *mound-burial* with square rear mound') in the caption. This problem is not limited to keyhole-shaped burials but applies to round mounds and square mounds, which are present in both Yayoi mound-burials and Kofun-period tombs. Ueda (2002) reports that many researchers call all mounded burials constructed in the Kofun period 'mounded tombs', without regard to their morphology or status level, while Edwards in English (1999: 80) has referred to Yayoi-period mounds as 'mounded tombs'. These glosses make it difficult to track temporal, spatial, and hierarchical relationships across the Yayoi-Kofun boundary since, as we shall see later, there is a time lag in the monumentalization of burial architecture across this temporal divide. This lag included moated precincts, characteristic of the Yayoi period, being built well into the Kofun period (Museum of Yayoi Culture 2004: 20–1), even into the early 5th century (Yamada 1994).

As early as 1968, KONDŌ Yoshirō proposed the dating criterion that the earliest keyhole tombs possessed a flaring (*bachigata*, lit. 'plectrum-shaped') front mound such as at Hashihaka, and that with such morphological development, the shape became 'fixed' (Kondō 1968: 31). It is interesting to note that his early formulation did not distinguish between square and

Table 5.2 Terms for mounded burials, with general spacio-temporal referents

No.	*Mounded burial type*
1	**mounded burials**: a generic description I have adopted to refer to #2–9 below, especially useful when the attribution to one of these categories is contested or when they are referred to collectively.
2	**moated precincts** (*hōkei shūkōbo*): family burial precincts built throughout the Yayoi period, in Eastern Seto first then spreading to medial Japan;
3	**mound-burials** (*funkyūbo*, including *daijōbō*): burials of chieftains built from late Early Yayoi into the Late Yayoi period, first in the Kyūshū region then predominantly in the Inland Sea region into eastern Japan; it is likely that round and square mound-burials without projections evolved into round and square mounded tombs in the MTC.
4	**platform burial** (*daijōbō*): built in the Yayoi period without moats as a topographical variant of moated precincts.
5	**keyhole-shaped mound-burials** with round rear (KE) mounds (*zenpō-kōengata funkyūbo*) or square rear (KH) mounds (*zenpō-kōhōgata funkyūbo*): built in the Late Yayoi or early Kofun periods first preceding and then contemporaneous with keyhole tombs;
6	**keyhole tombs**, with round (KE) rear mounds (*zenpō-kōen-fun*) or square (KH) rear mounds (*zenpō-kōhō-fun*): monumental chiefly burials built in the Kofun period;
7	**standardized** (*teikei-ka*): keyhole tombs conforming in the main to the characteristics listed in Table 5.4;
8	**mounded tombs** (*kofun*): mounded burials of the Kofun period, usually monumental in scale, and occurring in different shapes of keyhole, or round and square mounds;
9	**Makimuku-style keyhole mounded burials**: those keyhole-shaped burial mounds developed in the Makimuku district before the beginning of the Kofun period at AD 250.
10	**Mounded Tomb Culture** (*kofun bunka*): the elite-sub culture based on the monumentalized keyhole tomb tradition in the Kofun period in the Japanese Islands; this term can also be applied to the monumentalized tomb tradition of the Three Kingdoms period on the Korean Peninsula (cf. Barnes 1999: ch. 14)
11	**Kinai-style mounded tomb tradition**: a category which includes any aspect of tomb construction and outfitting which is first and foremost characteristic of the Kinai region; it includes the standarized keyhole tomb category.

See Ueda (2002: 16–17) for the historical development of the terminology

round keyhole tombs, but his later term 'standardized (*teikei-ka*) shape' was applied only to keyhole tomb structures that resembled Hashihaka with a flared front and round rear mound. Further research has led to an expansion of the criteria for standarization that now include burial facilities and grave goods.

With the discovery and documentation of the Yayoi-period mound-burial tradition in the late 1970s and 80s, Kondō's concept of the 'standardized

keyhole tomb' was used to distinguish between the highly variable mound-burial tradition and the more homogeneous keyhole tomb tradition as the dividing line between the Yayoi and Kofun periods (Tsude 1996). However, the realization that many areas of Japan, such as San'in and Kantō, entered the Kofun period by building square keyhole tombs obviated the utility of Kondō's standardized keyhole tomb as a marker of the beginning of the Kofun period in peripheral regions. It is now recognized that standardized keyhole tomb-building itself did not begin until 280, the proposed date for Hashihaka; it spread throughout Kinai in the first instance during the ensuing hundred years, and beyond Kinai from the late 4th century (Wada 1998). Thus, the new beginning of the Kofun period, based on Himiko's approximate death date rather than her tomb construction, allows 30 years from 250 to 280 of non-standardized keyhole tomb construction at the beginning of the sequence even in the Kinai.

In the 1990s much discussion revolved around whether keyhole-shaped *mounded burials* (my generic term, see Table 5.2), for example the Gōdo mounds in Chiba prefecture, are keyhole *tombs*, even if not *standardized* keyhole tombs, rather than *mound-burials* (cf. Ōtsuka 1992a). The situation has been brought to a head by the discovery of several more keyhole-shaped mounded burials in Nara, such as Ishizuka discussed later, preceding the construction of Hashihaka. Many scholars have further argued that keyhole-shaped mound-burials should be considered as mounded *tombs* because they represent the forerunners to the keyhole tomb tradition of the Kofun period. In the case of such burials dating before 250, such arguments would mean that the MTC began *before* the Kofun period itself. However, I agree with Hashimoto (as reported in Ōtsuka 1992) that the construction of keyhole-shaped mound-burials has not nearly the socio-political implications of the building of Hashihaka, which, at 280 m long, is seven times as large as the Gōdo mounds, for example, and at least thrice as large as Ishizuka, its predecessor. Thus, my solution here is to apply the term 'mound-burial' to any burial mound built before 250, thus ensuring that the start of the MTC matches the now standard beginning date for the Kofun period.

This is a tricky situation because the ceramic chronologies by which the tombs are dated are constantly being refined. Other authors have different solutions, and publications contain a wide variety of naming practices, creating considerable contradiction and ambiguity across the Yayoi-Kofun boundary. I think it is just a matter of time until the beginning of the Kofun period is pushed back again to accommodate keyhole-shaped mound-burials. Others already refer to the early 3rd century (cf. Table 5.3, Shōnai phases 0–1) as the Incipient (*shotō*) Kofun period (e.g. K. Terasawa 2000, 2004); but in this work, I will designate this time period of mound-burial construction as Terminal Yayoi.

Table 5.3 Terminal Yayoi and Early Kofun pottery equivalences in the Kinai region (after Ishino 1991: 90–2; K. Terasawa 2004: table 341–1; Ueda 2002). For an explanation of the Yayoi and Haji ceramic styles, see Barnes 1986b. Note that Late Yayoi in Kyūshū consists of both YIV and YV, whereas Late Yayoi in the Kinai consists only of YV; (K) = Kyūshū. Shōnai styles 0–1 of Terminal Yayoi represents the time period between the Wa Disturbances and Himiko's tomb construction; K. Terasawa (2004) designates this time period as the Incipient Kofun period

Yayoi styles		*Makimuku*	*Shōnai*[a]	*Furu Haji*	*Sué stoneware*	*Estimated*
Early	I					275–175 BC
Middle	II					175–100 BC
	III					100 BC–AD 0
Late (K)	IV					AD 0–190
Late	V					
	(VI)[b]	1	0			AD 190–220
	(VII)	2	1			AD 220–250
		3	2	0		AD 250–275
		4	3	1		AD 275~
				2	(imported)	early 5th c.
				3	1 (old)	middle 5th c.
Ueda's alternatives:						
		3	2–3 (old)			AD 250–275
		4 (old)		0		AD 275–300
		4 (new)		1		AD 300–350

[a] In southern Kawachi (Ōsaka prefecture), 'stoneware' from the early Three Kingdoms period in Korea has been discovered together with Shōnai pottery, but the majority of peninsular stoneware began to arrive in Furu 3–4 (Yamada 1994)
[b] Terasawa limits the appearance of Makimuku 1 to the last stage of Yayoi VI (i.e. Yayoi VI-4) (Terasawa and Morioka 1989: 195)

The emergence of chiefs in Eastern Seto

The ostensibly egalitarian or simple chiefly societies of the Yayoi-period Eastern Seto region have been described in terms of agricultural ritual focussing on bronze bells; such ritual may have contributed to a greater sense of community that the competition and warfare postulated for North Kyūshū (Hōjō 2000). The emergence of paramount chiefs following the demise of bronze bell ritual (Iwanaga cited in Murakami 2000b: 181) indicates a greater hierarchization of society and is interpreted as ritual replacement: a shift from worshipping the 'spirit of rice' to worshipping the 'spirit of the ruler' (Terasawa 2000: 240–6). It is significant that this occurs not in just one regional society but beyond North Kyūshū simultaneously in different regional cultures despite balkanization in mound types expressing chiefly status. Western anthropological theory acknowledges that one mechanism for the emergence of a ruling lineage is for that lineage

to claim special function as mediator between the gods and the rest of society (Friedman and Rowlands 1977); many such cases of ranked societies are known ethnographically (Claessen and Oosten 1996). In the Japanese case, archaeologists put the onus of action on the populace, who transfer their focus of attention from fertility rituals to individuals whom they recognize as their leaders, revering them as gods in and of themselves. However, if all the regional rulers were interred as gods in their local style of mound-burial, how is the construction of Hashihaka, as the first monumental tomb, to be understood in terms of the belief systems focussing on individual regional rulers?

In contrast to the previous understanding that mound-burial systems in the western archipelago had all developed to about the same level by the 3rd century (Kondō 1983), it is now clear that some areas were ahead of others, particularly Kagawa (Sanuki) and Okayama (Kibi) prefectures in the Seto region, and Shimane (Izumo) and northern Kyōto (Tanba) prefectures facing the Japan Sea (Mizoguchi 2000a: 47). In the early 3rd century, the Nara Basin joined this group with the construction of a cluster of mound-burials in the Makimuku area. The keyhole-shaped mound-burial construction evident in this Makimuku Tomb Cluster appears to have become influential throughout medial Japan, perhaps comprising the first step in the elevation of the southeastern basin, where Hashihaka was later built, over and above the other progressive regions.

The Makimuku Tomb Cluster

The first keyhole-shaped mound-burial excavated in the 1980s in the Makimuku area, footing Mt Miwa in the southeastern Nara Basin, was Ishizuka. Initially it was hailed as the earliest-built keyhole *tomb* (Ishino 1990: 378), consisting of a round rear mound ca. 66 m in diameter, a flared front portion, and a total length of ca. 96 m (cf. Figure 5.2d). From the many timbers and pieces of wood recovered from the moat, the mound is thought to have supported a virtual forest of posts, some of which had wooden carvings mounted on them. Pieces with arc designs were particularly well executed (Figure 5.3) and are reminiscent of the spiral designs occurring on special jar stands (Figure 5.4) and on carved rocks at the Tatesuki mound-burial in Okayama prefecture.

Four radiocarbon dates have been obtained from a log lying in the upper layer of the Ishizuka moat; calibrated by 'wiggle-matching', these dates indicate with almost 100 per cent certainty that the log was cut between AD 315–325 (Kōjo *et al.* 1994). This date range, however, in the early 4th century, only applies to the time of log felling and is thought to be much too late for the construction of the mound itself, considering the types of pottery associated with it. Ishizuka yielded Makimuku 1-type pottery, the

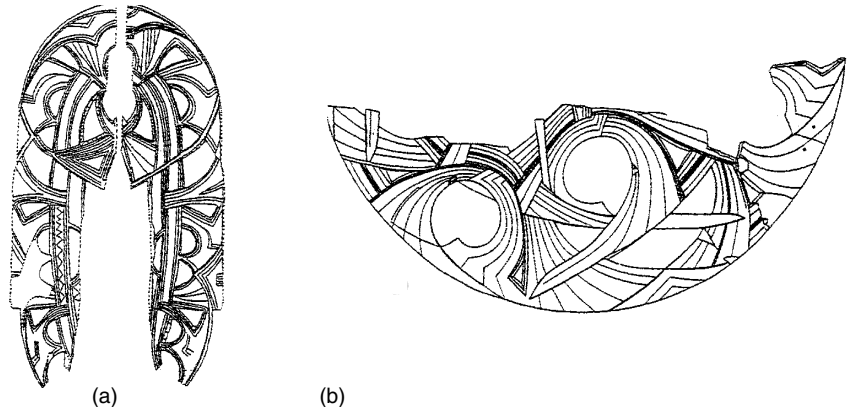

Figure 5.3 Spiral designs carved onto wooden artefacts from Makimuku
(a) present length 23 cm, 0.9 cm thick (after Ishino and Sekigawa 1976: fig. 234.2)
(b) reconstructed diameter of 56 cm (after Ishino 1991: fig. 7)

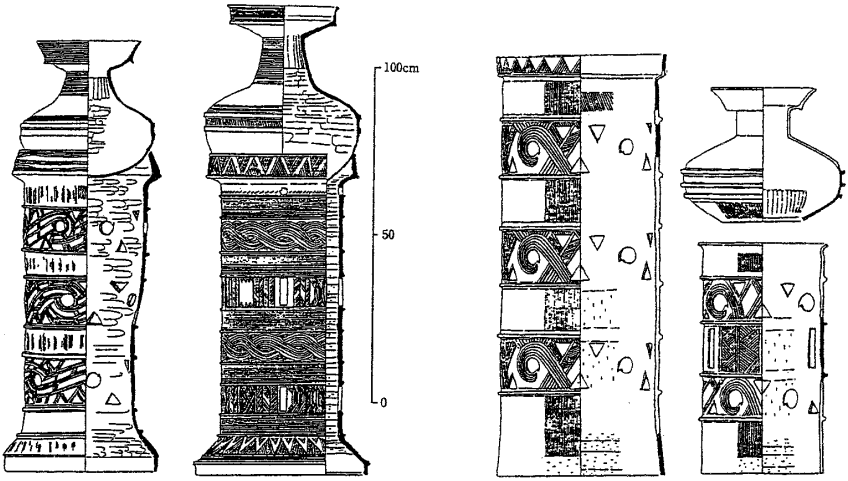

Figure 5.4 Kibi-style special decorated jar stands and jars (after Shiraishi 2004: 52, 73)
The two pairs of jars and jar-stands on the left are from Kibi, while the jar and two cylinders on the right were excavated at Hashihaka

earliest Haji transitional ware in Nara (Table 5.3). The assignment of Makimuku 1 to the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries conforms with previous radiocarbon dates associated with Makimuku pottery, two of which were calibrated as prior to AD 240 (G. Barnes 1988: table 17).

Continuing excavations in Nara have provided new examples of 3rd-century mounded burials resembling Ishizuka: Hokenoyama and Katsuyama (both in the Miwa region), and Mabaka (further north in Tenri City). Hokenoyama is a keyhole-shaped mounded burial that contained a wood chamber in a type of stone enclosure preceding the typical pit-style stone chamber (Terasawa 2000: 269), accompanied only by two pieces of pottery and one Chinese mirror. At 85 m in length, Hokenoyama approaches the size of Ishizuka. As is usual in a situation without absolute dating, sources differ on its age: according to the signboard erected at the excavation site, it was built in the late 3rd century (Onizuka 2001), but archaeologists from the Kashihara Archaeological Institute now date it 20 years after the earliest known tomb and therefore as early 3rd century (Anon. 2001), and KAWAKAMI Kunihiko of that Institute believes it was 'completed between 220 and 230 AD' (Anon. 2000). Needless to say, the burial was interpreted with reference to Himiko and Yamatai; SHIRAISHI Taichirō, then Deputy Director of the National Museum of Japanese History, stated, 'If Hashihaka was Himiko's tomb, then the older Hokenoyama probably belonged to a member of her family or group. . . . We can't dismiss suggestions the tomb belongs to her father or brother' (Anon. 2000). Terasawa (2000: 271) alternatively hypothesizes that the interred was a male military leader associated with Himiko. These proposals purport a level of specificity with no supporting data, though the hypotheses are reasonable, given the time period and assumptions linking Himiko to the Miwa area.

Excavation of another mounded burial near Ishizuka, Katsuyama, yielded timber that was felled in AD 199. This tomb has thus been judged to precede Hokenoyama by 20 years. It is somewhat longer, at 110 m (Anon. 2001). The *Daily Yomiuri* has reported it as 'the nation's oldest tomb, built around the early third century' (Anon. 2002). Mabaka is also a keyhole-shaped mounded burial, 74 m long (Kunimoto n.d.). Excavation of its 14-m wide moat in autumn 2002 produced Shōnai phase pottery, the transitional ware spanning Late Yayoi and Early Kofun, so the burial is now placed in the early 3rd century.

Even though these newly excavated tombs have the jointed flaring front mound which Kondō specified as characterizing the earliest keyhole tombs, they lack the decorated jar stand and other features of the standardized keyhole tomb. Thus, they have been categorized as 'Makimuku-style' mounded burials and can be considered as the immediate mound-burial forerunners of the Kinai-style keyhole tomb tradition epitomized by Hashihaka. The significance of these mound-burials, if we are to adopt this classification, lies in the provision of a previously unrecognized mound-burial tradition in the Nara Basin. Despite an archaeological record of prosperous Middle and Late Yayoi settlement in the basin (see G. Barnes 1988), only two other mound-burials are identified for Nara prefecture, both platform burials in the mountains east

of the basin (Ishino 1995: 93; K. Terasawa 2004: 379). Thus the Nara Basin, renowned as the homeland of the first Japanese state, had ironically been thought to be devoid of a tradition of Late Yayoi elite burial as found elsewhere in western Japan; and it had been inherently difficult to entertain the possibility that Yamatai was located in the Nara Basin – until now.

Because these keyhole-shaped mound-burials so closely resemble the keyhole tombs, they have always been considered part of the Kofun-period burial record and were included in the authoritative compilation of Kinki district keyhole tombs (Kondō 1992–2000). Their names, significantly, bear the word *kofun* (as in Ishizuka Kofun, Katsuyama Kofun, Mabaka Kofun and Hokenoyama Kofun), and they form the Makimuku Tomb Cluster (Makimuku *kofun-gun*). Ishino (1995) expressly includes Ishizuka, Katsuyama and Hokenoyama as keyhole tombs, and K. Terasawa (2004) includes Hokenoyama as an Incipient Kofun-period *kofun*. These are all somewhat arbitrary decisions, based on burial definitions and the pace of new discoveries. Their designation as *kofun*, however, violates the concept that *kofun*-building began with the Kofun period (i.e. AD 250). Unless we reorganize the period names, it is easier to treat them all as mound-burials here; in doing so, we are in a position to hypothesize an emerging elite in the southeastern Nara Basin during Terminal Yayoi (early 3rd century) before the appearance of the monumental keyhole tomb tradition represented by Hashihaka after the death of Himiko in ca. AD 248.

Early 3rd-century social interaction

Makimuku's external relations

The Makimuku site in the southeastern Nara Basin has been excavated continuously since the 1970s. The remains range over ca. 1 km^2 – much too large for a single settlement – so it may be appropriate to conceive of Makimuku as a 'district' rather than a single 'site', much like Furu in the 5th century (G. Barnes 1988) or Asuka in the 6th and 7th centuries (Kidder 1972). The nature of Makimuku occupation is further explored in Chapter 8, but here, the ceramics are important. The pottery excavated from features at Makimuku dates mainly to the Terminal Yayoi period (early to mid-3rd century), and the variety of ceramics found there enabled the fine divisioning of the Shōnai pottery phase, which signifies the Yayoi-Kofun transition in the Kinai region (Ishino 1991); Makimuku pottery is now divided into four phases equivalent to Shōnai's four (Table 5.3).

Makimuku revealed a suprising quantity of non-local pottery: 15–30 per cent came from outside the basin from as far as western Honshū (Yamaguchi prefecture) and Kantō (Kanagawa prefecture) (Ishino 1991: 109).

In correlating such non-local pottery occurrences with the different phases of Makimuku pottery at the Makimuku site, it was discovered that much of the non-local ceramics needed to be redated from Late to Terminal Yayoi, that is, early 3rd century (see ceramic equivalency chart in Ishino 1991). This narrows down the period of outside interaction with the Makimuku populace to 50 years rather than the entire 250-year span of Late Yayoi.

Ceramic proportions from the original Makimuku site report revealed that 59 per cent of the *non-local* vessels were from eastern Honshū, 17 per cent from the Japan Sea coast, and 10 per cent from the Seto region (G. Barnes 1988: fig. 4). The axis from the Japan Sea coast through the Nara Basin into eastern Honshū represented by these major ceramic distributions is replicated in Terminal Yayoi iron production technology. Before this, the Kinai and eastern Honshū region was an iron hinterland, depending on down-the-line trade as reflected in the graded distribution of iron beyond Shikoku (Figure 3.5). Murakami (2000b: 171) notes that this changes in Terminal Yayoi, when new iron-working technology characterizes the axis of Japan Sea/Kinai/eastern Honshū to the exclusion of western Honshū and Kyūshū. The revolution entailed the development of tuyeres in the forging process, the postulated consequences being the attainment of much higher temperatures. It appears that from this time onwards, the eastern half of the previous Eastern Seto bronze bell sphere came to be based on shared iron technology, with renewed or strengthened ties between the Nara Basin and Japan Sea coast communities.

This axis of interaction can perhaps be set against the axis that developed between Kibi and Izumo and Awa (Tokushima prefecture), represented by the Tatesuki mound-burial in Kibi (Okayama prefecture) dating to the Late-Terminal Yayoi boundary. The Tatesuki burial contained nearly 500 jasper cylindrical beads from the bead-making areas of Izumo (Shimane prefecture); moreover it contained a whopping 32 kg of vermilion. Vermilion appears in the burial record in North Kyūshū in late Middle Yayoi (K. Terasawa 2004). These pigments may have been obtained from China, but by Terminal Yayoi, vermilion was being produced at least one site in Awa (Murakami 2000b: 179). In a previous publication (Barnes 1986a), I suggested that Tatesuki represented a node in a trading network stretching from the Nara Basin (where vermilion production was known historically) across Honshū to the Japan Sea (where bead production was centred), primarily as an alternate route to the continent. Also important, however, is the fact that the Tatesuki burial represents the adoption of a grave goods mentality that heretofore had been lacking in Eastern Seto. It is not suprising to note that the Izumo/Kibi/Awa axis falls in the overlap area between the Seto bronze weapon and bell spheres and within the extent of iron tool production, making it a creative interstitial margin in which new ideas as well as new amalgamations of cultural practices could arise (cf. Lattimore 1980).

The intersection of the two axes of Izumo/Kibi/Awa and Hokuriku/Yamato/Tokai is evidenced by the wood objects at Makimuku carved with spiral designs similar to those on the Kibi ceramic jar stands. The fact that these items occur within the burial assemblages but little Seto-area pottery is present at the Makimuku site is an ongoing conundrum.

Looking further into Makimuku relations to the east, the most notable ceramic donor area contributing to the assemblages at Makimuku consisted of the Nobi Plains communities in the northern Ise Bay region (now modern Nagoya and Gifu cities), but these communities traditionally had ties with many other areas as well. The region forms the focus for the distribution of a sub-sphere of bronze bells within Eastern Seto (cf. Figure 1.2). And it is this region, it may be remembered, that Akatsuka identified as Kunu, Yamatai's rival. A Late Yayoi (phase V-3) platform burial in present-day Gifu City has been designated by Terasawa as a kingly interment (Table 5.1), slightly pre-dating the Hokenoyama mound-burial.

Ceramics from the Nobi Plains are spread much more widely than the bronze bells from this region. Palace-style Late Yayoi pottery is also known from the Kantō region and has been proposed as the ceramic unifier of eastern Honshū (Iwasaki 1992), prior to the spread of Haji ware in the Early Kofun period. Nobi cooking pots also embrace a wide geographical area to the north, east and west of the Nobi Plains, including Nara (Akatsuka 1991: fig. 30). The case of the cooking pots is interesting, as they bore soot and therefore truly were used as utilitarian wares; what forces could have dispersed them across the landscape? Were families migrating out of the Nobi Plains to colonize other areas – in particular, opening up rice cultivation in the northern Kantō region? Were women, as household potters, being sent out from their natal place in a marriage exchange network? Or were the pots carried out by itinerant craftspeople and peddlers to cook their daily rice on the road? The social context of the spread of Nobi pottery or the occurrence of ceramics from this region at Makimuku may be illuminated by research carried out by Ken Sasaki.

Sasaki (1995) has analysed non-local pottery from many sites throughout medial Japan during the Yayoi-Kofun transition and has found that the sudden expansion of regional contacts in the Shōnai phases was not limited to Makimuku alone. By assessing whether the non-local styles of pottery were actual imports, copies or authentic renditions made with local clay, Sasaki has devised a scheme to assign ceramic evidence to three types of interaction: commodity exchange, migration, or movement due to political relations between regional chiefs. His study encompasses the following provinces and districts, beginning just short of the Nobi Plain with Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Izumi, Settsu, Harima, San'in, N. Kibi, S. Kibi, Buzen/Bungo, SE Hizen and Chikushi. In almost every area, mutual contact with other regions increased exponentially in the Shōnai phases, even including evidence of migration from the southern Korean Peninsula at some sites.

Among these areas, some can be seen as politically more progressive or more conservative than others. Izumi and Settsu (bordering Ōsaka Bay) are suprisingly conservative: Yayoi V pots dominate the Settsu repertoire, and there was no apparent political action despite evidence of migration. Similarly, Buzen and Bungo in northeastern Kyūshū are conservative with no evidence of chiefly activities though there was migration, and Yamashiro was equally conservative until the Shōnai phase when relations with Kawachi were developed. Shimane had so little political interaction that Sasaki remarks that 'during the Yayoi-Kofun transition local chiefs in the San'in region were unwilling to join . . . the network of interaction through which non-local pottery was transported' (1995: 218), while SE Hizen and Yamashiro are virtually devoid of political contact until the Furu phase. In contrast, those areas which show early and strong political activity are, from late Yayoi V: Yamato and Kawachi, and from Shōnai: N. Kibi, S. Kibi and Chikushi, as evidenced by quantities of non-local pottery pouring into core settlements, as at Makimuku (Figure 5.5).

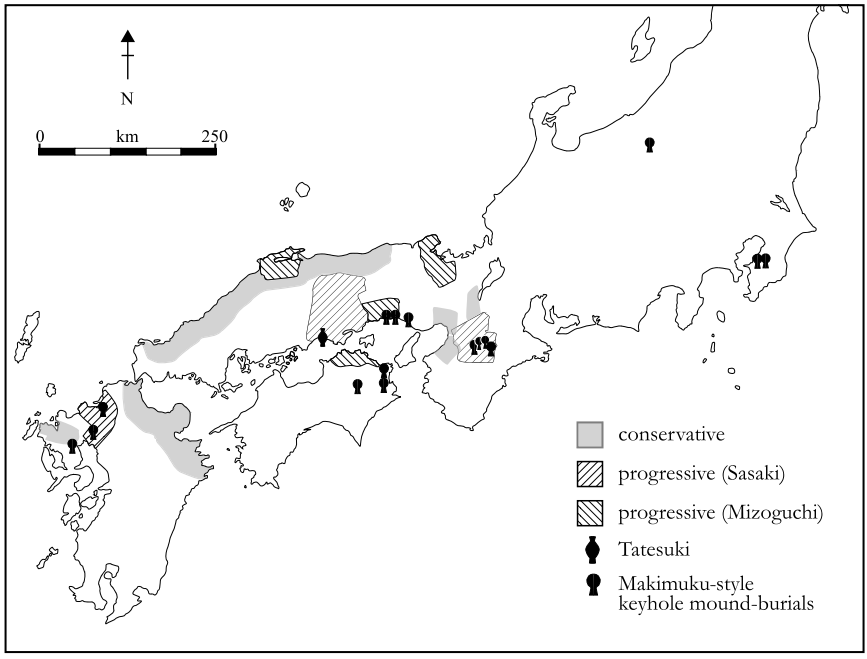

Figure 5.5 Distribution of Makimuku-style keyhole mound-burials (Terasawa 2000: 259)

Shaded areas are those identified by Sasaki (1995) as politically conservative areas; slashed areas are those Sasaki identifies as politically active areas, and areas reverse-slashed are identified as political active areas by Mizoguchi (2000a)

If we accept Sasaki's assignments of meaning to different configurations of non-local pottery at sites, these ceramic data show us first that the general population of the western archipelago suddenly became communicative with neighbours near and far in Late Yayoi V through both exchange and migration. Part of this movement may have sprung from the displacement of lowland populations by flooding alluded to in Chapter 3. However, only a few areas developed chiefs who attracted population inwards to core settlements, bringing with them their own pottery types. In addition to Makimuku, whose interaction patterns began in Late Yayoi V, these included the Early Shōnai sites of Higashi-Yuge, Kozakai and Kami in Kawachi; the Shōnai sites of Kamo-B and Tsudera in S. Kibi; Tanjiri, Nishie and Nakayama in N. Kibi; and the Nishijin-machi site in N. Kyūshū.[1] Such sites may be considered chiefly centres merely on the basis of their large amounts of non-local pottery, and they indicate the formation of multiple centres of power throughout western medial Japan in the Yayoi-Kofun transition. All these show a *centripetal* attraction for non-local ceramics as first identified at Makimuku, but there is also evidence of *centrifugal* dispersion of traits from Makimuku in terms of the burial record.

The above ceramic data can be further compared with the distribution of Shōnai phase keyhole-shaped mounded burials dating from the early and middle 3rd century (Figure 5.5). The locations of these burials, clustered as they are in northern Kyūshū, the eastern Seto regions of Kibi, Harima and Awa, and the southeastern Nara Basin, conform in general to expectations derived from both Sasaki and Mizoguchi. The surprise, however, is the existence of such tombs in the central mountains of Nagano prefecture and the Kantō region. Also conforming to the Makimuku style of mound-burial is keyhole-shaped Gōdo #5 at the head of Tōkyō Bay. It is one of three round mounds with front projections surrounded by a horseshoe-shaped moat (Figure 5.6). The earliest built was #5, measuring 38.5 m long with its front mound taking a short boxy shape; its successors, #3 and #4, have the flared front mound characteristic of Ishizuka. Gōdo #5 was accompanied by Shōnai phase 3 pottery imported from the Kinai region. The Gōdo mound-burials are completely different from the preceding tradition in the Kantō, which consisted exclusively of moated precinct burials. They therefore represent both the first chiefly mound-burials in the Kantō and institution of a new Kinai-derived style of burial, inspired by communication and perhaps direct contact with the Makimuku region. It is tempting to correlate the building of these mounds with the legendary journey of Prince Yamato-dake no Mikoto, presented as a hero-figure in the Keikō chronicle of the *Nihon Shoki*, who was 'dispatched' to eastern regions to quell the restless inhabitants; this Prince Yamato allegedly spent eleven years travelling to Kantō and back, dying before reaching home (Morris 1962: 1–13; Aston 1972.I: 202ff). During his travels, his ship crossed Tōkyō Bay in a

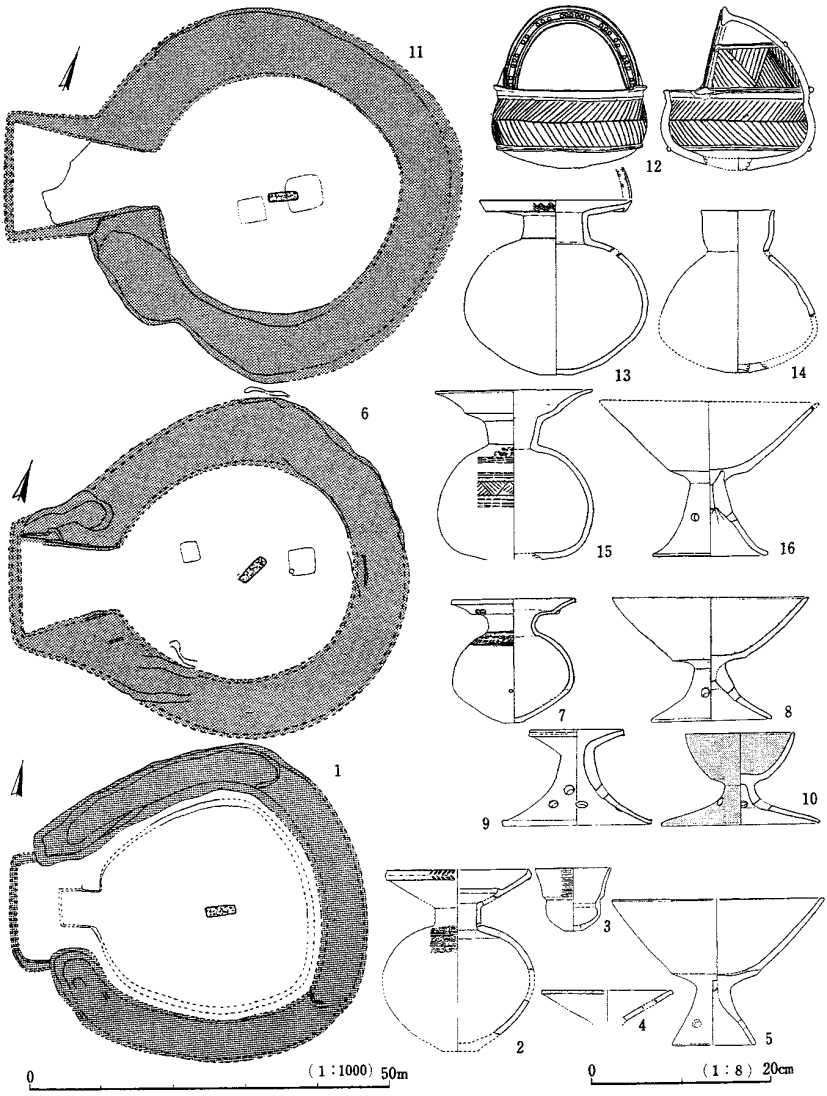

Figure 5.6 The Gōdo keyhole-shaped mounded burials and their Shōnai ceramics imported from Kinai, Chiba (after Tanaka 1991: fig. 35)
1–5 Gōdo #5; 6–10 Gōdo #4; 11–16 Gōdo #3

storm; his consort sacrificed herself to the sea to pacify the waters. What a coincidence that Makimuku-style burials and imported Shōnai pottery occur on the shore of Chiba prefecture where Prince Yamato *might* have made land.

Unfortunately, few keyhole-shaped mound-burials have been excavated, so most of their contents are unknown. But the similarity in mound shape with those mound-burials in the Makimuku Tomb Cluster suggests a far-flung network of *personal* contacts between leading figures in these regions. In Peer Polity Interaction theory, the replication of similarly shaped mounds in distant regions may be viewed as 'competitive emulation' by Terminal Yayoi chieftains, overcoming the regional balkanization of the previous Late Yayoi mound-burial styles. But the keyhole-tomb evidence goes one step beyond such anonymous formulations: it suggests contact and negotiation between these distantly placed regions. The Izumo region is specifically excluded from this chiefly interaction and maintained its balkanized mound-burial system until the next phase. But what aspect of Makimuku activity prompted such centrifugal dispersion of a new burial type? We know the Nara Basin as a latecomer to mound-burial construction; we can also see that, along with the rest of Kinai, it lacked the long history of social hierarchy seen in northern Kyūshū. New interpretations detailed below give us a personalized view of the Yayoi-Kofun transition.

Hashihaka: motivations for construction

Two very different hypotheses have been put forward in particular to account for the sudden rise to prominence of the Yamato region within the Late Yayoi cultural nexus, resulting in the elevation of Himiko to a status that the Chinese would recognize as the Queen of Wa. Terasawa's hypothesis, developed as early as 1979 (2000, 2002), focuses on the *western* derivation of cultural attributes in 3rd-century Makimuku. He notes that since Himiko was referred to in the Chinese texts as the Queen of Wa and not the Queen of Yamatai (as quoted earlier), she presumably belonged to a confederation extending well beyond her own country; he further points out that Chinese documents specifically state she was *chosen* to rule by other chieftains and therefore could have been a figurehead for a coalition of local rulers in the Seto region. He identifies the areas involved as Tsukushi (Fukuoka), Kibi (Okayama), Harima (Hyōgo), Sanuki (Kagawa) and Shimane (Izumo) based on the distribution of mound-burials prior to the advent of the keyhole tomb (Terasawa 2000: 249, 264). Moreover, he considers the Tatesuki mound-burial in Okayama, with its unusual double projections,[2] to be the immediate forerunner of the keyhole-shaped mounds of the Makimuku Tomb Cluster. Finally, he names the ruler of Kibi as the leader of the coalition.

Terasawa analogizes these rulers' desire for a new political system, following the collapse of Ito-koku in Kyūshū and the chaos of the Wa Disturbances, with the coalition of *daimyō* that forced the end of the shogunate and beginning of democracy in the Meiji period. He is adamant that these Seto rulers did not 'conquer' Yamato, despite both textual and

archaeological evidence suggesting forced immigration into the basin at an unclear date (G. Barnes 1988). Instead, Terasawa hypothesizes that this ruling coalition chose the Makimuku area as the location of their new 'state', Shinsei Wakoku (New Wa) (2000: 266). He also suggests that Himiko can be understood as a local sorceress found serendipitously in Yamatai = Yamato whom they promoted to the status of high ritual priestess (2002). Hōjō (2000: 87–92) notes that the legend of Jinmu's advance through the Inland Sea to conquer Yamato (cf. Hoshino 1976) has now been replaced by a Kibi advance to Yamato to establish a new state.

If they came at all, why did these rulers choose the Makimuku region? Terasawa gives a basic geographical response (2000: 266): it had good communication routes to various areas of central Japan by river and overland; as an aside, he notes that it would have been a good staging area for subjugation of the east, particularly Kunu. The significant proportion of Tōkai pottery at Makimuku by the mid-3rd century is explained by Terasawa as resulting from the coalition subjugating the east and bringing them into its cultural sphere (ibid.: 284).

An alternative hypothesis has been mounted by MIZOGUCHI Kōji (2000a), who rejects Yayoi scholars' traditional interpretation of the Mounded Tomb Culture as a natural stage in the progressive hierarchization of Yayoi burial systems. Instead, he views the construction of Hashihaka, which began the MTC, as a complete break from the ubiquitous mound-burial tradition of Late Yayoi and requiring an extraordinary explanation. Mizoguchi does not postulate migration and subjugation like Terasawa but rather a voluntary coming together of the regional population to celebrate and support a great mystical figure. He argues that the elites of the time lacked the military or economic supremacy to coerce the populace into building a tomb as large as Hashihaka; instead, volunteering to construct the tumulus would have 'constituted a significant element in people's self-identification [and] would have affirmed their social existence' (Mizoguchi 2002: 199–200). Acknowledging the elite as mediators with outside peoples, including the Chinese, was 'vital for their own well-being', he says, and the ruler and his/her ancestors would have been regarded as '*divine beings* guaranteeing the well-being of the community' (Mizoguchi 2002b: 204, 209, his emphasis).

These scenarios both propose a level of detailed explanation that is inspired by the archaeological and documentary data but goes far beyond them. They come close to what agency theorists would like to see in determining individual motivation for the creation of material and social structures. Terasawa's proposal gains some support from documentary evidence for new rulership coming into the Nara Basin from the west. Sasaki notes that his hypothesis 'conveniently suits the description of historic sources that the First Emperor of Japan Jimmu from Kyūshū conquered the east' (1995: 94, spelling corrected from original). I also have

compared the archaeological record for Nara in terms of the Jinmu legend and reached the conclusion that the documentary evidence is consistent with the basin geography and the timing of the Late Yayoi upland sites (G. Barnes 1988). Although Sasaki states that there is no archaeological evidence for warfare in Late Yayoi Nara (1995: 95), there are two other good reasons for positing such ruler incursion: the transference of non-local burial styles to a new location (including the ritual jar and jar-stand of Kibi origin), and particularly, the transplantation of the custom of burying grave goods with the dead, as seen at Tatesuki. Given the ceramic evidence of considerable population movement through migration in Late Yayoi in every region, increasing in the Shōnai phases, such an incursion is not beyond belief. But presuming that regional leaders in Terminal Yayoi society, even those who might have relocated themselves, already had ritual standing within their communities, how did the Makimuku rulers become elevated above them all? One aspect that I believe is missing from these interpretations is the change in political economics of the Terminal Yayoi period represented by Himiko.

The economics of Himiko's success

Whether Shōnai-phase Makimuku rulership was indigenous to the Nara Basin or not, we still must explain how its paramounts became the highest-ranking chiefs within the Yayoi mound-burial hierarchy. Mizoguchi's scenario postulating Himiko's economic weakness is contradicted by Yamatai's apparent ability to mount embassies to Daifang and bring back precious goods for redistribution among the local elite. Moreover, monumental tomb construction is exactly an expression of extensive economic control over or access to the resources of land, labour and skilled craftspeople, the last making the grave goods that we would expect of an elite group. The Late Yayoi settlement record in Nara shows that the basin was filled with large and prosperous communities, at the sites of Karako and Shibu, for example (G. Barnes 1988). The ceramic repertoire (Yayoi V) displays a level of standardization and homogeneity absent from other regional potteries (Barnes 1990a). This was not empty space in which an itinerant band of rulers established their capital.

Three lines of evidence suggest that the Late Yayoi communities in the Nara Basin had links to the northern Yellow Sea region, perhaps via the Gongsun warlord's territory: long-necked jars in the ceramic repertoire, an inscribed ring-pommelled sword and deity-beast mirrors. Such prior links would have then served to facilitate immediate access to the Wei reopening of Daifang. In the Late Yayoi V pottery assemblage, long-necked jars, which I have postulated are drink containers for ritual feasting, often have incised marks referred to as *kigō* on their shoulders. Rather than potters' marks,

which would have occurred in batches, these *kigō* are all different, some consisting of incised scratches resembling incipient Chinese characters, others being small circular appliques sometimes impressed further with cylindrical punctate. I have previously hypothesized that such marks may well be users' marks, identifying vessels brought to feasts by individuals (Barnes 1990a). There are no antecedents in earlier Yayoi assemblages or similar occurrences in contemporaneous Yayoi assemblages in the Japanese Islands, but Zhou/Han-period pots in the northern Yellow Sea region, as preserved in the Chaoyang Museum, do sport such circular appliques at the neck. Moreover, these appliques are accompanied by stamped seals of Chinese characters; such seal stamps are common on Chinese vessels of this period, but the appliques are, to my knowledge, unique to this region. If the Yayoi V long-necked drinking jars were inspired by these Chinese ceramics, then direct communication may have taken place between the northern Bohai coast and the Nara Basin.

Chaoyang lies in the old Laoxi region of China adjacent to the Gongsun warlord's base in Liaodong. Terasawa has noted that after the Han collapse, the iron materials in Late Yayoi burials tend to be older than one would expect. He hypothesizes that Late Yayoi communities obtained such iron from Gongsun's territory and that they are hand-me-down varieties that the warlord was able to extract from China. He cites as an example an heirloom Late Han iron sword, inscribed with a reign date equivalent to 184–188, which was excavated from the mid-4th-century Tōdaijiyama Tomb in Nara (Terasawa 2000: 272). The fact that the sword was inscribed suggests it was specially dispensed to Nara representatives.

In North Kyūshū, the practice of burying bronze mirrors died out about middle Late Yayoi (Murakami 2000b: 155), while bronze bell manufacture ceased in Eastern Seto in the latter half of Late Yayoi around the same time that the casting of broad socketed spearheads lapsed in Western Seto (Fukunaga 1999: 56). An analysis of Terasawa's Yayoi burial database also shows a clear decline in other bronze goods being buried in Late Yayoi. In Western Seto, 96 per cent of Greater Chiefs but only 69 per cent of Lesser Chiefs had bronze. Among Lesser Chiefs, burials with NO bronze increased in real terms from 15 to 41 to 57 between the Middle Yayoi, Late Yayoi and Kofun periods respectively. Beyond Western Seto, only 74 per cent of Greater Chiefs and 22 per cent of Lesser Chiefs had bronze. Of these eastern burials, 97.5 per cent date to the Late Yayoi, but the practice of burying grave goods with the dead outside Western Seto began at the very time that bronzes were disappearing from the archaeological record. Finally, all Late Yayoi kingly burials (K. Terasawa 2004), *except* those in Shimane (Nishitani mound-burials) and Okayama (Tatesuki), have bronzes. With the abandonment of bronze bell manufacture in Eastern Seto by the end of the 2nd century, it can be hypothesized that the shortage

of bronze was becoming severe to the point that the central western Honshū area had turned away from burying it altogether. There is evidence from the Kinai region, however, that bronze bells were being broken up to supply raw materials for recasting as such small items as mirror copies, bracelets and arrowheads through the Yayoi-Kofun transition (Fukunaga 1999: 60).

By AD 140, the flow of Han Dynasty mirrors had tailed off to a miniscule level (ca. 20 in a quarter century according to Okamura 2002: fig. 64), but suddenly in AD 150, numbers shot up again *prior* to Himiko's embassies. These latter-day Han Dynasty mirrors included those with deity-beast motifs, some bearing dates in the middle of the Jian'an era (AD 196–219). More than 50 such mirrors have been discovered in burials through the Yayoi-Kofun transition in Tokushima prefecture (Awa) on Shikoku Island (Fukunaga 1999: 57). Fukunaga reports, without supporting evidence, that such mirrors are assumed to have been distributed from the Kinai; however, they could also have arrived direct contact with the continent. As described in Chapter 3, the Haru-no-tsuji Trade system was disbanded about this time, with a decreased involvement by the countries Ito and Iki (represented by the Mikumo and Haru-no-tsuji sites, respectively) and an increasing involvement of Na. From this point onwards, Samhan- and Lelang-type potteries are found distributed further into western Honshū (albeit in small numbers at local 'port' sites) throughout San'in, through the Seto region, and into Ōsaka Bay (Kusumi 2004: 60).

The possibility that the Kinai, and more specifically the Nara Basin, had direct contact with the northern Yellow Sea coast in Yayoi V implies a change in interaction patterns from earlier in Yayoi when the area was dependent on bronze and iron transferred up the Inland Sea from Kyūshū. By having an ongoing presence in the Bohai/Liaodong region, Kinai/Nara representatives would have been advantaged when Wei reopened the Daifang commandery in 238. Within this economic context, Himiko's embassies, returning from Daifang loaded with Wei bronze mirrors, were probably greeted with greed and joy in the Kinai. The reverence these goods solicited probably stemmed from the precedent set earlier in North Kyūshū burial ritual and Makimuku's conversion to the Chinese concept of the political gifting system.

The changes wrought upon Kinai society by this new importation of bronze mirrors involved, at a minimum, the adoption of a new form of symbolic good, the association of this good with individuals rather than the community at large, and the elevation of those individuals to the highest preferential burial in the form of the keyhole tomb. The centrality of the Makimuku district, which was paralleled by numerous other areas of ceramic centripetal activity in medial Japan, was suddenly elevated above all else, leading to the erection of the Hashihaka Tomb. Himiko's elevation may have resulted from these economic circumstances: securing a new and

steady supply of bronze mirrors may have been sufficient to trigger the elevation of the Makimuku leaders and their celebration through the monumentality of Hashihaka. But it will be postulated in Chapter 8 that this was *not enough*, and that religious and ritual aspects were crucial to Himiko's elevation to paramount status.

Contributions towards tomb standardization

By Terasawa's own analysis, the input of western elements from further afield than Eastern Seto increased with the establishment of the standardized keyhole tomb, the first of which was Hashihaka. Traits from Western Seto in Hashihaka construction might also indicate the widening of contacts contingent on the embassy trips. The left-most column of Table 5.4 lists the

Table 5.4 Regional sources of Late Yayoi attributes in standardized keyhole tomb construction (compiled from Terasawa 2000, 2002). Attributes A–V, identified by accompanying text, are found in standarized Kinai keyhole tombs; their presence (+) or absence (×) is shown in burials in source regions, sometimes spanning more than one region

Late Yayoi period	*Han/Lelang*	*N. Kyūshū*	*Izumo*	*Kibi*	*Kinki*
Grave Facilities:					
A	×	<+——large grave and coffin—+—>			×
B	×	<+vermilion——+— ———+— >			×
C	×	<+—sacred precinct with a marker——>			×
D	×	×	×	+jarstand, jar	×
E	×	×	<+——gravel layer+——>		×
Ritual goods:					
F	×	<—mirror fragments—+——+——>			×
G	×	×	×	+clay figures	×
H	×	×	×	<+—spiral design—+>	
Mounds:					
I	+			+round, square	×
J	+		<+—pavement stones, cobbles+—>		
K	×	+	<+—monumental size——+>		×
Grave goods:					
L	+	+mirrors	×	×	×
M	+	+beads	×	×	×
N	+	+weapons	×	×	×
P	×	+bracelets	×	×	×
Q	+	<—iron——— +———>		×	×
Mode of isolation:					
R	×	×	×	hilltop	×
S	×	×	×	×	moat
Ritual pottery:					
T	+	<—red burnished————×————+			
U	×	×	×	<double rim, perforated—>	
V	××	×	×	<——miniatures————>	

traits of the standardized keyhole tomb, while the other columns indicate whence they derived. It shared five attributes (A, B, C, F, T) with the western Honshū and northern Kyūshū regions, three (E, J, K) with Izumo and Kibi together, and seven specifically with Kibi (D, G, H, I, R, U, V). Of all these attributes, only six occurred in the previous burial traditions of Kinki itself (H, J, S, T, U, V); all the rest are considered to have been contributed at the time of the coalescence of the standardized tradition, that is the building of Hashihaka. Hōjō (2000: 90) also notes that the adoption of a strict measurement system as well as civil engineering techniques suggests direct communication with China. Centripetality is thus demonstrated in the formulation of standard tomb construction as well as in ceramic movement, and Hōjō comments that knowledge, concepts and techniques were contributed from Western Seto but labour from eastern Honshū (2000: 130, fig. 8).

Summary and prospects

In sum, the archaeological record of the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries, following the alleged Wa Disturbances, indicates rapid centralization and hierarchization of regional societies beyond Kyūshū. These societies are manifested in the Terminal Yayoi appearance of chiefly burials of certain shape-types in the different regions. The keyhole-shaped mound-burials of southeastern Nara are one such focus, but the fate of this mound shape was different from the others. Already by the mid-3rd century, round keyhole-shaped mounds appear at widely scattered points throughout western Japan. Then Hashihaka was constructed following Himiko's death, standardizing the keyhole shape and elevating Yamato above all other regional societies by the monumentality of its construction.

Heretofore, we have examined the causes or motivations for monumental tomb building. From this point onwards, we must analyse the *result* of monumental keyhole-tomb construction spreading through western Japan within the next century or so. Two traditions were perpetuated across the landscape (Hōjō 2000: 104): the standardized tradition beginning in Yamato and penetrating throughout Kinai, and the rough keyhole tombs in all locales built without standardization (Figure 5.7). Tombs conforming to the strict standard must have benefitted from the sharing of specialist civil engineering technology. But even for non-standard keyhole-shaped tombs, personal relationships may have facilitated their adoption between widespread rulers, though pure emulation cannot be ruled out. These issues will be examined in the next chapter covering the spread of the MTC and the consolidation of the Nara Basin political system within it.

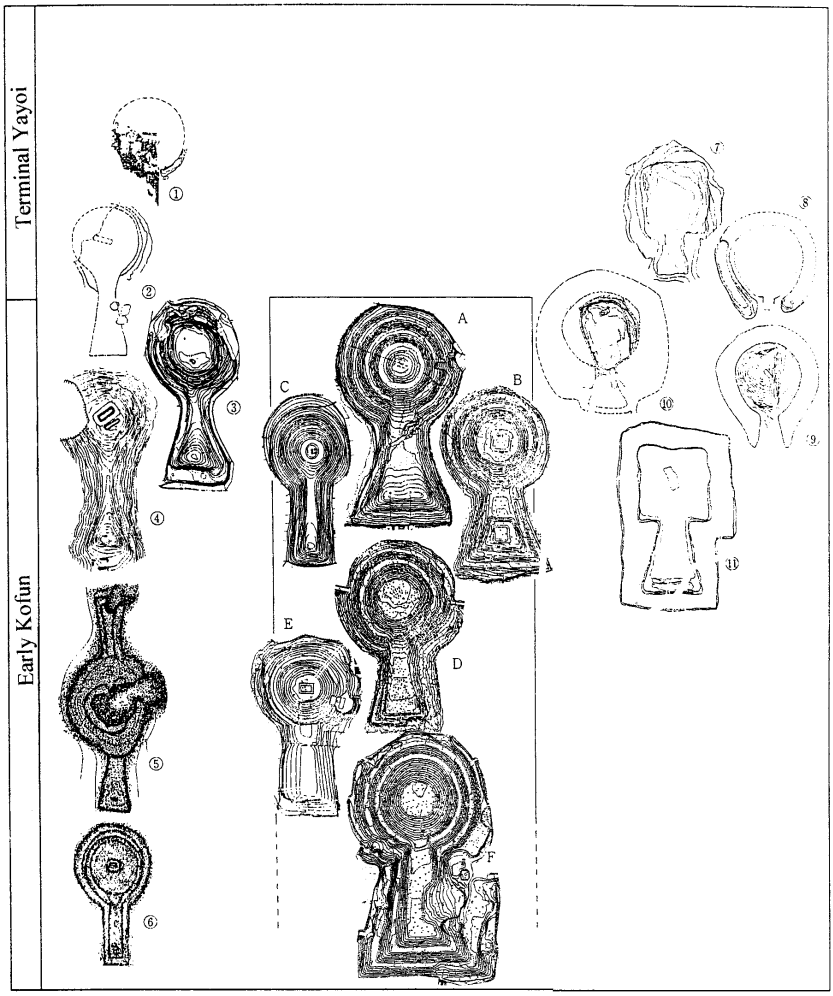

Figure 5.7 Examples of standardized (A–F) and non-standardized (1–11) keyhole tombs and mound-burials across Terminal Yayoi and Early Kofun periods (after Hōjō 2000: 105). Not to scale

Non-standardized (outside box):

1 Hagihara, Tokushima; 2 Tsuruo Jinja #4, Kagawa; 3 Yorohisago-zuka, Hyōgo; 4 Takamatsu Chausuyama, Kagawa; 5 Nekozuka, Kagawa; 6 Ishibune-zuka, Kagawa; 8 Gōdo #5, Chiba; 9 Gōdo #4, Chiba; 10 Makimuku Ishizuka, Nara; 11 Toba, Shiga

Standardized (boxed):

A Hashihaka, Nara (Princess Yamato-totohi-momoso-hime Mausoleum); B Nishi Tonozuka, Nara (Empress Tashiraka Masoleum); C Sakurai Chausuyama, Nara; D Andonyama, Nara (Sujin Mausoleum); E Mesuriyama, Nara; F Shibutani Mukaiyama, Nara (Keikō Mausoleum)

Chapter Six

Early Kofun Polities (Mid-3rd to Mid-4th Centuries)

The first phase of the Kofun period (EK-1) is postulated to have lasted approximately half a century (AD 250–300). These decades saw major political shifts on the China Mainland: the Three Kingdoms of Wei (221–265), Wu (221–280) and Shu Han (221–263) were eventually consolidated into the Western Jin Dynasty (265–316) which ostensibly united China, however tenuously. Subsequent to Himiko's embassies to Wei in the mid-3rd century, there is one recorded embassy of her successor, a 13-year-old girl named Iyo, in AD 266 to the court of Western Jin upon its establishment (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 16). Depending on the destination, the embassy could have reached the still functioning Wu Court or the Western Jin Court. It is fairly clear that Chinese goods continued to flow into the western archipelago for a short while into the Kofun period, the most controversial of these being the TR-mirrors allegedly made in China. The addition of Chinese lamellar armour to the list of imports suggests that the Wei or Western Jin Courts had an interest in arming chieftains in the archipelago as allies against the Xiongnu and Xianbei 'barbarians' who were still threatening the northern borders.

The expansion of the Mounded Tomb Culture must be viewed within this greater context, as Chinese-style items form the predominant grave goods in EK-1 tombs.[1] However, by the early 4th century and the waning of Western Jin power, Chinese imports are augmented or replaced by local products: imitation mirrors, beadstone artefacts and eventually a new style of domestic armour. In examining the distribution and contents of EK-1 tombs and a selection of EK-3 tombs, we will be able to see how these changing political circumstances interfaced with the elaboration of territorial hierarchies and status development in the archipelago.

Establishment of the Mounded Tomb Culture

The Seto axis

Following the death of Himiko, the 'spread of the Mounded Tomb Culture' (MTC) occurred almost instantaneously, covering a geographical span from northern Kyūshū to southern Tōhoku (Fukunaga 1999: 53). Approximately 100 of the 5200 known keyhole-shaped tombs have been dated to this first phase of the Kofun period (EK-1, late 3rd century) by the shape of the flaring front mound, the occurrence of decorated jar stands on their mounds, the presence of Shōnai or Furu '0' pottery on their surfaces or in their moats, or grave-good assemblages lacking beadstone bracelets and imitation mirrors. The regional distribution of these early tombs illustrate that the 'spread' of the MTC occurred *not* as concentric 'waves' as previously conceived (cf. Tanabe 1982: 62), but as points dispersed along linear patterns (Figure 6.1a).[2] It is thus apparent that Early Kofun political development took a dendritic form, reminiscent of the 'dendritic growth of alliance and exchange networks' as identified for the Roman border area (Haselgrove 1987: 111–12; Nash 1987: 97). There was no homogeneous state territory to be identified with solid state boundaries encompassing the entire spread of the MTC, though at certain locations there are clusterings of tombs that may represent internal polity development. Ultimately, it is our task to discover what the relations were between these outlying chiefs buried in keyhole tombs and the Kinai core.

Comparison of the EK-1 tomb distribution in Figure 6.1a with the preceding Makimuku-style keyhole-shaped mound-burials (Figure 5.2d) suggests a geographical expansion of chiefly figures brought into the elite network in the late 3rd century. The progressive areas identified by both Sasaki and Mizoguchi do host EK-1 tombs, but there is also a distinct pattern of aggressive incorporation of conservative areas into the MTC and expansion well beyond these to the northeast. Most significantly, the core area of old Ito-koku (Figure 3.6) now also joined the Mounded Tomb Culture, completing the amalgamation of Western and Eastern Seto into one political realm, the Seto axis. Within this axis, Tsude has identified the dendritic segment from Hashihaka in southeastern Nara, up through the Kyōto Basin, across the Harima coast into Kibi (southern Okayama) as the core area in the Early Kofun period (1998b: fig. 13). Moreover, he indicates this linkage has some temporal depth by tracing a similar route between upland settlements from the Kizu River to Harima at the end of the 2nd century (1998a: fig. 27).

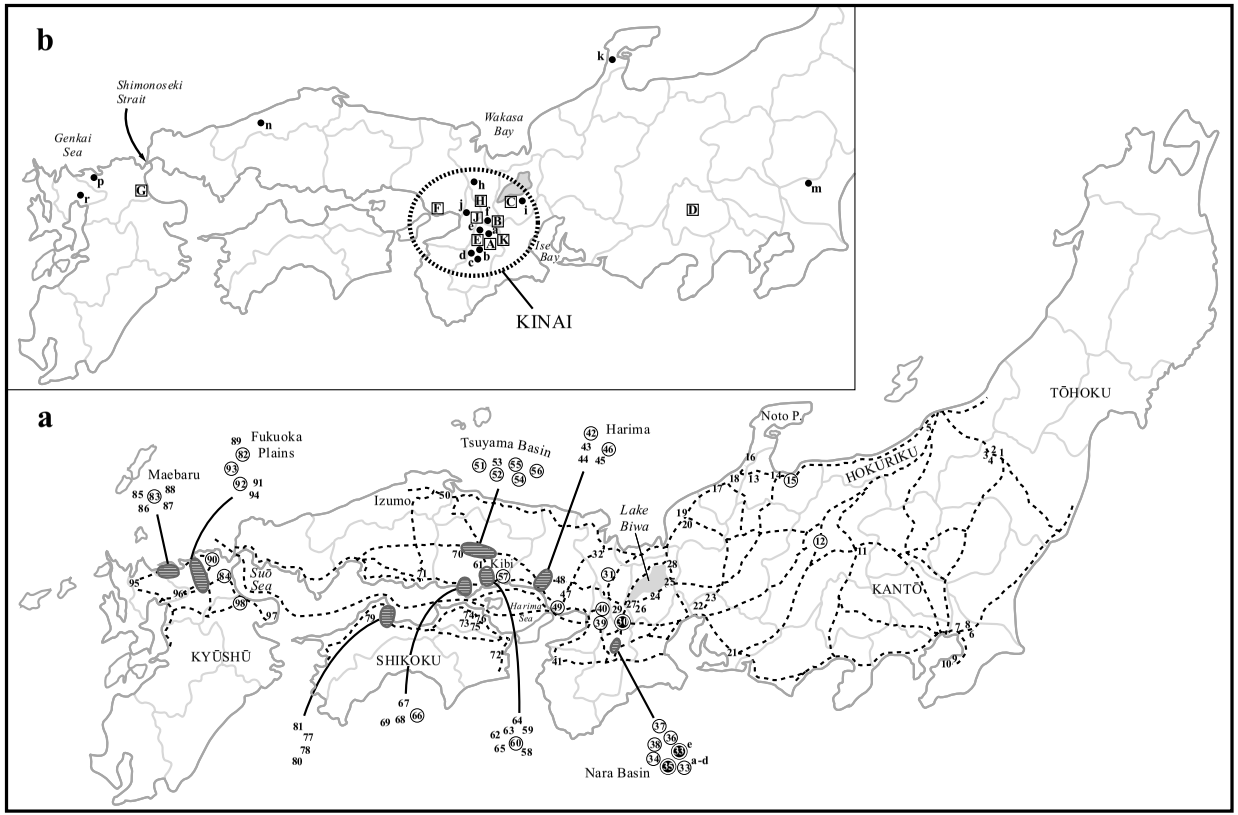

Figure 6.1 Keyhole tomb distributions in the Early Kofun period (compiled from Kondō 1992–2000). Road system from National Geographic (1960). Tomb letters and numbers are keyed to Appendix Three

a EK-1 tombs throughout the islands. Filled circles show the 3 large tombs, empty circles the 22 medium-size tombs and plain numbers the smaller tombs (compiled from Kondō 1992–2000)

b EK-1~EK-3 tombs yielding iron armour. A–G = tombs with foreign armour; a–r = tombs with domestic square-plate armour (after T. Terasawa 2003: fig. 8; Kondō 1992–2000)

Regional pre-eminence

The relative importance of the different MTC areas can be demonstrated by tomb size. A histogram of the lengths of EK-1 keyhole tombs (Figure 6.2a) illustrates a highly skewed pattern, with Hashihaka (280 m) and Nishi Tonozuka (219 m) in the Nara Basin and the Tsubai Ōtsukayama Tomb (170 m) in the Kyōto Basin being far larger than all the others, even if these three themselves are quite different in actual size. The tombs can be divided into three size groups: small-sized as less than 60 m in length and medium-sized between 60 m and 160 m in length, with the three large tombs mentioned above cast as largest-sized tombs greater than 160 m in length. If tomb size is at all commensurate with rank in the political hierarchy, as postulated by Zipf's rank-size rule,[3] then the largest tombs (filled circles in Figure 6.1a) represent the highest-ranking individuals, and medium-sized

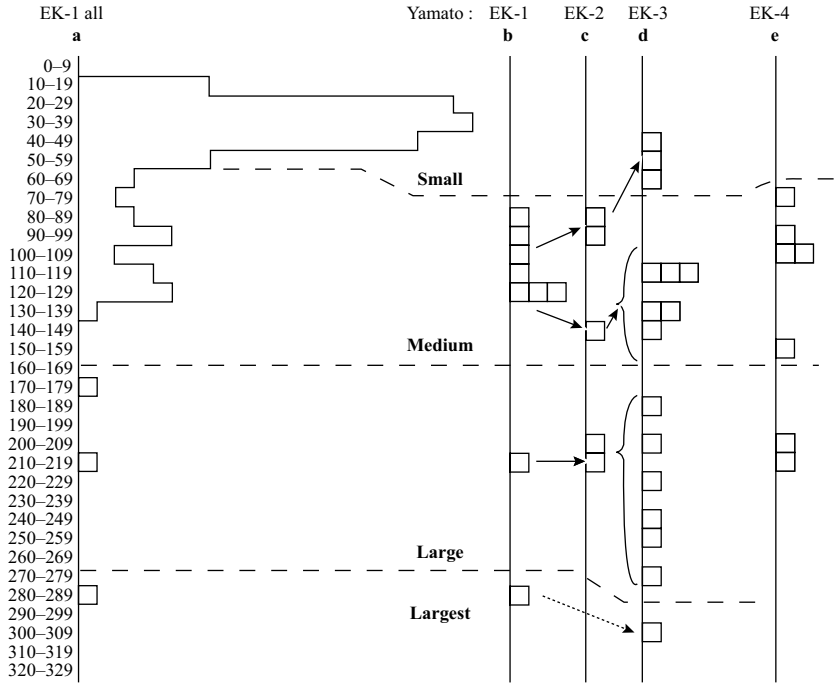

Figure 6.2 Histograms of keyhole tomb sizes in metres; each square represents one tomb, with the most numerous category (EK-1, 30–39 m) having 21 tombs

a aggregate of EK-1 keyhole tomb lengths throughout the islands (compiled from Kondō 1992–2000: Kinki-hen)

b EK-1 tombs in the Nara Basin

c EK-2 tombs in the Nara Basin

d EK-3 tombs in the Nara Basin

e EK-4 tombs in the Nara Basin

tombs (circled in Figure 6.1a) those of secondary status. Two of the largest tombs, Tsubai Ōtsukayama (30) and Hashihaka (35), both stand at pivotal points in linking western and eastern Honshū; the former also controls routes leading into Hokuriku along the eastern side of Lake Biwa. Without good data for settlement hierarchy, we may postulate these tomb sizes as proxies for political centres and sub-centres. In such a scheme, Hashihaka is more than twice the size of even the biggest medium-sized tomb, making it a candidate for representing a primate centre.[4] This is underscored by Nishi Tonozuka, second largest and slightly later in time, occurring in the same area, indicating the continuing primacy of the Miwa area. In the southern Kyōto Basin, Tsubai Ōtsukayama was succeeded in EK-2 by Hirao Shiroyama, a medium-sized tomb. The relationship between the Miwa and Tsubai areas is puzzling, but some insight is gained through monitoring Nara Basin development later.

In contrast to Tsude (1999: 23), who sees the development of regional territorial hierarchies as a means of ensuring peaceful coexistence, Niiro (2005) has postulated that the stimulus for building mounded tombs in the Kofun period was competition among chiefs for control over trade routes, though he mentioned nothing about what products might have been traded. He points out how most tombs over 130 m long (100 m in the Kinai) are located along important roads or along sea routes. There is no doubt that the positioning of tombs coincides with the transport network; after all, in a mountainous country where river valleys and mountain basins and passes constrain both settlement location and paths of movement, inland sites will be fairly predictably associated with habitable land, historic routes and accessible mountain crossings. However, the distribution of different sized tombs less than 100 m tells us more about the importance of some routes relative to others.

The EK-1 tombs in Figure 6.1a are shown with the major trunk roads linking them. These roads were taken from a National Geographic map (1: 3,801,600 or 60 miles to the inch) published in 1960, before the motorways were built. They have considerable historical depth (cf. Wigen 1992) and, of course, are supplemented by numerous minor roads as well. I have selected here only those major roads that pass through the EK-1 tomb locations and those which link the tombs across the landscape. It can immediately be seen that tomb 12 in Figure 6.1a stands at major crossroads in the central mountains linking sites in the Kinai and Tōkai with those in Hokuriku and Kantō. That this tomb is middle-sized may reflect its greater status as an important node in the network compared to the more peripheral small tombs. Tomb 15, also medium-size in Hokuriku, is unusual in that it does not link directly to 12 or into the Kantō region: its major ties are with the Kinai, through another medium size tomb (31); these two represent links into the bead-making communities in the Noto Peninsula area.

The major clusters of medium-sized tombs occur in Eastern Seto: in Kinai (33a, 33b, 34, 36–40) as well as spread along the northern edge of the Inland Sea (42, 46, 49, 57, 60, 66). The surprise, however, is the numbers of medium-sized tombs (51, 52, 54–56) in the Tsuyama Basin between Kibi and Izumo. Their distribution east to west along the Tsuyama Kaidō[5] road where it crosses the Izumo Kaidō may be indicative of those chiefs' instrumental roles in trade with the Izumo bead-making communities. The two coastal areas of Izumo and Noto may also have been departure points for contact with the continent, bringing in iron overland instead of through the Inland Sea corridor. The EK-1 tombs on Shikoku Island are all small, suggesting their subsidiary roles in promoting traffic along the Inland Sea corridor. But once Kyūshū Island is reached, three medium-size tomb chiefs (84, 90, 98) helped funnel sea traffic through the Shimonoseki Strait to the

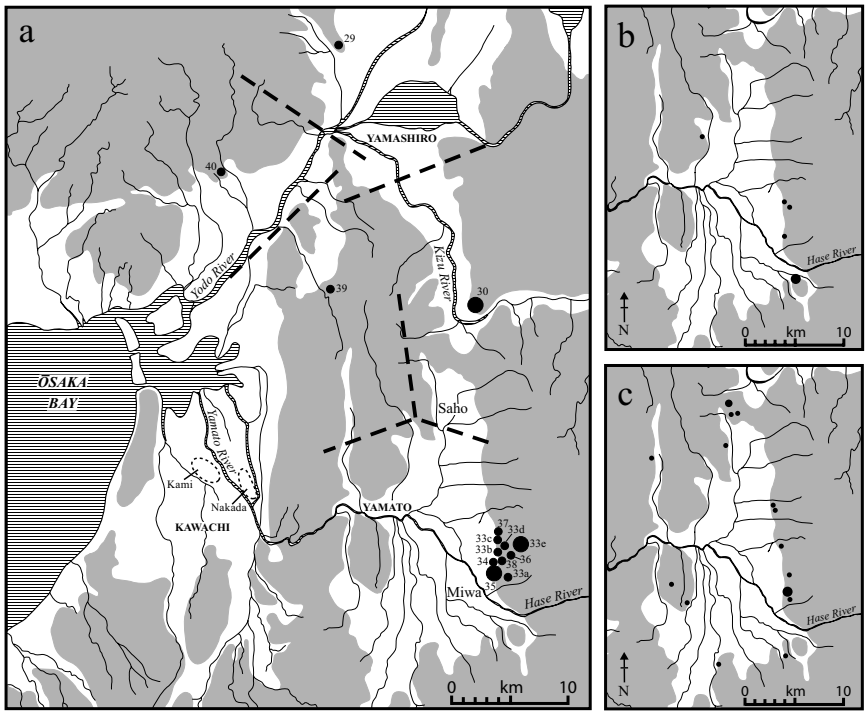

Figure 6.3 Kinai core territory and Nara Basin development (main map after Shiraishi 2004: 87; inset distributions added anew)

a Distribution of EK-1 keyhole tombs in the Yamato and Yodo River drainages (three largest tombs and the rest medium-sized tombs) (after Shiraishi 2004: 87)

b Distribution of EK-2 keyhole tombs in the Nara Basin (2 large, 3 medium tombs)

c Distribution of EK-3 keyhole tombs in the Nara Basin (1 largest, 6 large, 6 medium and 3 small tombs)

continent. Finally the shores of the Genkai Sea hosted several medium-sized tombs (22, 83, 92, 93) in the areas of old Ito-koku (Maebaru) and Na-koku (Fukuoka Plains).

It is clear, judging by tomb size distribution, that the politically paramount areas at this time were the Kinai (the three largest tombs), the northern shore of the Harima Sea, the Tsuyama Basin, and northeastern Kyūshū (all having substantial numbers of medium-sized tombs). With the exception of Tsuyama, these data suggest that by the beginning of the Kofun period the routes through the Inland Sea had been completely opened up for travel from the Kinai, with the Harima and Suō sea basins particularly well staked out with tombs along their coastlines. The North Kyūshū elements contributing to the building of Hashihaka (Table 5.4) were now reciprocated by the establishment of Kinai-style tombs on the Fukuoka Plains.

Access into the Kinai core was facilitated through two river corridors, the Yodo and Yamato Rivers (Figure 6.3a). The former leads from Ōsaka Bay up into the Kyōto Basin; a tributary, the Kizu River, leads into the southern end of the basin and eastwards through the mountains to Ise Bay on the Pacific Seaboard. The positioning of the two largest-size tombs may be directly correlated with trade routes. Tsubai Ōtsukayama is positioned at the Kizu River corridor as it flowed into the southern basin, with three medium-sized tombs spaced along the Yodo outlet. Following the Kizu eastwards takes one to the Pacific Seaboard via Ise Bay. The Tsubai tomb, therefore, stood at a crossroads leading to eastern and northern Honshū. In contrast, the Yamato River further south supported only one tomb cluster at its far end at Makimuku.[6] The Yamato River flowing through Kawachi was the window to the west for Makimuku, and the Hase River led eastwards to the Pacific Seaboard.

Relations indicated by armour finds

One kind of grave good that may give insight to relative rank and importance in the political hierarchy in the Early Kofun period is armour. Several early tombs featured Chinese-style lamellar cuirasses and/or helmets (Figure 6.4a) as well as mirrors, iron weaponry and tools. The armour and weapons are assumed to have been obtained through the same overseas networks as the bronze mirrors and distributed from the centre. This interpretation is actually supported by the fact that all tombs containing such Chinese-style armour excavated so far are round-keyhole tombs with the same pit-style stone chamber construction containing clay-enclosed split-log coffins, suggesting they conformed to a central standard. Among the tombs containing such armour, however, Yukinoyama (Figure 6.1b: C) is an anomaly, dating not to EK-1 but to EK-3, as attested by its inclusion of beadstone artefacts other than just beads; it might be that both its Chinese-type armour and its lacquered wood cuirass were heirloom objects.

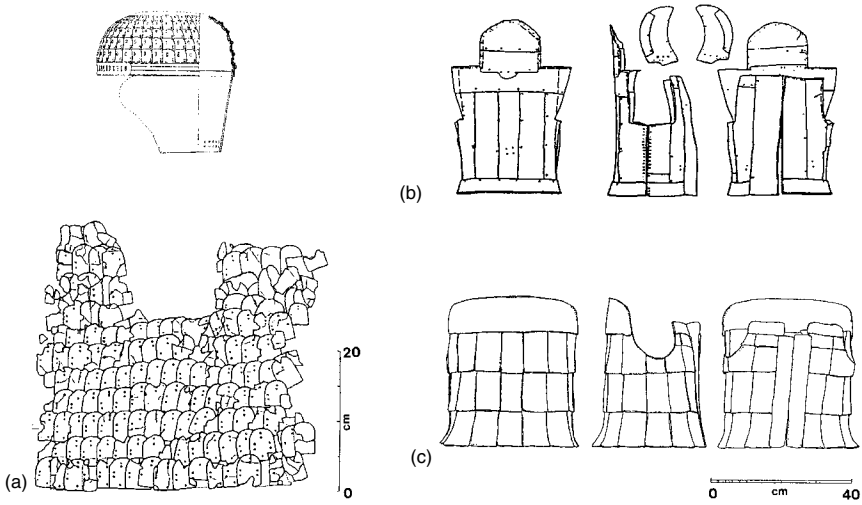

Figure 6.4 Early armour found in Kofun tombs

Foreign styles of armour:

a Chinese-style lamellar helmet from Tsubai Ōtsukayama (after Kyōto University Museum 1989: 45); cuirass from Shiroyama #2 Tomb in Nara (after Horita 1991: fig. 3–1)

b Korean-style vertical-slat cuirass from Kimhae (after Song 1995: 6)

Domestic style of armour:

c Japanese-style square-plate cuirass from Kawaradani #1 Tomb in Nara (after T. Terasawa 2003: fig. 1)

Five of seven known tombs with foreign armour (Figure 6.1b: A–G) are in the Kinai region, exclusively in medium- and large-sized tombs. Surprisingly, none has been recovered in Kibi, with its high concentration of EK-1 tombs. The only western tomb yielding Chinese-style armour, Ishizuka-yama (G), is strategically located near the entrance to the Shimonoseki Strait. This pattern underscores the regional links between the Kinai and North Kyūshū; rather than suggesting competition between these areas, the presence of Kinai styles in the Shimonoseki region is generally interpreted as the extension of Kinai influence and authority to this strategic area for access to the continent.

In the early 4th century, a new type of square-plate cuirass was developed (T. Terasawa 2003), first constructed of square plates aligned in horizontal rows – without an encircling edging frame – and linked by leather thongs (Figure 6.4c). This domestic square-plate armour is confined to medium- and small-sized tombs, primarily within the Nara Basin but in some other strategic areas as well (Figure 6.1b). The importance of the Noto region is re-emphasized with tomb k in Figure 6.1b, while tombs m and n bring new areas into the MTC in northeastern Kantō and western Honshū respectively. However, the tomb constructions yielding this armour differ radically

east to west. Those in the Kinai and further east generally conform to Kinai standards, equipped with a clay-enclosed split-log coffin sometimes surrounded by a pit-style stone chamber. In Kyūshū, however, the burial facilities have a strong local flavour (Terasawa 2003), with cist-chambers or boat-shaped coffins. Such regional differentiation is not apparent among tombs yielding Chinese-style armour.

There is also a noticeable status difference between the two types of tombs: those with Chinese-style armour are mostly round-keyhole tombs over 100 m in length (the exception being Shiroyama #2, a round tomb), while most tombs with square-plate armour are round – or if round-keyholes, they are usually much shorter than 100 m. The burial facilities are also different, with pit-style stone chambers characterizing those tombs having Chinese-style armour (except Shiroyama #2 with a clay enclosure) and square-plate armour tombs lacking stone chambers. Tsude (1992: 71) postulated that the absence of a stone chamber signified a step down in rank. So the tombs with square-plate armour, occuring both later in time and at a lower status level, may indicate elaboration of the socio-political hierarchy. These data further support the hypothesis that military specialists supporting political rulers emerged in the Early Kofun period (G. Barnes 1988: 193). The case of Shiroyama #2 is exceptional and adds an interesting dimension to the political scene, as we shall see later.

Tsubai Ōtsukayama Tomb and particularly Ōmaruyama Tomb (Figure 6.1b: B, D) are also unusual in having vertical-slat armour, the style made on the Korean Peninsula (Figure 6.4b). Tsubai Ōtsukayama belongs to the late 3rd century (EK-1) and Ōmaruyama to the mid-4th century (EK-3); it is therefore possible that the Ōmaruyama armour is hand-me-down from an earlier age, especially given its distant location from the centre of action. This is even more likely given that by EK-3 the islands had developed their own style of square-plate armour. Nevertheless, both these examples suggest that square-plate armour construction was inspired by a compromise between the tiny lamellae used in Chinese-style armour and the long strips forming Korean-style cuirasses, resulting in a fixed-plate thonged cuirass which was developed further in the late 4th century.

Territorial development

The spacing of small- and medium-sized tombs over the landscape may give some indication of territorial development within particular regions where tombs are numerous. Three constraints affect such distributions: they will essentially be linear if confined to roadways, rivers or narrow coastlines; but if open plains are colonized, then the potential for defining territorial clustering will be enhanced; finally, the spacing of river valleys will affect the spacings of tomb clusters between them.

Analysis of several regions reveals a wide range of distributional patterns, involving many problems in measurement and interpretation (Table 6.1).[7] Looking first at average distances between medium-sized tombs in regional groupings, it is interesting that the mainly medium-tomb cluster in the southeastern Nara Basin is the tightest, averaging only 1.7 km between tombs; the loosest is the distribution of medium-sized tombs in North Kyūshū, averaging 33.3 km separation. Medium tombs in the Tsuyama Basin (northern Okayama) average only 7.6 km, while medium tombs in the Kibi region are separated at 13.5 km; in Harima (Hyōgo), the average is 24.6 km. These differences correlate neither with seeming importance (Tsuyama next after Miwa?) nor with distance from the core (one might expect a tendency of greater distances further from the core); therefore, topographic constraints might have been predominant.

Furthermore, it is difficult to translate these average distances into coherent statements of chiefly territories by using half-distance between tomb sites as a radius for calculating areal packing. The medium-sized tombs in the Nara Basin would have territories of around 3 km^2, while the small-sized tombs strung out in Hokuriku would have territories averaging 679 km^2. One would have expected bigger territories associated with larger tombs; in fact, Tsubai Ōtsukayama and Hashihaka Tombs are separated by 22.6 km, giving notional territories of 401 km^2, but the spacing of these tombs might well be determined by their positions at major river corridor exits to the northeast (Niiro 2005). It is therefore likely that the small tombs occurring in linear patterns in Hokuriku and along Lake Biwa have substantial buffer zones between them – rather than big territories associated with them – and probably represent point contacts along the road system rather than developed territorial systems.

Three regions do appear to have substantially developed territorial systems (Figure 6.5), notable by the mixture of medium and small tombs and their clustering on coastal plains in North Kyūshū, Kibi and Harima, involving two of the postulated sources for prototypes of the MTC (Table 5.4). In contrast, the pattern in Yamato is distinctly odd, with an extremely large tomb surrounded immediately by medium-sized tombs which do not seem to represent territorial jurisdictions. Development in the Nara Basin will be examined in detail in the next section, but suffice it here to say that the relatively clear territorial structures in the three areas above, in contrast to the non-territorial distribution in the Nara Basin, suggest a temporal depth of chiefly development in the outer regions that matches Terasawa's argument (cf. Chapter 5) for western intrusion into the Nara Basin to establish a new centre in a relatively non-hierarchically organized area. Conversely, the clustering of medium tombs around the largest two in Miwa suggests role differentiation within a close-knit elite; the term Miwa Court was coined for this nucleation of power by UEDA Masaaki in 1967 (Taketani 1992: 53).

Table 6.1(a) Measurements of EK-1 tomb distances and clusters in specific regions (dated and measured from tables and provincial maps in Kondō 1992–2000). Various calculations of average distances between individual tombs, arranged in order of increasing averages rounded to one decimal place. Tomb numbers coordinate with Figure 6.1a

Region	*No. of tombs*	*Average distance*	*Radius (r) = 1/2 distance*	*A = (π)(r²)*
Yamato	1 lge + 8 med (35 + 33a,33b,34,36,37,38)[a]	1.7 km	r = 0.9	3 km²
Maebaru (old Ito-koku)	1 med + 5 sm (83 + 68,85,86,87,88)	6 km	r = 3	28 km²
Tsuyama Basin (all)	1 sm + 4 med (53 + 52,54,55,56)	6.7 km	r = 3.4	36 km²
Tsuyama Basin (select)	4 med only (52,54,55,56)	7.6 km	r = 3.8	45 km²
Fukuoka Plains (old Na-koku)	3 med + 4 sm (82,92,93 + 89,91,94,96)	9 km	r = 4.5	64 km²
Kibi coast (all)	3 med + 11 sm (57,60,66 + 57,58,59,61,64, 62,63,65,67,68,69)*	9.2 km	r = 4.6	66 km²
Harima	3 med + 5 sm (42,46,49 + 43,44,45,47,48)	9.1 km	r = 4.6	66 km²
Kibi coast (select)	3 med only (57,60,66)	13.5 km	r = 6.7	141 km²
Lake Biwa (select)	two groups (28,25 + 24,27)	14.1 km	r = 7.1	158 km²

Lake Biwa (all)	all 4 (24,25,27,28)	14.8 km	r = 7.4	172 km^2
Chiba (select)	2 groups (6,7,8 + 9,10)	15.2 km	r = 7.6	181 km^2
Core (Yamato + Yodo R. corridor)	2 lge + 3 med (30,35 + 29,39,40)*	20.2 km	r = 10.1	321 km^2
Core (large only)	2 lge (30,35)	22.6 km	r = 11.3	401 km^2
Harima (medium only)	3 med (42,46,49)	24.6 km	r = 12.3	475 km^2
Hokuriku	1 med + 6 sm (15 + 13,14,16,17,18)	29.4 km	r = 14.7	679 km^2
Chiba (all)	5 sm (6,7,8,9,10)	30.7 km	r = 15.3	736 km^2
North Kyūshū (medium only)	7 med (82,83,84,90,92,93,98)	33.3 km	r = 16.6	866 km^2

* Some tombs occur in such tight clusters that it is misleading to use distances between them as significant; it is possible that these clusters indicate general successions of chiefs or immediate subordinates rather than spatially discrete territories. The medium-sized tomb cluster (33a-d,34,36,37,38) in the Nara Basin is represented here only by the position of large-sized Hashihaka and Nishi Tonozuka together (35/33e), while two tomb clusters in Kibi (58,60 and 62,63,65) and one tomb cluster on the Fukuoka Plains (91,92) are each represented as one locality from which measurements were taken

[a] The three 'appearance phase' tombs from Shiraishi (2002, 2004) are not included in these calculations

Table 6.1(b) Measurements of EK-1 tomb distances and clusters in specific regions (dated and measured from tables and provincial maps in Kondō 1992–2000). Calculations of regional spreads of tomb clusters

Region	*Areal shape of tomb spread*	*Measurements*	*Territory?*
North Kyūshū (Ito only)	Square	7.8 km × 7.8 km	61 km^2
North Kyūshū (Ito+Na) (see Figure 6.5a,b)	Isosceles triangle (cluster+linear)	47 km along base × 21 km ht	494 km^2
Kibi (south) (see Figure 6.5c)	Isosceles triangle	32 km along base × 20 km ht	320 km^2
Harima (see Figure 6.5d)	Rectangular	40 km × 17 km	680 km^2
Hashihaka and Tsubai Ōtsukayama	Points	22.6 km between them	401 km^2
Kinai core	Linear	20.2 km avg. distance	321 km^2

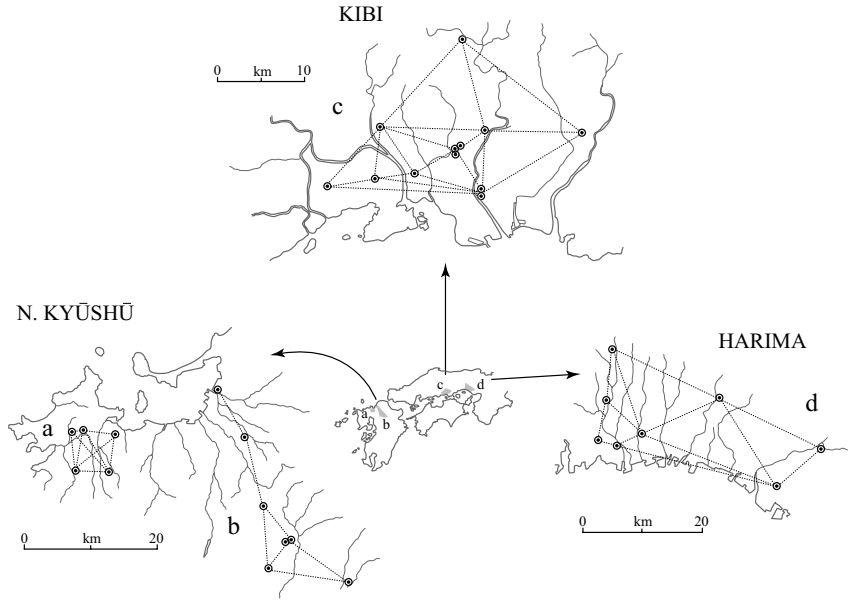

Figure 6.5 EK-1 tomb clusters in three regions of western Japan: (a–b) North Kyūshū, (c) Kibi and (d) Harima (compiled from Kondō 1992–2000). North Kyūshū has one cluster (a) in old Ito-koku territory and one dendritic string (b) in old Na-koku territory. It may be that Kibi and Harima can also be broken down into river drainage units, but the question arises whether these smaller units were independent of each other within each regional cluster. Territorial areas are calculated in Table 6.1b

A different way of measuring territoriality with the three examples named earlier would be to simply calculate the areal spread of the entire cluster (Table 6.1b). With this method, Ito-koku appears to have a territory of only 61 km^2, but if Na-koku (a linear rather than clustered distribution) is included, the area is increased to 494 km^2, Harima tombs spread over a rectangular area of 680 km^2, and Kibi occupies ca. 320 km^2. These can be compared with the territories postulated for the Kinai core, with tombs linearly spaced along the Yamato and Yodo River corridors to form territories averaging 321 km^2, or territories postulated for the sites of the largest-size tombs, Hashihaka/Nishi Tonozuka and Tsubai Ōtsukayama, at 401 km^2. These are greater than the area I postulated on a different basis for Miwa at 225 km^2 (Barnes 1986a), but the calculations overall produce an intuitively satisfying result, suggesting roughly similar sizes for the major regional players at this time even if the territories are structured differently. The fact that the North Kyūshū cluster clearly separates out into smaller

units may imply that some of the other regional units such as Harima, the largest territory (at 680 km^2) can be broken down as well, bringing it more into line with the others. Much more research on the polity structures of the various regions would be welcome.

Regardless of the exact figures, these postulated territorial areas are far smaller than the 1500 km^2 that Renfrew (1986: 2) hypothesized for early state modules. The distributions in the Japanese Islands could have been highly constrained by topography; 86 per cent of the country is mountainous with only 14 per cent lowland plains. The dissecting nature of the riverine systems draining the mountain ranges and the compression of population into the basins, valleys and coastal regions may have led to smaller, more tightly packed territories than seen elsewhere. Each such topographical unit has different potential for either clustered or linear distributions, but it should be recognized that the parallel river courses draining the western Honshū backbone mountain range are spaced every 30 km on average.[8] This surely would have had some effect on protohistoric population distributions – especially given the necessity to control water resources for wet rice agriculture. For these reasons, the divisioning of the landscape into small polities which could be agglomerated into larger political units gives Japan a structure similar to chiefdoms organized by river valleys on the Hawaiian Islands or the northern coast of Peru (Kirch 1984: 31–4; Castillo in DeMarrais *et al*., 1996).

One problem in postulating these regional clusters as coherent polity territories resides with the inventories of grave goods in the tombs. If, by the rank-size rule, the distinction between small- and medium-size tombs represents different levels of the territorial hierarchy, then grave goods might be expected to correlate with rank as measured by tomb size. Unfortunately, the data we have to test this hypothesis is less than satisfactory. Many of the EK-1 tombs have either been disturbed or remain unexcavated. Very few have fully known contents (Table 6.2), but even from these sparse data, we can see that even the *small*-sized tombs contained considerable grave goods, ranging up to four kinds. Because the sample of *medium*-sized tombs with known contents is so small, it is unwise to generalize, though the data show a predominance of more than just one or two grave-good types, up to five types in medium-sized tombs. What these lists *do* tell us is that there was considerable variation, within the size classes, of who was buried with what and that there seems to be no correlation of content with rank as postulated by tomb size. Thus, the idea that the distributions of small- and medium-sized tombs in the regional clusters represent territorial hierarchies remains a hypothesis, though the population aggregations implicit in the numbers of tombs still distinguish these clusters from the point or linear distributions of tombs in some of the outer regions.

Table 6.2 Known contents of small- and medium-sized EK-1 tombs (compiled from Kondō 1992–2000). TR-mirrors emboldened

Among small-sized tombs		*Among medium-sized tombs*
23 of 68 (34 per cent) had known grave goods:		5 of 23 (22 per cent) had known grave goods:
One grave-good type: 1 had beads 1 had flat-rim mirror 2 had iron weaponry 6 had **TR-mirror**	vs	*One grave-good type*: 1 had **TR-mirror**
Two grave-good types: 1 had **TR-mirror** and beads 1 had flat-rim mirror and beads 1 had iron tools and beads 1 had iron weaponry and tools	vs	*Two grave-good types*: 1 had iron weaponry and tools
Three grave-good types: 1 had iron weaponry and tools & beads 1 had iron weaponry and tools & **TR-mirror** 1 had iron weaponry and flat-rim mirror and beads 4 had flat-rim mirrors and iron weaponry and tools		*Three grave-good types*: 1 had flat-rim mirror and **TR-mirror** & beads 1 had flat-rim mirror and **TR-mirror** & iron weapons
Four grave-good types: 1 had iron weaponry & tools & flat-rim mirror and beads (looted) 1 had iron weaponry & tools & flat-rim mirror and **TR-mirror**		*Four grave-good types*: none
		Five grave-good types: 1 had iron weaponry & tools & flat-rim mirror & **TR-mirror** & beads (looted)

Implications

The overall homogeneity and coherence of grave goods and tomb structures in EK-1 are evidence of the emergence of an interacting ruling elite who subscribed to the same ideas of symbolic materialization of their ruling status. It is likely that the cross-flows of material culture embodied long-distance peer contact, but such contact cannot be conceived in blanket terms such as 'conquest' or 'alliance'. For any particular keyhole tomb there are at least four possible explanations – singly or in combination – for that particular constellation of material culture in that particular location: voluntary subscription to a central standard and admission to elite 'membership', competitive emulation of a perceived ideal, dispatch of personnel from the core, or appointment and equipment of a local agent by the centre. The local flavour of the lower-level Kyūshū tomb constructions argues in favour of local appointment, but it is extremely difficult to judge whether those persons buried in Kinai-style tombs were dispatched Kinai personnel. If instead they were local allies, they may have spent time in the Kinai or received dispatched help and instructions in constructing their tombs in the Kinai style.

It is arguable whether EK-1 grave goods were obtained centrally from the embassy expeditions to the continent or in competition for goods from various sources. The content lists for small- and medium-sized tombs are so variable that there appears no relation of grave goods to rank. There are several ways to interpret these findings. If 'packages' of goods relating to rank were distributed from the centre, then the deceased do not seem to have been buried with the full package, implying that some items could have been passed on to others during their lifetimes. This may have been the mechanism for bringing other individuals into the MTC, by affirming membership through gifts of elite goods to cement political or marriage alliances. If there were no packages in the first place, then the grave-good contents suggest either opportunistic acquisition of whatever was available (through competition *or* alliance), or indifference on the part of the centre as to what was being given to whom.

A good example of the elaboration of political hierarchy through re-distribution of prestige goods comes from North Kyūshū (Museum of Yayoi Culture 2004: 21). The EK-1 Nagahachiman Tomb (Figure 6.1a-82) is thought to be the burial of the Na-koku chief, while moated precinct burials at nearby Fujisaki site are dated contemporaneously. The keyhole tomb yielded one TR-mirror and two of the moated precincts yielded a TR-mirror each, one accompanied by a ring-pommel single-edge Chinese sword. Commentators claim that the chief must have received the Chinese goods via Kinai authorities and distributed them to regional underlings (ibid.).

Overall from the EK-1 and EK-3 data, we may be able to postulate the elaboration of both the political hierarchy and the economic system

between these phases as well as a shift in patterns of elite interaction. While EK-1 tombs are characterized primarily by imported materials from China (bronze mirrors, lamellar armour), the EK-2 tombs with beadstone products and EK-3 tombs with domestic armour represent elaborations and extensions of both the economic system and the political hierarchy. Except for the tombs in North Kyūshū and San'in, which have local character and therefore may have contained local characters, many others may represent persons intimately tied to the Kinai core. Whether they were locally appointed or dispatched is a significant question.

The peninsular-style armour in EK-3 tombs signifies a shift from imports from China to those from the Korean Peninsula, while square-plate armour represents the initiation of a domestic armour industry. Thus, there was a critical change in elite interaction patterns in the mid-4th century, resulting in Kofun elites' turning away from China towards the Korean Peninsula. This is consistent with the development of a domestic armour industry needing greater supplies of iron, as the southern peninsula was the source of iron that already fed the production of agricultural tools and weaponry.

The problem of triangular-rimmed mirrors

Kobayashi's theory of mirror distribution

The results of the EK-1 grave goods analysis above have grave implications for the dominant theory concerning political interaction for the Early Kofun period. In addition to constructing his hypothesis on 'heirloom mirrors' to justify his dating of the first keyhole tombs to the 4th century instead of Himiko's time (see Chapter 4), KOBAYASHI Yukio undertook a massive analysis of the distribution of the Late Han and Wei mirrors excavated from Kofun-period tombs (Edwards 1995: figs. 1, 2). His findings, published in 1961, provided an influential sociological explanation of power relations in the Early Kofun period. Essentially, he hypothesized that TR-mirrors were distributed as political gifts by Himiko or her agents to solidify alliances with outlying chieftains. Edwards (1995) has produced an annotated, slightly abridged English translation of Kobayashi's mirror treatise, and he gives a summary and evaluation of Kobayashi's methods and findings in his publication on Himiko (Edwards 1996: 63–5). Edwards continued his interest in mirrors by reporting on and evaluating the Kurozuka Tomb mirror finds of 1998 (Edwards 1998, 1999; Higuchi 2000). Since these reports are all available in English and contain copius detail – not only artefactual but historiographical – the reader is referred to them for edification. Here, I give only the basics of the argument and some updates.

Based on his analysis of 36 bronze mirrors excavated from Tsubai Ōtsukayama Tomb in Kyōto in 1953 (see Tanaka 1992), Kobayashi

proposed that TR-mirrors were distributed to regional leaders 'along the lines of particular social relationships' (Edwards 1996: 63). According to Edwards, archaeologists since the late 19th century had noticed that many TR-mirrors could be identified as members of duplicate sets cast from the same mould but then dispersed across the landscape to different chieftains, coming to rest in their tombs.

By linking tombs which contained members of same-mould sets, Kobayashi was able to demonstrate the centrality of the Tsubai Ōtsukayama Tomb since it has more same-mould mirror links than any other did (Edwards 1995: fig. 2). Kobayashi thus proposed that the Kofun ruler buried in Tsubai Ōtsukayama had been 'the principal distributor of the mirrors to other chiefs' (Edwards 1996: 64).

Kobayashi's treatise on the TR-mirror distribution is the one study that attempts to illuminate the sociology of distribution of the most important grave good in the Kinki-style tomb tradition. However, the major assumption that underwrites Kobayashi's analysis was that the TR-mirrors were gifted to Himiko by the Wei Court, implying to me that: 1) the mirrors were produced exclusively for Himiko and none were available to others except through her; 2) the Tsubai chieftain was in charge of distributing the mirrors to others and kept some for himself; and 3) the mirrors had the political function of establishing hierarchical relationships with, and signifying pledged allegiances by, the receivers.

Comments, criticisms and further research

We have already disabused ourselves of the idea that the 100 bronze mirrors allegedly given to Himiko by the Wei Court were necessarily TR-mirrors (Chapter 4). The argument that Himiko and her successors had *exclusive* access to TR-mirrors resembles arguments in Western archaeology that are heavily discounted: 'In the past, use of "negative evidence" such as the postulated control by early urban centres such as Jericho, of salt trading routes, has found little favour, just because the postulate can never be demonstrated' (Ucko 1989: xiv). In any case, if we look at the actual statistics of the distributions, focussing on the *sets* of same-mould mirrors, it is difficult to argue for strict monopolization: of 71 sets in Kobayashi's analysis, only 23 (32 per cent) had one or more members occurring in Tsubai Ōtsukayama. This could mean that: (1) the Tsubai chief did not keep a copy of a particular mirror even though she/he might have been the original distributor (negative evidence); or (2) that the Tsubai chief did not have exclusive access to TR-mirrors, so that some got distributed without passing through his/her hands (which invalidates the express political function of the mirrors) or (3) that the mirrors could have been passed on further in the political hierarchy (without any direct implication for hierarchical status between Tsubai and the outlying chiefs). Even taken at face

value, the earlier data make it difficult to view the Tsubai Ōtsukayama Tomb chief as *the* centre of distribution if she/he had direct links to only one-third of the recipients.

Among EK-1 tombs (Figure 6.1a) now known to have contained TR-mirrors, Kurozuka (33b)[9] has four sets that are not represented in the Tsubai tomb, while Yoshima (42), Akatsuka (98) and Ishizuka-yama (84) also contained TR-mirrors with no complements at Tsubai (Okamura 1989: 71). There were also many intact tombs which contained only non-TR-mirrors or no mirrors at all. It is possible, as mentioned earlier, that mirrors received could have been passed on before burial, but this simply demonstrates that Kobayashi's thesis, however interesting and reasonable it may seem as a political device for creating alliances, cannot be proven from the EK-1 tombs which are chronologically the most likely to have been subjected to a distributional scheme. At least, there must have been mechanisms for TR-mirror procurement that bypassed Tsubai Ōtsukayama, and the frequent burial of non-TR-mirrors speaks of alternate value systems that prized mirrors of any kind.

The position of Tsubai Ōtsukayama Tomb in the general distributional pattern was most poignantly challenged by the 1997–8 excavation of Kurozuka Tomb, which held 33 TR-mirrors (Kashikōken 1998). Members of 25 different mirror sets were identified there (Edwards 1999: fig. 8), including four new sets that occur only at Kurozuka; adding of these to Kobayashi's 71 sets brings the total of known TR-mirror sets to 75. Not only do these new figures decrease the proportion of Tsubai Ōtsukayama's participation to 23/75 = 30.7 per cent, Kurozuka's participation, at 25/75 = 33.3 per cent, exceeds it. Moreover, the two tombs share members of eight sets. These two facts bring into question the directionality of exchange.

This problem of directionality was not unknown to Kobayashi, since he had already made a special point in his original publication that Kurumazuka Tomb in Okayama prefecture shared eight same-mould mirror sets with Tsubai Ōtsukayama (Edwards 1995: 190). Today, because of the Kurozuka finds, the heat has been taken off Tsubai Ōtsukayama as the focus for mirror distribution, with Japanese archaeologists now arguing for the primacy of the more diffuse concept of 'Kinai authorities', to use Edwards' words (1999), as distributors of TR-mirrors. This emphasis on the Kinai as a whole is based on the fact that 70 per cent of the same-mould TR-mirror sets in Kobayashi's analysis were represented in tombs in Kyōto, Nara and Ōsaka; adding the Kurozuka mirrors to this total only reconfirms the Kinai's dominant position in the archipelago.

Discovery of TR-mirrors in Kurozuka Tomb provided the final rationale for rejecting the Kyūshū hypothesis for the location of Yamatai in favour of equating Yamatai with Yamato. Nara now had its own inventory of TR-mirrors, discovered in the same region as the Hashihaka Tomb. But this

situation raises more questions than it answers: What was the relationship between Kurozuka and Tsubai Ōtsukayama with their near-equivalent totals of TR-mirrors, especially if one is arguing for a single point of distribution? What was the relationship between the Tsubai and Miwa areas as the two most important localities in EK-1?

The fact that Hashihaka and Tsubai Ōtsukayama are located in different river drainages and different mountain basins suggests a degree of independence from each other despite their being nearest neighbours in their size-rank. Nevertheless, it is difficult to conceive of Miwa being the dominant polity without access to the north through the southern Kyōto Basin. The situation is an unusual one in world terms, with the close spacing of two sites of primate candidacy seeming necessarily to have demanded cooperation between them. The nature of Miwa as a political entity in the Early Kofun period is hotly debated, with some archaeologists seeing it as the head of the territorial hierarchy of smaller polities and dependent chieftains that encompassed the entire MTC, and others seeing it as only one among many polities who formed a 'confederacy' of cooperating chieftains. Virtually nobody, except Niiro however vaguely, has introduced evidence for conflict and competition into the argument, but such is one of the dominant attributes of Miwa existence in the textual sources, as we shall see later.

Nara Basin political development

Territorial division

Terasawa (2000) hypothesizes – on the basis of ceramic, lithic and geographical considerations – that there were at least three aggregations in the Nara Basin by the Late Yayoi period: focussed on Shiki in the southeast, Kazuraki in the southwest, and Sou in the north.[10] This divisioning differs somewhat from the four divisions of the basin in Yayoi that I arrived at based on the distribution of bronze bell clusters (G. Barnes 1988: fig. 55). Either way, there is considerable evidence that the basin was not homogeneous social space and that different groupings were present, affecting subsequent socio-political development into the Kofun period, when territorial development is usually assessed by monitoring keyhole tomb placement through time.

In previous publications (G. Barnes 1986a, 1988), I used the rank-size rule to monitor keyhole tomb distribution in the Nara Basin. My two basic assumptions were that tomb size was indicative of rank in a political hierarchy and that tomb clusters stand as proxies for political centres. At that time, tomb dating as listed in my standard reference, the site surveys of the 1970s, was relatively coarse, with each tomb relegated to Early, Middle, or Late Kofun if at all (Kashikōken 1971–74), as opposed to the 10-phase

system now in use (Table 1.2). In those studies, the results of the rank-size analysis revealed two concentrations of large keyhole tombs (averaging 225.6 m in length) within the Nara Basin in Early Kofun, suggesting the partitioning of the basin into two polities (Figure 6.6). I hypothesized that these large-tomb clusters – Saki Tomb Cluster in the northwest and Ō-Yamato Tomb Cluster in the southeast – formed the centres of two polities: Saho in the northwest, focussed on the Saki site, and Miwa in the southeast, focussed on the Makimuku site.

This work was conducted under the rubric of Peer Polity identification (Renfrew and Cherry 1986), but the reaction of Japanese archaeologists to the idea of the basin hosting two contemporaneous polities was negative. Nevertheless, Terasawa himself postulates that only one polity occupied the basin but that the initial extent of this polity was equivalent to only one of his three Late Yayoi socio-cultural divisions in the basin: his Shiki region. In the collection of data for the keyhole tomb project in the late 1980s, published in Kondō (1992–2000), it was clarified that the Saki Tomb Cluster (in Saho) belonged to EK3-4, while the Ō-Yamato Tomb Cluster (in Miwa) belonged to EK1-2. Thus was born the idea that the focus of the Early Kofun polity shifted from Miwa to Saki in the mid- to late 4th century (Shiraishi 1989). However, in discussion with Shiraishi (pers. comm. 12/2004), he admitted that the reason for the shift is unknown and remains one of the unsolved mysteries of the Early Kofun period. The answer, I believe, lies in the history of cultural and political opposition between these areas as revealed below by documentary and ceramic evidence.

Textual support

Among the creation myths recounted in the Age of the Gods section of the *Nihon Shoki* (Aston 1972.1: 126–8), a parallel to Ninigi's heavenly descent myth is that of his older brother Nigihayahi, who descended directly into the Nara region onto Mt Ikaruga and took up residence in Tomi (Figure 6.6), both current placenames in the northwestern Nara Basin. Nigihayahi married a sister of a local chieftain named Nagasune-hiko. When Jinmu, the grandson of Ninigi, progressed eastwards to conquer the Yamato region, the chieftain Nagasune-hiko resisted Jinmu's military advances and had to be subdued. At that point, Nagasune-hiko presented Nigihayahi's Heavenly-feathered-arrow and foot-soldier's quiver to Jinmu, who recognized them as belonging to his great uncle Nigihayahi. Jinmu 'examined them, and said:- "These are genuine." Then in his turn he showed to Nagasune-hiko the single Heavenly-feathered-arrow and quiver which he wore'.

This story illustrates that material goods belonging to elite persons might be used to identify members of the same class (and the same family, in this case) even when not known face-to-face (see Chapter 7). Because bow and

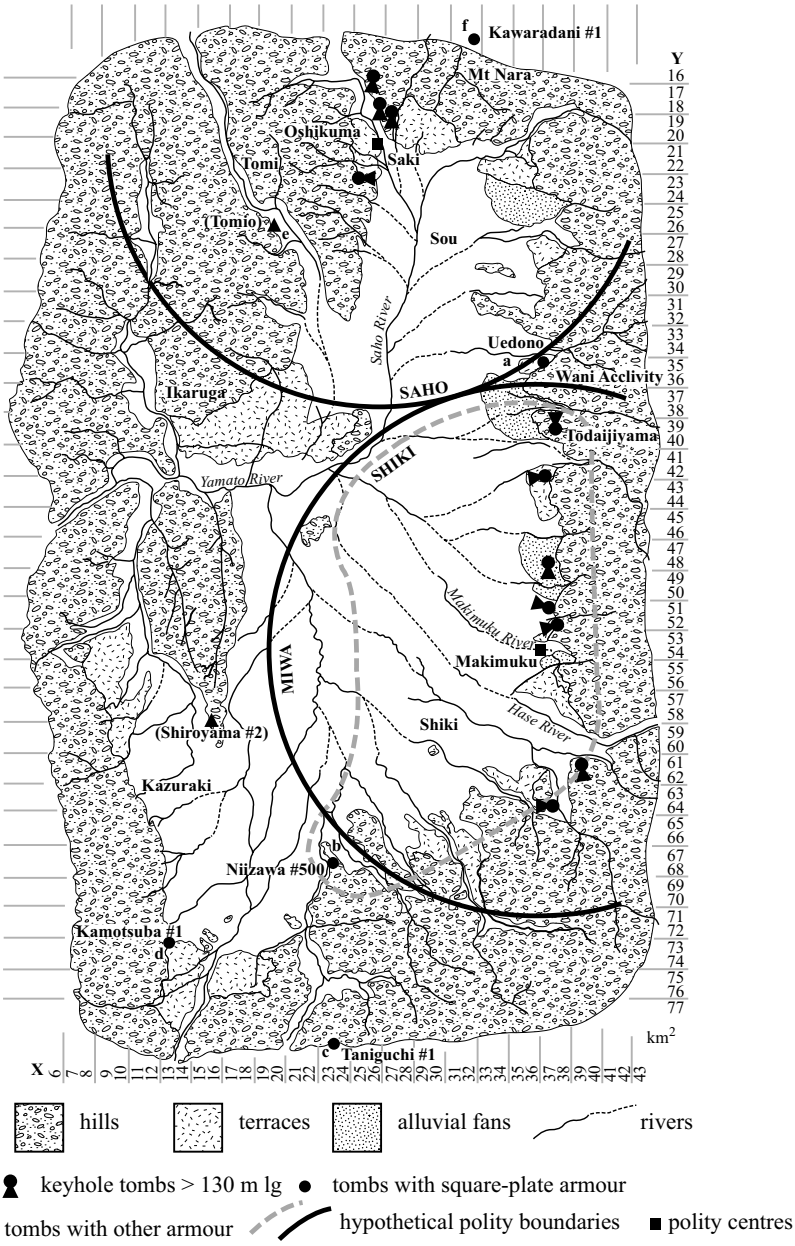

Figure 6.6 Limits to the early Miwa polity and other geographical locators (compiled from Barnes 1986a: fig. 6.5, T. Terasawa 2003: fig. 3). Shown are the main tomb clusters of the northwestern and southeastern Nara Basin in the Early Kofun period, as originally calculated in Barnes 1986a

arrow and quiver were used, this story may reflect a time before the possession of bronze mirrors (the later elite identifier) in the Kinai: that is, it could date to the time of Terasawa's postulated incursion of western elites into the basin after the Wa Disturbances (Chapter 5). If the newcomers are identifiable with the establishment of the Miwa polity, then this story suggests the northwestern basin needed subjugation.

As I have discussed earlier (G. Barnes 1986a, 1988) but repeat here for emphasis, during the time of the first Miwa sovereign Sujin, troops were dispatched to attack a hostile force in Yamashiro (southern Kyōto Basin).[11] Sujin's seeress aunt, the Princess Yamato, 'told the Emperor that . . . Take-hani-yasu-hiko was about to plot treason against him' (Aston 1972.I: 156). Aston's footnote comments that this 'prince' was a 'half-brother' to the emperor (by the traditional genealogy) and he lived in Yamashiro. The *Nihon Shoki* states that the troops 'took sacred jars and planted them at the top of the acclivity of Takasuki in Wani. Then they advanced with their best troops and ascended Mount Nara and occupied it' (Aston 1972.I: 157). These actions suggest that Wani Acclivity marked the northern boundary of the southeastern polity (Figure 6.6), and ritual protection was needed to go beyond; it is thus clear that Mount Nara, on the border between modern Nara and Kyōto prefectures, was not then under Miwa's control and the Yamashiro location may have implied the Tsubai Ōtsukayama Tomb.

If the northern area had to be first subjugated by military force (the Nagasune-hiko and Wani Acclivity stories), it was then affiliated to Miwa through marriage alliance (the Saho story). The story of the 'Saho Uprising' (Aston 1972.I: 171) tells of an attempted coup by the brother and sister pair Saho-hiko and Saho-hime, the latter being the 'beloved' consort of the second Miwa sovereign, Suinin. Not only does the naming pattern of a place-name (Saho) combined with the *hime/hiko* designation imply this was a local ruling gender-pair, it puts them squarely in the northern basin, where the Saho River flows. The Empress, Prince Saho's sister, at first refused to carry out the Prince's plans that she murder Suinin and confessed the plot to her husband. However, when Suinin raised troops to storm the *inaki* ('rice castle')[12] of Prince Saho, she fled to the side of her brother and was immolated with him in the firing of the 'castle'. We can assume this story belongs to EK-2, since the construction of the Saki Tomb Cluster dating from EK-3 began immediately after Suinin's death.

The building of the Suinin Mausoleum (Cover Photo) in the hills overlooking Saki at the beginning of EK-3 is interpreted literally by Shiraishi as a move of the Miwa Court to the northwest. I myself see it more as a symbolic imposition of Miwa authority in the area after disturbances which are portrayed in the chronicles as an attempted coup. The creation of the royal burial ground with concomitant ritual visitations injected the physical presence of Miwa personnel. By incorporating the northwestern

basin into the centre's routine round of ritual activities and by emplacing visible forms of political authority on the landscape, the Miwa Court asserted its authority over a rebellious part of the basin.

It is questionable whether Prince Saho's revolt was a localized phenomenon or whether it was incited in part by competition between Miwa and the ruler ensconced in the southern Kyōto Basin, where the EK-1 tomb of Tsubai Chausuyama was succeeded by the EK-2 Hirao Shiroyama Tomb. Three forms of data so far place the northern boundary of the Miwa polity at approximately the same place in the northeastern Nara Basin: the Miwa/Saho divide (based on the division between large-tomb clusters), the Hashihaka/Tsubai divide (based on primate tomb nearest neighbor distance), and the Wani Acclivity ritual activities (based on textual evidence). By all these measures, Saho may have been included in the nominal territory of the southern Kyōto chieftain (Figure 6.3a) who, if equatable with Take-hani-yasu-hiko, may have been half-brother to Suinin himself. Or, it is conceivable that Prince Saho was one of those interstitial local elites who could theoretically choose which nearby ruler to give their loyalties to. Thus, what we might be seeing reflected in the chronicles is conflict between these two areas for control of the Kinai core or, more likely, of the northern/northeastern trade route; at the least, we can say that Miwa had less than complete control over the north basin and was, in the early phases of the Kofun period, very much confined to the southeast. Three more forms of data – ceramics and two types of tombs with armour – attesting to this early division of the Nara Basin are explored next, after which we return to the problem of competition.

Ceramic support

As mentioned in Chapter 5, the Makimuku district at the heart of Miwa is renowned for the considerable amounts of non-local pottery brought there. Sasaki's analysis of non-local pottery occurrence in Nara during the Yayoi-Kofun transition (1995: 169–80) shows that ceramic importation was a characteristic of the southeast basin in general but in great contrast to the conservative and relatively non-interactive northwestern basin (Table 6.3).

Interaction of the northwestern basin was focussed N/NE (Ōmi and Tōkai) in Late Yayoi; only in the late 3rd century was there migration, indicated by the presence of non-local cooking pots, from both near and far, with regions towards the west being the other major contributors. In the early 4th century, migration from nearby regions into the Saki area appears to have stopped. It is notable that no interaction with Hokuriku is recorded for NW Nara Basin during the transition, nor was there any activity associated with political figures, though Hokuriku pottery is well represented at Makimuku. This implies that Saho was isolated from Miwa during the Yayoi/Kofun transition and only became integrated once Furu pottery

Table 6.3 Presence of non-local potteries in the Nara Basin through the Yayoi–Kofun transition (compiled from Sasaki 1995). Phases follow Sasaki (1995: 54); compare with Table 5.3. Site names shaded in italics. For site locations, see Sasaki (1995: fig. 5-3)

Phase	*Late Yayoi V*	*Early Shōnai (Shōnai 2, Makimuku 2) (mid-late 3rd c.)*	*Late Shōnai (Shōnai 4, Makimuku 3 (late 3rd c.)*	*Furu (=Shōnai 5, Makimuku 4, Furu 1) (end 3rd c.)*
		*AD 250~ ~**Shōnai 3**~*		*AD 300~*
N/NW Nara sites	*Byōdobō-Iwamuro Wani-Morimoto Rokujōyama*	*Byōdobō-Iwamuro*	*Wani-Morimoto Higashi-Ando Yabe, Hosshiin*	*Hosshiin, Heijō?*
Pottery from:	Ōmi: E	Tōkai: E	Tōkai: E,M Ōmi: M Kawachi: M Settsu: M San'in: E,M Kibi: M W.Seto: M	Tōkai: M San'in: M Kibi: M C.Seto: M
SE Nara sites	*Makimuku, Furu*	*Makimuku, Furu Yanagimoto*	*Fujiwara, Furu Innoue, Makimuku Toishi-Tatsumimae*	*Fujiwara, Furu Makimuku, Tobi-Shimoda, Wakimoto Shikishima, Nishi-Tonozuka, Hashihaka Takenouchi*
Pottery from:	Tōkai: E,P Ōmi: P Kibi: P San'in: P Hokuriku: P	Tōkai: M,P Ōmi: M,P Tajima: M Kantō: M,P Kawachi: M,P Kibi: P San'in: M,P Hokuriku: M,P Shikoku: P W.Seto: P	Tōkai: E,M,P Ōmi: E,M,P Kawachi: E,M,P San'in: E,M,P Suruga: P Hokuriku: P Harima: E,M,P Kantō: E,M,P Kibi: P	Tōkai: M,P Ōmi: P Kantō: M,P Hokuriku: P San'in: P Kibi: P Kawachi: M,P E.Seto: P
SW Nara sites [the sites in this category were included in SE Nara by Sasaki, but they show different patterning and so have been separated out here]			*Narabara*	*Narabara Takenouchi*
Pottery from:			Tōkai: P San'in: P Hokuriku: P Kawachi: P Kii: P E. Seto: P N. Kyūshū: P	Kantō: P Tōkai: P Ise: P San'in: P Hokuriku: P Kii: P Kibi: P

E = Commodity exchange; M = Migration; P = Political centripetal action;
~ = to or from, as in ~**Shōnai 3**~ which straddles the column boundaries as shown

matured. This accords with my own finding that types of pedestaled bowls were quite different between Makimuku and the Saki site (Barnes 1986b: fig. 11), suggesting that manufacturing centres were separate with little ceramic exchange between the two areas. If local chiefly figures such as Prince Saho were brought into the Miwa sphere through marriage alliance in the early 4th century (EK-2, Furu 1), then rebellion and suppression would have been possible by EK-3.

The southwestern basin as well – Terasawa's Kazuraki area – seems to have been devoid of external interaction until Late Shōnai. The Takenouchi site belonged to the Middle Yayoi network of sites in the Kinai (Figure 3.4) but was not involved in political activity until the Furu 1 phase (Table 6.3a). This supports the idea that the northern *and* southwestern parts of the basin operated on different socio-cultural premises than the southeastern basin during the Yayoi-Kofun transition, reinforcing the above proposition that the Miwa/Shiki boundaries did not extend into this region until late in the 4th century.

Territorial consolidation

A socio-political division between the northwest and southeast Nara Basin is also illustrated by the distribution of EK-3 tombs containing square-plate armour (Figure 6.6). TERASAWA Tomoko argues that the tombs containing such armour are not randomly located: all but one can be related to passages into and out of the basin (cf. G. Barnes 1988: fig. 50), though not all major transportation routes are marked by tombs. At least the ones present can be interpreted as providing strategic cover at these positions for the Miwa polity. Only the Niizawa #500 Tomb does not cover a transportation route, but Terasawa views it as marking the southwest extent of the Shiki polity.

With the refinement in tomb chronologies, we can now monitor territorial development in the Nara Basin in much greater detail. The tight cluster of southeastern tombs in EK-1 (Figure 6.3a) is maintained while new centres are established south of the Hase River and in the northwestern basin (Figure 6.3b). It is notable that the first tomb built in the northwest was Koizumi Ōtsuka in the Tomio River drainage, not the Saho drainage, again bringing confluence with this area's prominence in the chronicles. By EK-3, keyhole tombs are distributed fairly equidistantly around the basin flanks, averaging 4.8 km apart (Figure 6.3c).

The change in tomb size through these phases is also instructive (Figure 6.2b, c, d).[13] Whereas in EK-1 Hashihaka is far larger than the medium-sized tombs clustered around it, in EK-2 the histogram distribution separates out into three groups, with the largest tombs only reaching 200–210 m in length, the same as Nishi Tonozuka previously; these largest two are both still located in the southeastern basin. The medium group

shows two groupings, with the smallest (Koizumi Ōtsuka) being positioned in the newly claimed area of the northwest. Saho territory joining the MTC, as well as the reduction in size of the largest tombs in the southeast, may have provided the basis for Saho's challenging Miwa power at the end of EK-2. The largest EK-3 tomb is Shibutani Mukaiyama, located in the southeast and assigned to the sovereign Keikō; at 300 m, it exceeds even Hashihaka's length. But there is no longer a substantial gap between the largest and medium-sized tombs: this gap has been filled with a string of large-sized tombs (ca. 180–280 m) clustering in the northwest and southeast, essentially the situation presented in Figure 6.6. A new group of small-sized keyhole tombs less than 70 m long has also appeared, two occurring in the prominent northwestern and southeastern clusters and the third being Niizawa #500, guarding the old Miwa border. Although such small tombs formed the majority in other regions, these are the first in Nara; as such, they suggest the addition of a sub-chiefly stratum overlaping with the military specialists represented by the tombs with square-plate armour (Figure 6.6).

In the past, Japanese archaeologists have expressed reluctance to identify Kofun remains with historical personages, though historians have made many interpretations of the data. T. Terasawa (2003: 57) now accepts the renowned historian Kishi Toshio's idea that the area around the Niizawa #500 Tomb may be identifiable with the homeland of the later Ōtomo clan. She also agrees with Kishi's view that the Wani clan were located in the east-central basin, and she identifies the Uedono Tomb as perhaps belonging to the ancestral group of that clan. The Wani location is not only an important way-stop on the route north – the postulated location of the Wani Acclivity – but also marks the entrance to a minor mountain pass linking the Nara Basin with Ise Bay. In the Sujin chronicle, the person dispatched to deal with disorder in Yamashiro, using the Wani Acclivity as his launching point as described earlier, was Hiko-kuni-fuku, later claimed as the ancestor of the Wani clan hypothesized to have occupied the northeastern basin (G. Barnes 1988: fig. 94). Like the Niizawa tomb in the southwest, Uedono could thus mark the northern edge of the Miwa polity.

Pro-Miwa loyalties

The possibility that Miwa had to quell a rebellion within the Nara Basin itself raises the question of how much actual authority it exercised over chiefly polities further distant. The expansion of the Miwa polity to include the whole basin in EK-3 may imply conversely that its territorial reach did not extend much further beyond, thus reinforcing the idea that the Early Kofun political organization was characterized by elite networking across the landscape in a dendritic structure with large unincorporated areas inbetween centres. Comparison with Keightley's view of Shang political

dominance may throw some light on a general aspect of early polity development (Keightley 2000: 56):

> It is unlikely that the full Shang state, except at its center, can be associated with a defined and bounded territory . . . . The polity seems to have been conceived in terms of personal power (who was in control) and kinship association (what relationship he had to the center). . . . The state itself was conceived of, not as Shang territory, but as a series of pro-Shang jurisdictions, each with its particular relationship to the center.

The Roman Empire also was a patchwork of different groups which had differing affiliations to the centre:

> Few Roman provincial areas under the late Republic were homogeneous blocks of directly administered subject territory. Most were punctuated by areas of allied territory as well as by Latin or citizen colonies, as had been the case in second-century Italy.
>
> (Nash 1987: 97–8)

Thus, the circumstances of political organization in the western archipelago echo those of both early China and Europe. To the extent that bonds developed among and between local rulers, based on 'shared power and meaning' represented in common material symbols, these rulers formed a community separate from commoners under them working the fields of their domains.

The documents suggest that relations between some Kinai chieftains were underwritten by marriage alliances – though this is never an absolute guarantee against hostilities, as demonstrated by the marriage alliance between the sovereign Suinin and Princess Saho, linking two previously separate parts of the Nara Basin. Whether Suinin and Take-hani-yasu-hiko were truly half-brothers (as suggested by the traditional genealogy) or brothers-in-law (as would make sense with marriage alliance between regional chieftains) cannot be ascertained, though either could have produced hostilities. The *Nihon Shoki* (Aston 1972.I) further states that Suinin's predecessor Sujin took wives of the daughters of both Araka, the Tohe (Chief) of the Land of Kii, and Oho-umi no-Sukune from Ōmi, while Suinin took to wife the daughter of Fuchi of Ohokuni in Yamashiro and five daughters of Prince Michi no Nushi (Lord of the Road) of Tanba. Yamashiro, Ōmi and Tanba lie on routes north from Nara to the Japan Sea, while Kii forms an alternate southern outlet to the Ōsaka Bay region. At least two of the name elements (Tohe and Nushi) of the fathers of the brides indicate top-level persons in local hierarchies.

The *Nihon Shoki* also records face-to-face interaction of the Miwa sovereigns with many of these leaders whose names incorporate a geographic referent specific to Eastern Seto: Tajima Mori was sent to China;

'Kibi-tsu-hiko' was sent to Western Seto; while Tamba no Chinushi was sent back to Tanba. We have already mentioned the dispatch of Prince Yamato to the east (Chapter 5), and the sovereigns themselves are said to have travelled widely: Suinin contemplated travelling to Kii, while both Keikō and Chūai are said to have journeyed to Tsukushi. The details of these various assignments and adventures may be fictitious and the timing imprecise, but the patterning is clear: the Early Kofun period is acknowledged by the 8th-century courtiers as having been characterized by widespread contacts among strategically placed chiefly figures in western Honshū, each with differing relationships to the centre. Movement of these figures was at times centripetal, with distant polity personnel presenting themselves in Miwa, as well as centrifugal, with Miwa personages travelling outwards.

Whether there was a strict hierarchy among these elites is hotly debated between theorists who promote respectively the concept of an Early Kofun 'confederacy' of polities or of a strictly hierarchical 'keyhole-tomb state'. Even among the former, however, there is recognition of a *primus inter pares* ruler, who is assumed to have been the sovereign in Miwa. Given that the Mounded Tomb Culture originated in Makimuku, it is understandable that Miwa was viewed as a cultural centre. However, the extent of Miwa's political authority, as opposed to its material influence, was far more restricted; its defined and bounded territory increased from EK-1 to EK-3 to encompass the Nara Basin, but elite relationships beyond the basin speak not for uniform hierarchical and bureaucratic control but for a system of negotiated alliances with widely separated individuals, including the possible assignment of Miwa personnel to distant parts. If actual political power was so seemingly ephemeral, the question arises: why was Miwa culture so dominant among the MTC chiefs at this time? We will return to this question in Chapter 8 but first must review the role of objects in Miwa power structures.

Chapter Seven

Prestige Goods and Class Identity (Mid-3rd to Mid-4th Centuries)

MTC as the second prestige-good system

In Chapter 3, we glimpsed the prestige-good system that was established in North Kyūshū during Middle-Late Yayoi. Although the Mounded Tomb Culture (MTC) has not yet specifically been cast in the mould of a prestige-good system, it is possible to do so. The Early Kofun grave goods repertoire is comprised mainly of items made of precious resources (iron, bronze, beadstone) and created by specialist craftspeople exclusively for elite use (Figure 7.1). Our understanding of this sytem is incomplete, since we have as yet little information on the organization of production and mechanisms of distribution. It is possible, though, to compare the MTC system with the earlier Yayoi prestige-good system, enhancing the interpretation of these societies as set firmly at the 'Edge of Empire'.

Except for comparisons of the lifespans of certain objects across the Yayoi-Kofun boundary (e.g. Hashiguchi 1987), the grave goods of the Early Kofun period have not generally been seen in the same light as those from the Yayoi-period graves in North Kyūshū, but in fact there are many similarities. Kawano (2001) discusses both as two 'stages' of the same system, postulating that the second stage began when Kinai communities linked into the Japan Sea trade in iron and beads. I disagree, since from the evidence at hand, it was precisely the new sourcing of Chinese bronze mirrors that formed the focus of a new prestige-good system in Early Kofun. We already know that Chinese mirrors were difficult to obtain in Late Yayoi, hence the local production of small coarse bronze mirrors in North Kyūshū to remedy this shortage (Takakura 1985). Thus, access to Wei mirrors, written into history through Himiko's embassies to the Daifang commandery, was critical in stimulating the development of the Early Kofun prestige-good system – which can be viewed as a 'reformulation' of the earlier Middle Yayoi-period system with new actors, a different geographical context and different socio-political setting. It was not a natural evolution

Figure 7.1 Standard Early Kofun grave goods from Shikinzan Tomb, Ōsaka (courtesy of Onoyama Setsu, with permission of Kōdansha)

4 Chinese mirrors, 8 hoe-shaped bracelet-shaped objects (6 made of jasper/green tuff and 2 of shell), 3 spindle-whorl-shaped objects, 6 cylindrical beads, 2 small beads, 3 *magatama* and 1 wheel-shaped stone bracelet-shaped object

out of the Kyūshū system, since it depended both on the historical contingency that the Wei Dynasty revived tributary trade at Daifang in the mid-3rd century and on a radical shift in values within the Kinai region that stimulated rulers to begin depositing their bronzes in individual burials.

In comparing the Early Kofun and Middle Yayoi prestige-good systems, the facts that iron and bronze were imported while hinterland production focussed on ornaments of stone are the most outstanding material commonalities. Individual artefact types, however, differ greatly. Although shell ornaments were manufactured into the Early Kofun period at the Hirota site in southern Kyūshū, shell bracelets were not mainline prestige goods in the Early Kofun MTC, replaced by beadstone objects primarily manufactured in the Kaga district on the Japan Sea coast (Figure 7.2). The few shell bracelets known from the tombs are far outnumbered by bracelet-shaped stone ornaments in three styles (Figure 7.3). Two types of stone sceptre are also common in the mounded tombs (Figure 7.4); though said to have Yayoi precedents in organic materials (Katada 1970; Hōjō 1996: 328; Kawamura 2004: 64), they apparently did not enter the burial repertoire until the Kofun period.

Metal weaponry was symbolically more important in Yayoi in North Kyūshū than in Eastern Seto, while iron tools acquired symbolic meaning in the Early Kofun MTC; iron arrowheads became a new grave-good category, deposited *en masse* in Early Kofun tombs. Halberds and socketed spearheads (both Chinese-style artefacts) completely disappeared in Early Kofun, while tanged spearheads and body armour were added.

In overview then, during the Late Yayoi period, the Kinai area was peripheral to the main focus of political development in North Kyūshū. But from Terminal Yayoi, Kinai developed into a core in its own right. An emergent core requires exotic goods for consolidating the ruling elite's position in the status hierarchy and for drawing other elites into relationships of alliance and eventually subservience. Few polities occupy territories rich in precious metals, gems or other valuable goods, so that long-distance importation of exotica is usually characteristic of developing complex societies (cf. the classic works of Adams 1975; Chang 1975; Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975; Kohl 1978; as well as Algaze 2001). Such importation, or resource extraction, usually occurs within the context of asymmetrical relations between a developing core and a less-developed but resource-endowed periphery. Secondary states, which come into being through asymmetrical relations themselves (e.g. Himiko and the Wei Court), then create further asymmetrical relations by developing a hinterland (Kinai and Hokuriku/Kantō). The periphery becomes a core which then creates a further periphery. This 'nesting' of core-periphery systems has been noted by others (Schortman and Urban 1992a: 19), and it is reminiscent of one process of fractalization – if an offhand reference to chaos theory is allowed – where similar forms of organization are spawned *ad infinitum* with changing resolution of scale.

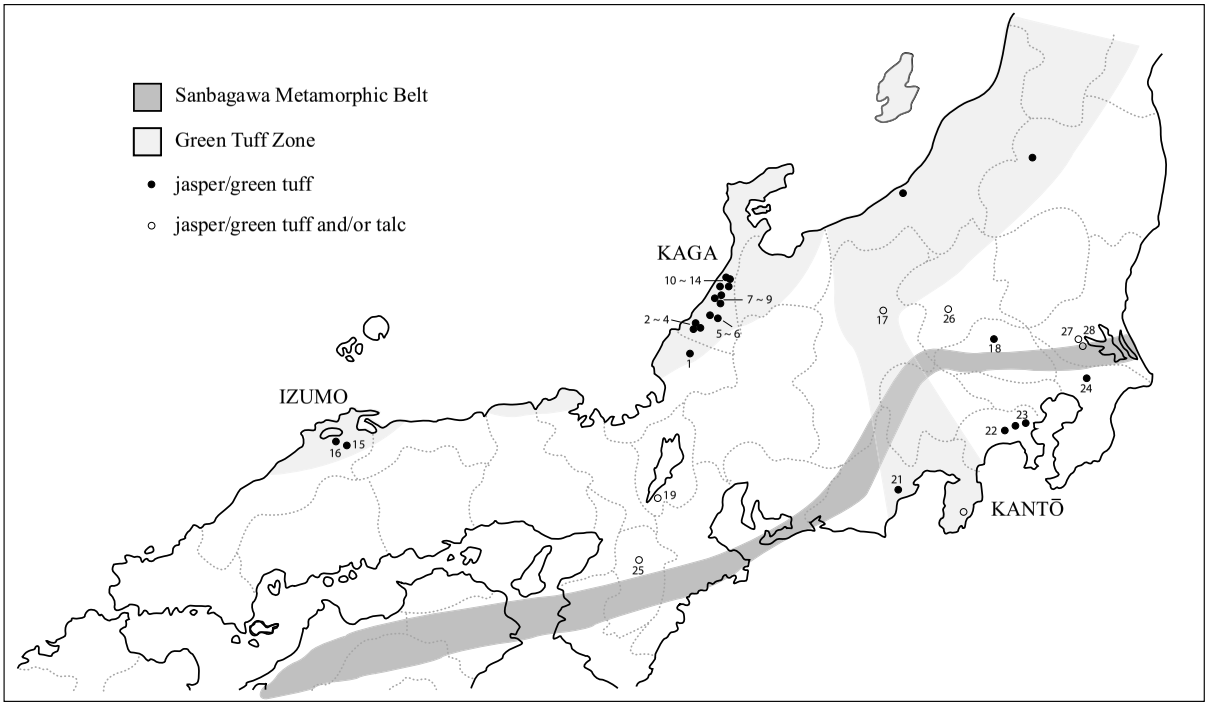

Figure 7.2 Beadstone manufacturing sites in the Early Kofun period (after Kawamura 2004: fig. 1)

Site no. 25 is Makimuku. The Green Tuff Zone along the Japan Sea coast provided most of the green tuff and jasper objects for the tombs, but talc objects were generally sourced from the Sanbagawa Metamorphic Belt

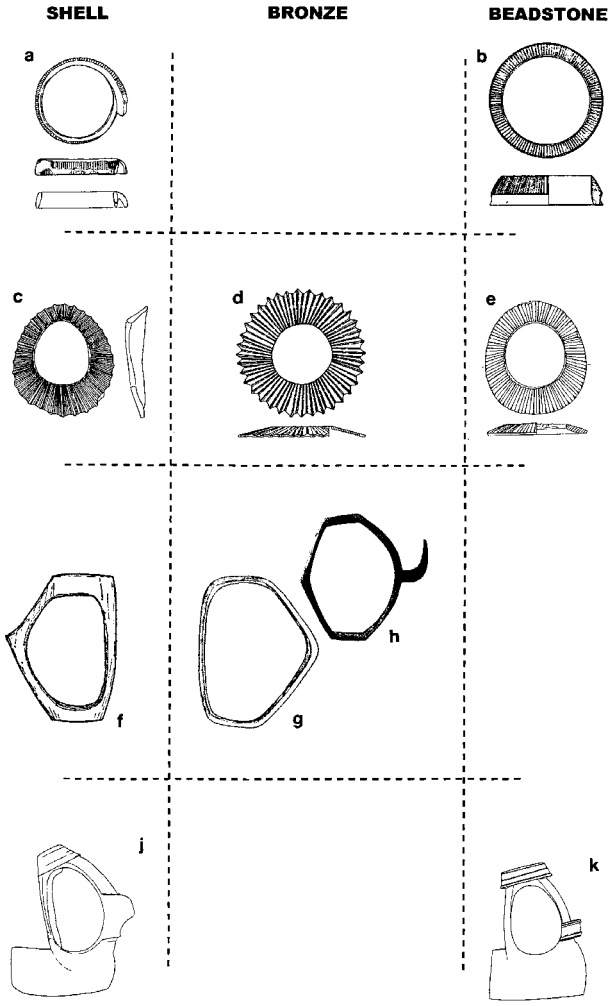

Figure 7.3 Beadstone bracelet-like objects and their Yayoi antecedents (a, c, d, e, j, k) after Kawamura 2004: figs. 1,7; b after Esaka *et al.* 1983: 12; f, g after Sahara and Kanaseki 1979: fig. 249 and back foldout; h after Kuraku 1989: fig. 325). Not to scale

Most beadstone *ishikushiro* bracelets (b) replicate the symmetrical radial striations of the *imogai* (Conidae) shell (a). 'Wheel-shaped' stone bracelets (*sharinseki*) (e) usually replicate the asymmetrical bivalve shell bracelet (c), but the bronze imitation (d) is unnaturally circular. The *horagai* (*Cassis cornuta*) conch shell sliced vertically is distinguished by a small side projection (f), reproduced in bronze in varying degrees of definition (g, h); the version with the most elaborate projection (j) was copied in beadstone as the 'hoe-shaped' bracelet (*kuwagata-ishi*) (k)

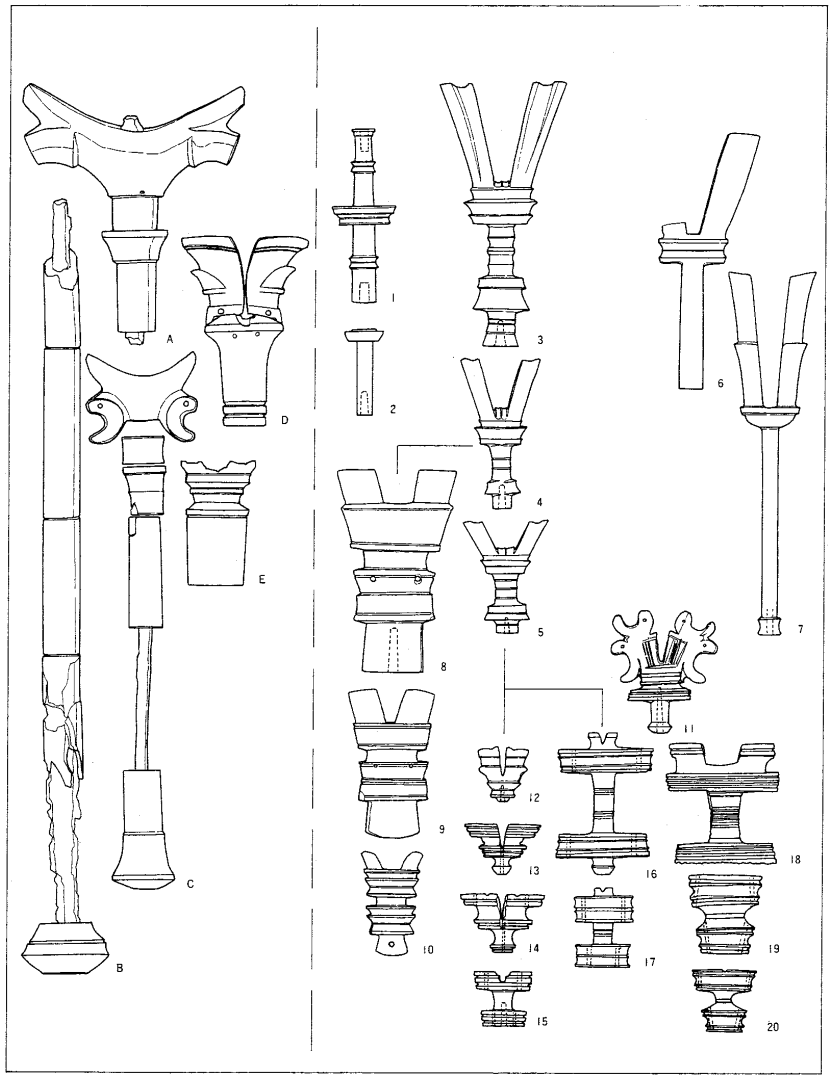

Figure 7.4 Beadstone sceptres made of jasper or green tuff (after Hōjō 1996)
A–B sceptre parts
1–20 zither-bridge-shaped (*kotojigata*) objects

Three significant aspects of these prestige-good systems add to our understanding of Japan at the Edge of Empire. First is the observation that the hierarchization of North Kyūshū society was accelerated through contact and interaction first with Bronze Age chieftains on the peninsula and then with the Chinese court. Since '100 communities' were allegedly in

contact with Lelang, there appears to have been considerable competition among them but no clear cleavage into over-arching elite and commoner groupings. Child burials with shell bracelets (especially the hoe-shaped conch-shell bracelet the 6-year-old at the Kanaguma site in Fukuoka was wearing) have been interpreted as evidence of hereditary ranking, and competition between ranked individuals is thought to have resulted both from productive success in rice agriculture and the ever-increasing need for more land and water control (Hashiguchi 1987: 188).

Second, I would argue that there was no prestige-good system in the Kinai before the Kofun period, and the emergence of one was based on access to deity-beast mirrors. Prestige-good theory is built on the assumption that prestige accrues first and foremost to individuals, not communities. The production and distribution of Yayoi bronze bells may have been overseen by chiefly figures, but since the bells were not buried with individuals, enhancement of the status or prestige of those figures cannot be recovered archaeologically. The deposition of precious goods in individual graves as found in the MTC required a change in Kinai values and burial customs to provision the dead with their own prestigious goods. It does not follow, however, that the adoption of a prestige-good mentality by Kinai elite necessarily engendered a competitive and predatory attitude. In the apparently pacific spread of the MTC, we can perhaps see the influence of community values of the previous bronze-bell culture in the use of Kofun-period grave goods: supporting alliance and solidarity, whereas in North Kyūshū the prestige goods appear to have been a source of competition and warfare.

Third, the social context of the Early Kofun prestige-good system differs vastly from the Yayoi system in North Kyūshū. The tombs containing the goods are monumental structures, separated in space from settlements and from commoner cemeteries. They show a sophistication of construction and investment of labour that was beyond the reach of immediate kin. In all these respects, those buried in the tombs are clearly socially distinct from all others in society. Thus, the prestige goods were not available to a great variety of individuals further down the political hierarchy – as suggested for North Kyūshū – only to those at the highest level. What the MTC and its prestige-good repertoire represent is the emergence of a society stratified into two classes: elite families and commoners, whose burials are little known because of their ephemeral construction and paucity of grave goods. Among the elite, only the rulers were first eligible for tomb burial, but through time, more members of elite families became eligible. By the 7th century, clan cemeteries of aristocratic family tombs covered the landscape.

Finally, the Early Kofun prestige-good system can be viewed as the last installment of this first grand phase at the Edge of Empire and, simultaneously, a manifestation of the growing dominance of peer polity relations. Through comparison with the Yayoi prestige-good system in North Kyūshū,

we can see how the nature of the Early Kofun was defined by concerns of empire to even a greater extent than the Yayoi system. China was seen not only as a source of precious goods but also as *a model of how to use them*; this lesson seems not to have been learned earlier, when the possession of prestige goods apparently signified wealth and personal status but led to divisiveness between communities. In the Early Kofun, prestige goods were manipulated to consolidate relations within the elite class despite the growing divide between them and the lower class.

Elite identity and interaction

Formation of a supra-regional elite

The Early Kofun Mounded Tomb Culture was thus the material manifestation of the creation of a supra-regional elite class that integrated previously balkanized Late Yayoi chiefdoms by drawing local rulers into an interacting group of superior status. Any particular local ruler was subject to tension between the vertical pull of local affiliation and the horizontal attraction of belonging to the supralocal elite class. Interaction of local leaders with their distant peers involved the 'translation' of local interests into supra-regional elite interests, as specified in Actor Network Theory which 'postulates the existence of a single field of significations, concerns and interests, the expression of a shared desire to arrive at the same result. . . . Translation involves creating convergences and homologies by relating things that were previously different' (Callon, quoted in Brown and Capdevila 1999: 32).

The distribution of prestige goods represents a different problem from tomb-building. Constructing a large tomb required, in the least, control over labour, land, and food resources. With access to these, any local leader could build him/herself a self-aggrandizing tomb, but how could they gain acceptance by other elites, rather than just enjoy elevated status within their own communities? This, I argue, was the function of the grave goods. Unless each local leader travelled to the production source and negotiated for prestige goods (not impossible but logistically and socially demanding), such local rulers must have relied on trade and exchange with outsiders to acquire the prestige goods needed to prove membership in the elite class. Perhaps TR-mirrors were distributed from the centre in the first instance as originally postulated by Kobayashi, but other goods were not, and the TR-mirrors may have further changed hands several times thereafter. Thus, the logical social corollary to the distribution of prestige goods in the tombs is a network of relationships among elites, some of whom did have direct access to producers. Since they all would have had similar status (as emergent elites), a marriage system of alliance and affiliation between regional

elite families may have formed the context for obtaining prestige goods as dowry or gifts between familes and being drawn into an operative network.

Subscription to the MTC by new elites obviously had to be reciprocated through recognition by old elites: interaction was a two-way street. By possessing the right goods, elites could recognize each other as members of the same group and accept each other as their primary audience for attention, rather than their own subordinate local residents. The role of prestige goods as identity creators and signifiers meant they played an active part in manipulating social relationships between individuals and among groups. The particular nature of the role, however, did not have to be singular: several strategies and objectives may have been employed, perhaps tailored to different objects. For bronze mirrors, one of these was as alliance creators through the medium of central ritual, another as elite identifiers in potentially dangerous situations.

In considering all these mirrors together, we may postulate, first of all, that the idea of exchanging mirrors of whatever type to create both social and political alliances among the MTC elite was a conscious adaptation of the Chinese practice of gifting mirrors to political inferiors in exchange for pledges of allegiance. The emerging elite of the Early Kofun period, especially in EK-1 when most TR-mirrors would first have been distributed, were not yet so politically superior as to demand allegiance; instead, the sealing of alliances among emergent chiefs in the Kinai region is a more likely scenario. The shift from *allegiance* to the Chinese court in hierarchical terms to *alliance* in peer terms is all-important in understanding the survival and elaboration of polity infrastructure in the first half of Early Kofun.

Badges of membership

It must be admitted that postulating the use of prestige goods in *living* Early Kofun society is a risky business, since such goods are always found in the tombs as grave goods and rarely if ever occur in settlement sites. The 8th-century *Nihon Shoki* chronicles, however, contain several passages indicating how prestige goods may have functioned in living situations to facilitate identity recognition and communication among the Kofun-period elite. The first tells of Emperor Keikō's travels from Kinai region to the western Inland Sea area (20 days distant); his party was met by a local chieftain's ship bearing a white flag and a *sakaki* (*Cleyera japonica*) tree branch hung with a sword, a mirror and a jewel (Aston 1972.I: 206). Such tree branches, which are still used as sacred objects in Shintō rituals, can be seen in the incised drawings of boats (Figure 7.5); parasols such as those recreated in *haniwa* are also visible in the drawings. Similar stories are related about the sovereign Chūai, who also travelled to the western Inland Sea and was met by two different chieftains, whose ships likewise displayed *sakaki*

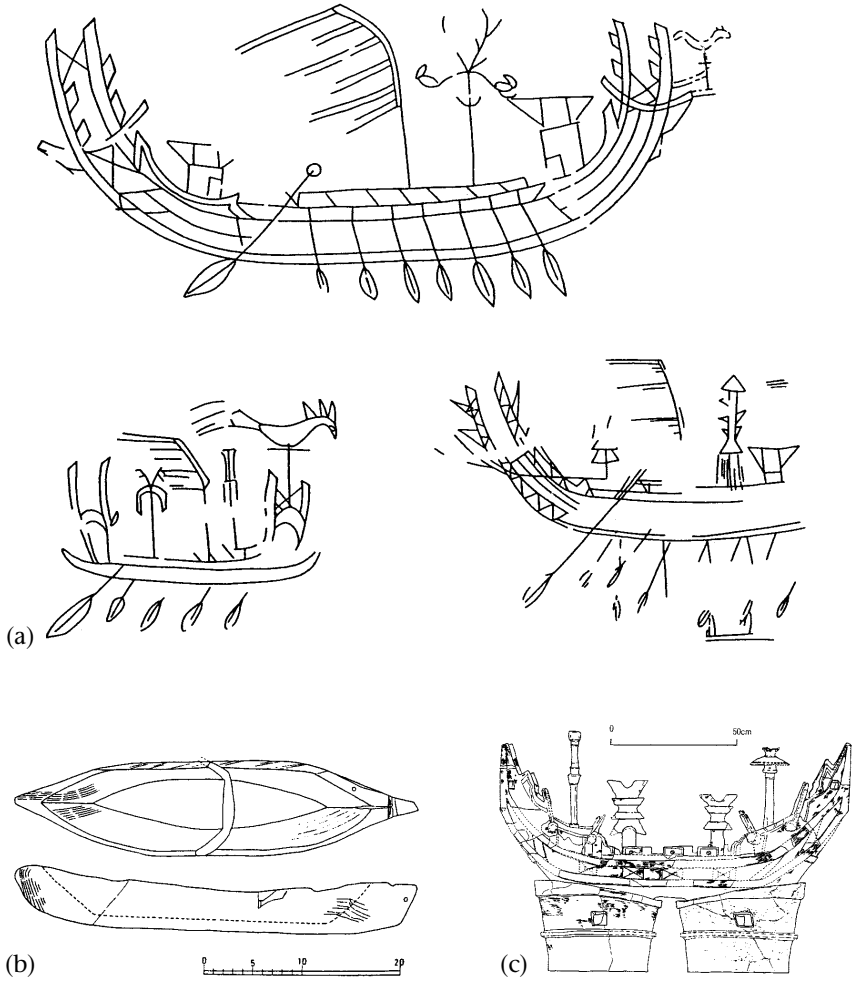

Figure 7.5 Evidence of boat travel from wooden and ceramic sculptures
(a) Three sketches of boats on *haniwa* from Higashi Tonozuka Tomb in Nara (unscaled) (after Shiraishi 2003: fig. 11)
(b) Wooden boat sculpture (40 cm long) excavated from Makimuku (after Ishino and Sekigawa 1976)
(c) *Haniwa* boat with parasol and sceptre representations from Hōzuka 1 Tomb, Mie prefecture (after Woo 2002: fig. 14)

branches hung with mirror, sword and jewel (Aston 1972.I: 221). The second chieftain is said to have presented these materials to Chūai. It is possible that one story has been duplicated in these records, since some scholars consider Chūai a fictitious sovereign; but these are not the only stories available.

Another passage illustrates how such objects functioned in communicating with the gods as well as among the elite themselves: the sun goddess isolated herself in a cave, whereupon a *sakaki* branch was decorated with a mirror, jewel and tree bark fibres; then a liturgy was recited to lure her out again (Aston 1972.I: 41–4). In yet another story, different objects were used, as introduced in Chapter 6 above: 'Umashimaji . . . allowed Nagasunehiko to show the invading Jinmu the Heavenly Serpent Arrows and quiver of his father. . . . Jinmu accepted these as positive identification [and] Umashimaji, the sired, proved his heavenly ancestry with arrows and a quiver' (Ōbayashi 1984: 176–7).

In these recorded incidents, these various sumptuary objects are put to use for purposes of identification, conciliation and currying favour. Interestingly, however, they are almost always depicted as being offered from social *inferior* to social *superior*. In the above discussions of bronze mirrors, Kobayashi had assumed that TR-mirrors were gifted from superior to inferior along the Chinese model to facilitate political consolidation; I have additionally postulated their exchange among peers to solidify marriage alliances or social bonds. These are hypothetical reconstructions by present-day scholars, but the chronicles themselves give no indication that such gifting and exchange took place downwards in the social hierarchy.

The stories in the chronicles reveal exclusively the use of prestige goods in identification display and subordination ritual, as in offering goods up to a superior even if they did not physically change hands in that direction. Ōbayashi (1991a: 9) has commented how appropriate it was, as a signal of submission, that a chief gave a set of objects equivalent to the imperial regalia back to Chūai. But we do not know whether the mirror, sword and jewel were indeed considered imperial regalia at the time of this story. The important aspect here is that the items were used to identify oneself and *could* be used to have a relationship acknowledged and solidified. We must be careful, however, in accepting the stated superior/inferior relationships, as these may have been imposed by the chroniclers to elevate those persons designated as imperial ancestors. These stories do not indicate tributary relationships per se, and no written records enlighten us on how individuals obtained the goods in the first instance.

The inclusion of geographical referents in at least two of these stories makes it clear that identity recognition facilitated by such special objects occurred within the Inland Sea region. The chronicles therefore support our archaeological interpretation of a 'supralocal' elite grouping – a class of elites who interacted together via special symbolic goods which served as badges for recognition, acknowledgement and acceptance of each other. They also, however, suggest there were status rankings between central and peripheral persons and that the use of the symbolic objects could be deployed upwards in hierarchical relationships as well as disbursed downwards. These

generalizations apply at least in Early Kofun times as recorded for the Jinmu-Sujin line of kings.

Stratified peer polities

Extracting ourselves from the substantive data of the Yayoi-Kofun transition discussed earlier, we can identify a general pattern that is important for state formation: no state has been documented to have formed without social stratification first. In my past work, I have used the phenomenon of visible social stratification – that is, the MTC – as the threshold of state formation in Japan (G. Barnes 1986a, 1987, 1988). However, it is worth reflecting on the meaning of the words 'social stratification' since the term is so variously used in the literature.

Processes of social stratification

The term 'social stratification' can mean both a process and a state of being. Thus in some senses it is interchangeable with the designation 'stratified society', and many authors do use it in this way, for example the 'evolution of social stratification' (Earle 1977: 10), or the 'minimal development of class stratification' (Friedman and Rowlands 1977: 213). However, when used thusly, do these statements imply that the nature of stratification changes through time? That the society has embarked upon the process of social stratification? Or that stratified society is present but in a somehow incomplete form? The basic question here concerns the distinction between a process and its result.

More than a quarter-century has passed since the first definitions of stratified society as a 'result' of various processes were offered by state formation theorists:

1. The first was espoused by Fried in terms of socio-economic classes: 'A stratified society is one in which members of the same sex and equivalent age status do not have equal access to the basic resources that sustain life' (Fried 1967: 186). By this view, the process of stratification is 'the development of differentiated rights of access to basic resources' (ibid.: 191).
2. The second involved the recognition of two socio-political classes, the governors and the governed. As for the mechanism for socio-political stratification, Service stated that the 'governors created themselves . . . rather than having been the creation of others' (1975: xiii) and that 'the creation and extension of the authority bureaucracy was also the creation of the ruling class' (ibid.: 285).
3. The third characterization was based on genealogical distinctions between two social classes: aristocrats and commoners. The progression from ranked to stratified society is achieved when a society – all of

> whose lineages are ranked in order of genealogical distance from a common ancestor – suddenly split into two groups, an upper group among whom ranked orderings and genealogical connections are maintained, and a lower group with whom all vertical ties disappear and whose relations to the ancestors are lost, blotted out. This process may well follow the model established by Friedman and Rowlands (1977) for the formation of closed marriage classes based on social rank. But this cannot happen in a small society where there are so few members at the upper level that there is no one of similar rank to marry. In such a case, the members must establish long-distance contacts to find marriageable persons among other groups of equivalent status. This is the point where marriage alliance between elites of different groups may effect the formation of 'clan confederations' as proposed by Kondō (1986). It will be important in future to examine further how the spread of the MTC facilitated new kin relations among regional elites.

If we retain a strict distinction between the process (social stratification) and the result (stratified or class society), then we must deal also with the problem of the temporal relations between the two. We must also distinguish between the processes of stratification and the antecedent processes of centralization and hierarchization that gave rise to social differentiation and ranked statuses.[1] Both these antecedent processes began as social differentiation by age and sex, then occupational and socio-political roles, eventually resulting in the formation of ranked society. However, ranked societies do not automatically become stratified societies, and different process must be operationalized to achieve the splitting of a hierarchically centralized society into two groups, the rich and the poor (Fried), or the governors and governed (Service), or the elite and commoners (Friedman and Rowlands).

It is assumed that the process of status differentiation in the western archipelago began with the interaction among peoples of the peninsular Bronze Age and insular Yayoi cultures, then enhanced through interaction with the Chinese court; the result of these interactions was the emergence of centralized, hierarchical societies in North Kyūshū, referred to by the Chinese as *guo* with 'kings' (*wang*) at their heads. Interestingly, most 'kingly' burials date to Early and Middle Yayoi of North Kyūshū, and Terasawa believes that if the richly accoutred burials are assessed by the same criteria as the mounded tombs of the Kofun period, then it could be argued that North Kyūshū society achieved social stratification in the Yayoi period. But given that there seems to be a continuous distribution of material goods throughout the social hierarchy without clear divisions into two classes, I would argue that North Kyūshū society appears to have been highly ranked in centralized and hierarchical communities. It is not clear what the ranking pattern was within these societies, but the North Kyūshū

burials in Late Yayoi show a range of grave facilities and sliding scale of grave-good deposition that indicate gradual degrees of social difference with some families and individuals singled out for preferential burial (Matsuura 2003). These may well have been treated as elite individuals, but they were not yet part of a wide-ranging elite *class*.

The building of the Hashihaka Tomb was the first manifestation of the the MTC, but if nothing had followed it, then society would have remained unstratified. The key to the formation of stratified society in Japan was the emergence of a supra-regional elite, the chiefs in western Japan who suddenly abandoned their local mound-burial tradition to adopt the keyhole tomb as their resting place. This was more than an act of *emulation*: it was a *subscription* to a common elite sub-culture that had an economic and material focus in Yamato. The result of such subscription was, hypothetically, to disembed the ruling stratum of the regional chiefdoms from their local kinship hierarchy and propel them into supra-regional spheres of communication and relationships.

The mechanism for development of stratified society in the 3rd-century archipelago is thus hypothesized here to be the voluntary subscription to the Mounted Tomb Culture. There remains, though, the question as to which side initiated the relationship in each case: those responsible for building Hashihaka, or the outlying chieftains? Although the MTC is characterized as 'homogeneous' as opposed to the antecedent variability in the Yayoi mound-burial tradition, that homogeneity is not rigorous enough to have been imposed, with clear distinctions between standardized and non-standardized tombs. Nevertheless, in the very first phase (EK-1) of adoption of mounded tomb building throughout Kinki at least (Kondō 1992–2000, Kinki-hen: 25), the diagnostic characteristics are the building of a flare-fronted keyhole tomb on the Hashihaka model, the use of special earthenware jars, jar-stands and decorated cylinders (the prototypes for *haniwa*), and interment of Chinese triangular-rimmed mirrors. If the TR-mirrors were disbursed by those emergent elites in southeastern Yamato in recruiting political allies, as postulated by KOBAYASHI Yukio and discussed in Chapter 5, then the impetus is centrifugal; if however, the spread of the Kinki-style tomb culture among regional leaders was the result of their paying voluntary homage to the Miwa elite and perhaps to a new religious cult, receiving validation symbols in return, then the process was centripetal – continuing the previous influx of people and interest into Yamato. In fact, both could have operated simultaneously, and either could have resulted in the spread of the keyhole tomb tradition outwards from Yamato.

Whether we can generalize for all cases in the same way is also at issue. The varying relations among these emerging peers and the way new members were integrated into the elite network over time – how they came to understand the civil engineering specifications for building a keyhole tomb, and how they managed to acquire the proper grave goods from

among their contacts – should be the topic of further investigations of the processes of social stratification in Kofun-period Japan.

Class versus interest group

That social stratification results in a 'class society' is a common phraseology. The notion of 'class' as proposed by Marx and further developed by academic Marxists is well known; developed to explain the relations of production within capitalist society, it assumes capabilities of 'domination' and 'extraction of surplus'. Although 'class analysis' has been a popular approach to understanding the power relations of today's world, and although Japanese scholars commonly use the Marxist notion of 'class society' (*kaikyū shakai*) to characterize the Kofun period, in 1980s Western scholarship the notion of class was often thought to be too reductionist (Gailey and Patterson 1987: 7) or too typologically oriented – as was thought of social evolutionary theory itself (Kohl 1987).

Thus, one reaction was to de-emphasize the boundaries between types and to 'accentuate the modes in which structured social forms are founded upon class relationships' (Giddens and Held 1982: 98). Another has been the increasing refinement of the typology into smaller units, the 'power elite', bourgeoisie (including business and professional groupings), petty bourgeoisie, workers, and the disenfranchized (Miliband 1987). Following this trend has been an increasing focus on the 'group'; although 'classes are not groups' (Giddens and Held 1982: 98), the dominant class 'comprises different, and often conflictual, "factions" and groupings' including institutional agencies such as the various media, churches, political parties, schools, etc. (Miliband 1987: 331). Brumfiel's work on Aztec ruling structures (1992, Brumfiel and Fox 1994) illustrates this point magnificently for protohistoric society.

There is considerable discussion whether the concept of 'class' can be projected beyond capitalist society to pre-capitalist social formations, but it is common in archaeological state formation literature to refer to the development of class society in terms of the juxtaposition of elites versus commoners. These groups are defined on the basis of status, not kinship, even though they represent ostensibly closed marriage spheres (e.g. Marcus and Feinman 1998: 6–7), but the defining element of stratification is that elite status can be acquired by merit – as opposed to ascription of rank at birth based on genealogical relationships. In the case of hierarchical chiefdoms of lesser complexity, it is postulated that the important group was still the kinship group which may nevertheless entail different status rankings of individuals. This vertical ordering within organically constructed groupings is different from horizontal groupings of people of similar status but not requiring kin ties among each and every one of them for inclusion in the group. These specifications are behind Rowlands' view of Europe in a way

that is also appropriate to the formation of the MTC (Rowlands *et al.* 1987: preface):

> The idea that widely dispersed elites could recognize themselves as a community forming a network of shared power and meaning precisely to help each other control local hierarchies from which they attempt to be culturally remote and yet upon which they may be quite fragilely imposed, is not so rare a feature even in modern European history.

The *numbers* in such a group are crucial to the definition of class society. Class implies large numbers of people with equivalent rank (Sanders and Webster, cited in Freidel 1981: 224). Due to the dispersion across the landscape of the first persons who subscribed to the MTC – essentially only the rulers of local polities – there initially was no solid 'class' of elites to speak of but only an interacting interest group of regional leaders – in fact, similar to Service's 'governors [who] created themselves' (Service 1975: xiii). Class society developed only gradually as more relatives of local leaders came to qualify for mounded tomb burial, often in tombs of different shapes and smaller sizes. By the mid-4th century in the Japanese archipelago, I believe we can speak of an elite ruling class that entailed not only the regional paramounts but sub-chiefs, certain militarists and all their families and relatives as well.

This aspect of density dispersal is an important contribution to historical studies of Japanese state formation. As Foucault deplored the privileging of time over space in history (Soja 1993), space must be reprioritized in determining the trajectory of social stratification. It is not enough simply to know the material traditions of the emergent central style (the MTC as a *sub-culture*): we must also understand to what extent and by what means and to how many persons such a sub-culture was spread across the landscape.

Chapter Eight

The Miwa Court and Cult (Late 3rd to Mid-4th Centuries)

The pre-eminence of Miwa

In the last two chapters, we have focussed on archaeological data in tracing the function of both mounded-tomb construction and prestige-good usage in creating an elite class of rulers across the landscape of medial Japan. The elucidation of a shared material culture originating from the Miwa region in the Nara Basin, coupled with evidence for limited political hierarchy at Miwa raises serious questions about the extent of Miwa 'rule' in the Early Kofun period. Here, I attempt to answer the question, How did Miwa 'rule' in light of these perceived territorial limitations? To do so, I return to the personages and issues discussed in Chapter 4 to give life to a possible political ideology that could have served as the major attraction of the Mounded Tomb Culture and fostered its spread. I rely on the equation of the Chinese-documented Queen Himiko and the Japanese-documented Princess Yamato-totohi-momose-hime as female shamanesses or seers who, by both textual accounts, played important roles in 3rd-century rulership in the archipelago. The Princess, it will be recalled, was the seeress aunt of Sujin, whose line of kings ruled at Makimuku in Miwa. Her husband was the god Oho-mono-nushi-no-kami. To this cast of characters, I add one more: the legendary Queen Mother of the West, a cult figure in China popular between the 1st century BC and the 4th century AD – just the timespan this volume covers.

Ancient concepts of a mythical Queen Mother of the West referred to in the sacred texts of Chinese Daoism[1] may have been quite influential, since it is the image of the Queen and her consort, the King Father of the East, that is portrayed on the deity-beast mirrors so important in the Early Kofun. There has been a gradual change in interpretation of the Mounded Tomb Culture over time, from a broadly cultural phenomenon (*kofun bunka*) or strictly political phenomenon (*zenpōkōenfun kokka*) and now to a quasi-religious phenomenon. As Fukunaga succinctly states, 'the emerging central

authority succeeded in integrating local groups on the Japan Islands by creating a common chiefly funeral rites [*sic*] based on a new religious framework which adopted Chinese conceptions' (1999: 72).

The 1990s saw a renewal of interest in Kasamatsu's 1969 postulate that the importation of deity-beast mirrors in particular, which portray Daoist imagery, may indicate the adoption of Daoist concepts into transitional leadership ideologies and the use of the mirrors in Daoist wizardry (Fukunaga 1999: 58; Kanaseki 2004). The trouble is, no substance has been given to what this ideology might have consisted of beyond 'chiefly funeral rites' at the mounded tombs. The middle-way tenets of Daoist philosophy as put forward by Laozi in Zhou-period China would have had little relevance to establishing elite control in the western archipelago, and formal Daoism does not seem to have been adopted in Japan until the Asuka period (Fukunaga *et al.* 2003). However, the Chinese cult of the Queen Mother of the West on its own could possibly have influenced the development of a new cult in the Early Kofun period – one which provided the means of attraction exerted by the MTC and legitimization for its spread.

Cult figures and their personalities

The cult of the Queen Mother of the West

The Queen Mother figure may date back to the Late Shang period (13th–12th c. BC) and thereafter evolved in meaning and form (cf. Table 8.1). She is said to have resided in the western mountains, beyond the boundaries of Chinese civilization, and was associated with tigers. The early texts portray her as paired with a male, referred to as King Father of the East; she was associated with mountains, caves and a variety of material objects including jade, headdress and staff. The *Xunzi* specifies she is able to confer the right to rule and *symbolizes power and longevity*.

Cult worship of various versions of the Queen Mother was well-developed by the Han Dynasty, and in the year 3 BC, there was a millennial movement in northeastern China to receive a manifestation of the goddess herself. The cult became 'materialized' through the production in Late Han of deity-beast mirrors with image band; these have been dated back to AD 167 in China and are thought to have been imported into the archipelago from around AD 196 (Fukunaga 1999: 56), as described in Chapter 5. Queen Mother concepts could thus have been introduced to the archipelago by the end of the 2nd century, following the Wa Disturbances.

In the mid- to late-2nd century, a Daoist religion, separate from the Daoist philosophy, was conceived through revelation, and a church was established in southwestern China (Kleeman 1998). Although the content of the new religion probably did not influence the Yayoi-Kofun transition, the political activity it incited did. The Daoist Yellow Turban Revolt

Table 8.1 Development of Daoist concepts about the Queen Mother of the West (compiled from Kleeman 1998; Cahill 1993)

Philosophical Daoism	*Cult Daoism*	*Queen Mother mysticism*
	SHANG period	Maybe evolved from Shang *xi mu* (Western Mother) and *dong mu* (Eastern Mother) In Shang, assoc. with ***tiger*** imagery
5 c. BC Mozi's system of divine justice 3 c. BC **Queen Mother** of the West appears in Daoist *Zhuangzi*, and *Classic of Mountains and Seas*	ZHOU period 306–251 BC **tiger** worship by Ba peoples of Sichuan	From Zhou period, **paired with eastern male**; many versions Ascribed in *Zhuangzi* to **occupy mythical western mountain** In *Xunzi*, **confers legitimacy** or **right to rule** In *Classic of Mountains and Seas*: assoc. with **mythical mountains**, **tiger's teeth**, leopard's tail, **jade**, whistling; **wears *sheng* headdress**, **carries staff**; **holds divine feasts**, has **stool**, **cave dwelling**, **stone apartment**
	HAN period Early Han (Wang Mang Interregnum) Late Han Church founded through revelation to ZHANG (Dao) Ling AD 142 Celestial Master church, 24 parishes, established ca. AD 150–200; in Sichuan AD 173 Libationers extant AD 184 Yellow Turban revolt End 2 c. Hanzhong state of Zhang Lu (SW of Chang'an) on Han River AD 215 Cao Cao destroys Hanzhong state, centre moves to Ye, Henan	Cult worship by peasants & elites; many versions **Divine marriage**; **longevity**, power, wisdom 3 BC NE China movement to receive goddess epiphany Many Queen Mother versions merged into one great goddess Late 2 c. Daoist revolts
	WEI period AD 231 centralized control of church disintegrates AD 302 Li De (Ba) founded the Cheng-Han Daoist state in Sichuan, 800 km EW × 900 km NS; 1 million inhabitants	

(AD 184–189) is thought, along with other religious rebellions (ibid.: 65–6), to have triggered the downfall of the Han Dynasty. With all this activity and heightened interest in the Queen Mother cult, it is probably not accidental that bronze mirrors bearing the motifs of the major cult deity began to flow out of China in the late 2nd century.

Bronze mirrors of any kind would have had an important role in chiefly interments if Chinese beliefs were followed: Cahill reports that they were 'buried with the dead to light the soul's way to the next world and provide it with blessings there' (1993: 28). But deity-beast mirrors were even more highly valued, as the Queen Mother herself had a 'role in assisting the tomb occupant on his journey to the heavens' (ibid.: 30). Higuchi (2000: 161–2) further emphasizes the mirrors' ability to ensure longevity in line with Daoist concepts of immortality. These beliefs would have stimulated regional leaders to obtain mirrors to enhance their own afterlife, and their efforts account for both conspicuous consumption of mirrors in elite burials and subscription to a common elite material culture.

Queen Mother analogs in Early Kofun

We know Early Kofun elites were familiar with the images of the Queen Mother, King Father and the beasts (tigers) which appear on the deity-beast mirrors so highly valued at that time. The underlined attributes in the earlier section futher correlate with Early Kofun society and material culture. Stone ornaments and especially staffs made of jade or jade substitutes were important grave goods beginning in EK-2 (Figure 7.4). Textual concordances between attributes of females such as Himiko/Princess Yamato and the Queen Mother of the West can also be cited: these females all possessed divine powers and were associated with political rulership; both the Queen Mother and Princess Yamato had marriages to gods. The *hime-hiko* ruling pair identified as a protohistoric pattern in western Japan may reflect the mythological pairing of authority figures such as the Queen Mother and King Father. Mountains play a large role in contextualizing these females' activities: the Queen Mother's home was a mountain, Princess Yamato's husband was a mountain deity, and both the Princess and Himiko were reportedly buried in artificial mountains, the tombs Hashi-no-haka and a Great Mound of 100 Paces Across, respectively.

If Himiko = Princess Yamato is considered the earthly analog of the Queen Mother, then the link between religious cult and political power is complete. As the Queen Mother was a legitimizer of political rule, so were the female shamanessess who functioned as the preeminent figures in the Miwa polity. If the Wei-dynasty deity-beast bronze mirrors bearing images of the Queen Mother of the West were procured under the aegis of Himiko, this would have given the Sujin regime from the mid-3rd century a religious aura that provided not only legitimization in terms of a new religion but

also the material goods for encouraging adherence to the cult beliefs. The deity-beast mirrors themselves (both flat-rimmed and triangular-rimmed) served as a crucial tool in propagating the beliefs among the living and in providing material proof that a deceased ruler was integrated into the cult. If we wish to accommodate Terasawa's thinking (Chapter 5), we can also envision that a local shamaness Himiko = Princess Yamato may have been recognized and elevated as a figurehead by incoming Seto rulers who may have already believed in the Queen Mother of the West mythology as propagated though the importation of late 2nd-century deity-beast mirrors.

That such a new cult was indeed created has a hint of textual support, but the main figure, surprisingly, is not a female but a male god. This is Oho-mono-nushi-no-kami, husband of Princess Yamato. The *Nihon Shoki* has the Princess Yamato transmitting the words of a previously unknown country god as follows (Aston 1972.I: 152–3, rearranged as a conversation):

[God:] 'Why is the Emperor grieved at the disordered state of the country? If he duly did us reverent worship it would assuredly become pacified of itself.'
[Emperor:] 'What God is it that thus instructs me?'
[God:] 'I am the God who dwells within the borders of the land of Yamato, and my name is Oho-mono-nushi no Kami.'

That night [the Emperor] had a dream. A man of noble appearance stood opposite to him in the door of the hall, and, announcing himself as Oho-mono-nushi no Kami, said:–

[God:] 'Let the Emperor grieve no more for the disorder of the country. This is my will. If thou wilt cause me to be worshipped . . . then will there be peace at once. Moreover the lands beyond the sea will of their own accord render submission.'

Taken in historical terms, the disordered state of the country may refer to the Wa Disturbances; the lands beyond the sea do not have to refer to the continent; perhaps they designate Western Seto or even Izumo, whose importance will become apparent below. In this passage, Princess Yamato serves as oracle to Oho-mono-nushi-no-kami, her husband. As already related in Chapter 4, this god revealed himself to his wife as a small snake, whereupon she killed herself in fright and was buried in Hashi-no-haka. The husband/god then ascended Mt Mimoro (Mt Miwa). If analogy is made with the Queen Mother of the West legend, then the deified husband (Oho-mono-nushi-no-kami) is an analog to the King Father. He, rather than the female became the central cult figure, but he still conformed to legend by taking up residence on a mountain.

The name of this god contains the word *mono*, which in modern Japanese can homophonically mean either 'thing' or 'person'. The original

Chinese text of the *Nihon Shoki* uses the character for 'thing' 物, rather than that for 'person' 者, to transcribe this morpheme, enabling the following reasonable translations of the god's name: 'God, Master of Great Things', or 'God, Grand Master of Things'. Ebersole (1989: 159) states that the original nuance of the character 物 'referred to suprahuman or strange things, taboo objects, malevolent spirits, and so on'. If we speculate then that among the 'things' referred to here were the strange and wonderful deity-beast bronze mirrors being imported from China, then the circle is closed to postulate that the authority of Miwa was established on the basis of deity-beast mirror procurement and on the creation of a new religious cult to respect Himiko (= Princess Yamato) as the supplier of the mirrors and to worship her husband Oho-mono-nushi-no-kami as the god who oversaw these wonderful 'things'.

This god remains the deity revered at the Miwa Shrine on Mt Miwa today; he is believed to still occupy the sacred mountain (e.g. Tōkyō Miwa Ikazuchi Kō 1990) and his presence obviates the need for an enshrined mirror, the sacred object of most Shintō shrines (Kishimoto n.d.: 7). However, Oho-mono-nushi-no-kami is actually claimed by two regions of Japan: Yamato and Izumo (Matsumura 1992). Rather than undermining the importance of this disputed claim to the founding of the Miwa polity, it actually enhances it, since Izumo was one of the potential sources of both beads and iron ('things') that were important to elite material culture. It also sheds some light on the seeming importance of the Tsuyama Basin medium-tomb cluster, located on the trade route from Eastern Seto to Izumo (Chapter 6). If the myth was imported into Miwa from Izumo during the establishment of Makimuku (possibly alluded to in the conversation earlier as a noble person appearing in the hall), perhaps via Terasawa's postulated incursion of Seto leaders (the Izumo/Kibi/Awa axis of Chapter 5), then it may have been naturalized with the importation of yet another 'thing' (deity-beast mirrors) in the context of Himiko's rulership.

Ritual deposits around Mt Miwa are now dated back to the late 3rd century, rather than the previously believed 5th century (K. Terasawa 1988; T. Terasawa 2004: 143), placing the beginning of the mountain's worship within the timespan of active Miwa Court rule (Okita 1992). Among the cumulative offerings were found several small bronze mirrors, five jasper and one crystal *magatama*, one jasper cylindrical bead, more than 10,000 talc beads of two kinds, iron fragments, 29 miniature pinched vessels and/or clay imitations of implements such as ladles, mortars and pestles, a tray-like platform with knobbed feet, and a model of a winnowing basket (cf. G. Barnes 1988: Appendix III: P). Jasper and rock crystal are particular products of Mt Daisen near Izumo, thus providing further links between the two areas.

Constitution of Miwa authority

Godly authority

The ideology of such a cult would have been the source of authority for the Miwa Court. It constituted a 'new constellation of power' (Yoffee 1993: 71) of the type that signalled a reorganization and realignment of resources into the hands of the elite who were responsible for the maintenance of, participation in, and promulgation of the cult. Miwa Court power has traditionally been presented in Japanese under the rubric 'political authority' (*seiken*) and more recently as 'kingly authority' (*ōken*). These secular concepts, however, do not entirely capture the charisma of the Miwa cult figures or the attractiveness that was inherent in Mounded Tomb Culture. Perhaps a new concept of *shinken* (godly authority) is necessary to convey the nature of 'the institutional code within which the use of power as medium [was] organized and legitimized' (Parsons 1986: 113).

There is no space here to cover the myriad discussions of the nature of power (see Lukes 1986b; B. Barnes 1988; Scott 1994, 2001), but Miwa can be discussed in terms of three aspects of power: force, influence and authority. Force and influence are opposite ends on a continuous scale of power relations (e.g. Rothgeb 1993). Arendt (1986: 64–5) believes that *pure* violence is the antithesis of power, but force ('*political* violence') can be used in combination with power to try to obtain certain results. At the other end, Lukes (1986a: 16) indirectly characterizes influence as the capability to inspire emulation or cooperation; in recent schematics, authority encompasses both legitimacy and manipulation (Scott 2001: fig. 1). Authority stands between force and influence; its hallmark 'is unquestioning recognition by those who are asked to obey; neither coercion nor persuasion is needed' (Arendt 1986: 65).

In the case of Miwa, we can see traces of all three aspects of the power continuum in the polity's emerging configuration. The armour and weaponry in the tombs attests to the continuation of political violence from Yayoi into Kofun, equivalent to Mann's 'military source of power' (1984). However, such artefacts of violence are not thought to be directed at local populaces as tools for ensuring rulership; rather, documentary evidence suggests that they were employed to settle disputes between regional elites on a relatively infrequent basis: witness the hostilities between Yamatai and Kunu mentioned in the Chinese chronicles, and the Miwa expeditions against Saho and Yamashiro in the Japanese chronicles. Nevertheless, the hypotheses that Chinese armour was distributed from the Kinai centre and that armour production was initiated in Kinai permit the interpretation that the threat of force was a source of power for the Kinai elite.

At the opposite end of the continuum, the hypothesized Queen Mother cult focussed on Himiko would have been extremely influential in facilitating

the spread of the Mounded Tomb Culture. The powerful influence of Miwa is postulated here to have grown out of the ability of Himiko to procure bronze mirrors and act as the legitimizer for political rule, being legitimized herself through analogy with the Queen Mother of the West. The continuing importation of deity-beast mirrors and their regional distribution into the early 4th century provided the means by which local elites could either join or be drawn into the expanding network of political rulers. Foreign legitimizers of status such as the mirrors themselves and the Queen Mother cult ideas that accompanied them would have allowed a degree of independence of adherents from the Miwa rulers while at the same time integrating the elite into a communicating body of peers. By inspiring emulation and voluntary affiliation, respect for the Miwa rulers grew among the Early Kofun elite.

'Respect' has been identified as one of the 'base values' of power (Dahl 1986: 44); several such values may have accrued to the Queen Mother/Himiko cult: respect, moral standing, affection, wealth, and enlightenment. These values encouraged the development of Miwa authority, a property granted to the Miwa rulers by their followers: the willing adherence to the commands or demands of the Miwa elite through an institutional medium. However, this was not an ephemeral mental state; Miwa constantly exercised its authority by recreating those values in the performance of rituals and the use of material objects to mystify central power. This 'materialization' of the ideology (deMarrais *et al.* 1996) served to both reinforce and extend Miwa authority and became a form of 'governance'.

From 'ritual' to 'governance'

The ritualized nature of political rule in Early Kofun Japan is expressed by the ancient word for 'governance': *matsuri-goto* 政. Today, the noun *matsuri* 祭り is redolent of images of summer festivals, but at the heart of even these is the parading of the deity palanquin (*omikoshi*) from the local Shintō shrine. The verb forms *matsuru* and *tatematsuru*, both written with the same character 奉る, mean 'to present an offering or tribute' (Shinmura 1969: 1386, 2086); *matsuru* further written with two other characters, 祀る or 祭る, means 'to celebrate the spirits of the deities through offerings or instrumental music' (ibid.: 2086). *Matsuri-goto* is written with only one character meaning 'to govern' 政, but it is equivalent to 奉事 (*matsuri-goto*) or 祭事 (*matsuri-goto*) (ibid.: 2086).

Tanaka (1970) proposed that governance grew out of ritual – from *matsuri* to *matsuri-goto*. Terasawa applies these words to the Yayoi period, stating that bronze-bell ritual was an act of *matsuri-goto*, that is, 'governance' (2000: 222). I disagree, especially in view of Terasawa's other postulate that bronze-bell ritual was conducted to ensure good harvests, celebrating the 'spirit of the grain'. If anything, 'celebrating the spirit of the chief' in

Late Yayoi mound-burial construction begins to address the issue of governance, but burial ritual is conducted only once in a chief's lifecycle – significantly, after they are dead and unable to govern.

The construction of large tombs and performance of the burial rituals at a chief's grave constituted the essence of the Mounded Tomb Culture. Graveside ritual was indeed important to constructing and maintaining status hierarchies, legitimizing chiefly succession and reconfirming community solidarity (Tsude 1995), but each graveside venue was only used once. Kanehara's palaeo-environmental studies of the surfaces and moats of mounded tombs indicate that they quickly forested over and silted up, respectively, without much further activity (1997: 275). He surmises that the *construction* of the tomb was the important process, concluded by burial rites; thereafter the tomb became part of the landscape of authority. Thus, the concept of 'governance' as applied to graveside rituals implies sporadic practice, not routine activities carried out by either the chief, who was dead, or his/her successor as yet.

We can understand graveside ritual as a form of governance only by adopting Therborn's claims that (1982: 232, his emphasis):

> A given kind of relations of production may be reproduced without the exploiting (dominant) class defined by them being in 'control' of the government in any usual and reasonable sense of the word. . . . And yet the fact that a specific form of exploitation and domination is being reproduced, *is* an example of class rule.

If we adopt this concept of 'rule' or 'governance' in the Miwa case, then it is apparent that Miwa ruled by supplying the legitimacy to keep other rulers in power. Together, as an incipient *class*, these rulers reproduced their dominant position through extracting the labour, skills and goods necessary to obtain the symbolic goods that identified themselves as members of the elite and adherents to the Miwa cult and that were deposited in monumental testimonials to their local authority – their tombs. In this sense, any graveside rituals which served to transfer and confirm their successor's ruling status could be called *matsuri-goto*.

Other venues, however, offer themselves as loci of *matsuri-goto*, particularly indicated by mountainside ritual deposits on Mt Miwa as mentioned earlier, and, separately, rituals conducted in the Makimuku centre. Rituals carried out at these loci may have had the advantage of being routinely scheduled, as opposed to the sporatic and unpredictable timing of chiefly burials. New data from Makimuku offers the opportunity to consider routinized rituals that were important for maintaining the legitimacy of the Miwa rulers through their connection to the gods (Queen Mother, and Oho-mono-nushi-no-kami).

Makimuku as a 'ceremonial centre'

Recent excavations at Makimuku have revealed architectural features that are controversially interpreted as an early shrine. The archaeological evidence consists merely of postholes (Figure 8.1, top), with no superstructural remains, but the buildings are reconstructed artistically in the manner of Shintō shrines (Figure 8.1, middle) without the extra pillars usually present to support the ridgepole of a shrine. In the excavation plan, the two buildings SB 101 and 102 are arranged in a formal geometric layout oriented with North and are enclosed in fenced compound(s). But in the artistic reconstruction, another small building like SB 102 is hypothesized to flank SB 101 on the opposite side, creating a main shrine with two treasure houses on its north and south sides, despite the fact that the area to the north remained unexcavated.

About 20 examples of buildings with extra pillars to support the ridgepole, such as occur at the current national Ise Shrine, are known from Yayoi through Late Kofun sites. By analogy with Ise, these are interpreted as shrines. Okada (1999: 52), however, states dogmatically that 'it is impossible to accept the idea that there were shrine-structure[s] in ancient Japan' because ancient ritual practices were focussed on natural features such as rock outcrops or stands of trees and because any structures were temporary for just the timespan of the ritual. His view, if correct, raises two questions in interpreting of the Makimuku buildings. First, if even buildings *with* the extra ridgepole-supporting pillars do not qualify in Okada's eyes as shrines, then what hope does the Makimuku example *without* the extra pillars have of doing so? Second, if worship sites were natural and not yet architectural, then what other purpose could the Makimuku buildings have fulfilled?

The *Nihon Shoki* contains several references in the Sujin chronicles to the creation of shrines to the gods and the appointment of persons to oversee their worship, but it is unclear if these references are anachronistic inserts into the records after Shintō became institutionalized in competition with Buddhism in the 6th century. However, one passage is interesting in stating categorically that before shrines were established, gods were worshipped within the residential compound of the ruler, Sujin (e.g. Aston 1972.I: 151). This is how Terasawa has depicted the integration of buildings SB 101 and 102 into a palisaded compound at Makimuku which he labels as the 'central palace' (Figure 8.1, bottom).

This architectural complex may be taken as the earliest example of social differentiation of space within the Makimuku district. In an analysis of settlement types in the *Nihon Shoki*, I discovered that the most common settlement type mentioned was the 'house' (*ie*) of elite persons (G. Barnes 1988: 243) and proposed a Kofun-period settlement system comprised of elite 'housesteads' and commoner agricultural hamlets. Through an examination of personal names such as the native name for Sujin,

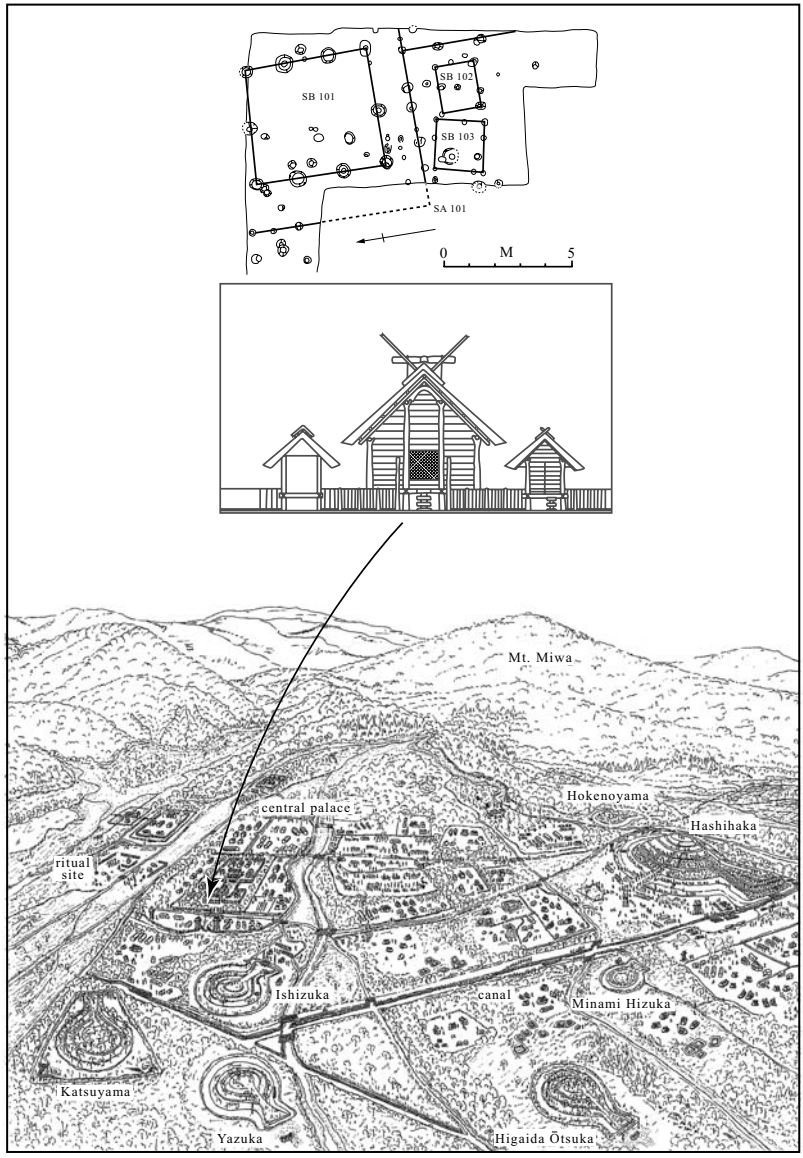

Figure 8.1 Makimuku as a ceremonial centre

Building traces (top) excavated at Makimuku (after Ishino 1991: fig. 12). SB 101 measures ca. 23 m^2, while SB 102 is only 2.8 m^2. These two have been reconstructed (centre) as a coordinated unit despite being separated by a fence (ibid.: fig. 12). The buildings are located in the forefront of what is labelled the 'central palace' in the reconstruction of the Makimuku district (bottom) (Terasawa 2000: 253, with permission)

Mimaki-iri-bito-iniye-no-Mikoto, I also postulated that the 'ki' element of the name reflected an enclosure serving as an elite housestead (Barnes 1984). The same element is used in the word *inaki*, translated in Chapter 6 as 'rice castle'; this must have been a granary compound surrounded by a physical enclosure. I now go further to hypothesize that the meaning of 'Makimuku' itself may derive from such an enclosure: the *maki* element may be translatable as 'true/sacred (*ma*) enclosure (*ki*)' and the *muku* as 'facing'.[2] This can be extended to the placename Maki-no-uchi ('within the true enclosure'), the ostensible location of Sujin's own Shiki-no-mizuga*ki*-no-miya *palace* and Suinin's Tama*ki*-miya *palace* (Taketani 1992: 70–2).

If the buildings SB 101 and 102 were functionally specialized within the paramount's housestead or 'palace' compound for worshipping the gods, they do not have to be treated as spatially and architecturally distinguished 'shrine architecture' but as part of the domestic elite architecture. Furthermore, their incorporation into the elite housestead argues against the development of public buildings and a physical court to facilitate governance. *Matsuri-goto* rituals in the Early Kofun must have been carried out periodically in the paramount's residence. The residences of both the Miwa paramount and the deity in the same compound must surely have served to legitimize the claim of any individual sovereign to the throne, and this link would have been strengthened with periodic ritual supplications. When a paramount died, these worship facilities would have become defiled, leading to the establishment of the shifting palace system of Kofun-period Japan (Wheatley and See 1978). Each successive sovereign is known to have built a new 'palace' for him/herself up until 694 when the Fujiwara Palace was laid out on the Chinese grid-city pattern.

It could be argued that the existence of the shifting palace system indicates the non-existence of spatially separate shrine architecture in Early Kofun. It also suggests that secular public buildings specifically for the political wielding of power and authority did not exist at that time. In common with other sequences of complex social development, the Miwa 'capital' of Makimuku, therefore, appears to have functioned primarily as a ceremonial centre rather than an urban centre comprised of highly specialized craft production units, public buildings and residential areas for court members.

The nature of the Miwa Court

Accordingly, the term Miwa Court is better understood as a collection of personages who were specifically at the beck and call of the Miwa paramount; they responded to personal obligations *vis-à-vis* the paramount but had major responsibilities for ruling their own territories. The *Nihon Shoki* suggests that communications occurred between the paramount and individual elites opportunistically and according to the task at hand.

The chronicles give no indication that certain allies or relatives were responsible for specific on-going functions as membership in a court might entail, but they were often assigned missions at the behest of the paramount (Chapter 5).

Another aspect of 'courtly' interaction may have been periodic banquets at which commensal drinking and eating were important to solidify political ties among those attending (cf. Dietler and Hayden 2001). Relationships with the gods might also have been invoked through drinking rituals, as Miwa is a well known loci of saké making from the Late Kofun period onwards. In *Protohistoric Yamato*, I reviewed some of the contents of rubbish pits yielding numerous mini-jars that may have been used in ritual supplications, as shown in *haniwa* figurines (G. Barnes 1988: 232–5). T. Terasawa (2004: 141) also interprets Pit #4 at Tsuji in Makimuku as a ritual deposit; it contained all sorts of wooden objects, including functional vessels, weaving and agricultural implements, bird and boat replicas, together with ceramics, peach pits, gourd and rice remains. Unfortunately, the documentary evidence shows commensality in a different light: the *Nihon Shoki* mentions the early use of banquets as traps to kill enemy chieftains; but the loss of a drinking cup by an 'emperor' is recorded as a major crisis, attesting to the importance of drinking rituals to the paramount.

We may conclude, then, that the Miwa Court did not exist as a physical entity but as a web of personal relations between the core elite, the paramount and the gods. They may have physically gathered together on certain ceremonial occasions such as a banquet, but the nature of their rule was not the overseeing of a rigid territorial hierarchy of subservience. Rather, we may entertain the idea of different kinds of networks developing out of Miwa which may be characterized as heterarchical rather than hierarchical:[3] plural networks of contacts and relationships to bring in goods from the continent or from the bead-making areas; local networks of production and distribution of bronze mirrors and iron tools, weapons and artefacts; networks with local chieftains to provide goods and services for burial rituals, including standardized tomb construction, etc. Such personal networking did not occur in homogeneous space or social conditions: as emphasized by Herod and Wright (2002: 8), the scale of the network and varying conditions within it produces different results. Perhaps it is among these various networks that factions developed within the Early Kofun ruling elite, eventually contributing, along with the crisis in TR-mirror supply, to the change of regime from the Miwa to the Kawachi Court.

Conclusions

The term 'Miwa Court' has for several decades been equated by scholars with the Early Kofun period, ostensibly to designate the ruling political institution. However, it seems that that 'institution' was a system of ritual

governance of networked territorial elites rather than a physical 'court' attended by specific individuals with functionally differentiated roles and responsibilities. The Makimuku district served as the ceremonial centre for the Miwa polity and beyond, containing both the paramount's palace and the important tomb clusters that began the Mounded Tomb Culture. Both the mounded-burial and the settlement data from Makimuku suggest, however, that the period of the Miwa Court was not homologous with the Early Kofun as originally conceived.

The earliest keyhole-shaped mound-burials in the Makimuku Tomb Cluster are postulated to date back to the early 3rd century (Chapter 5), substantially before Himiko's supposed death in mid-century. Then keyhole-tomb building in the Miwa area ceased in the mid-4th century when the Saki Tomb Cluster in the northwestern basin was initiated (Chapter 6). Thus, keyhole mounded burials were built in the Miwa region for approximately 130 years (AD 220–350). At Makimuku itself, the first phase of Makimuku ceramics (equivalent to Shōnai 0) is dated to AD 190–220, prior to keyhole mound-burial construction. Kusumi (2004: 61) has equated the lifespan of the Hakata-wan Trade Network with that of Makimuku, both withering towards the mid-4th century, and the ceramic chronology proposed by Ueda (Table 5.3) sees the end of Makimuku ceramics at AD 350. Shiraishi postulates abandonment of the Miwa area in the mid-4th century, inaugurating the new concept of the Saki Court in the northwestern Nara Basin (Chapter 6). Thus, the settlement record suggests that Makimuku served as a political focus and ceremonial centre for approximately 160 years (AD 190–350).

Mizuno's analysis of the genealogical structures of Japan's imperial lineage extends this time period a little by arguing for a change of dynasty in the late 4th century with the ending of the Sujin line of kings (Chapter 1). If Chūai died in 362 as postulated by Kidder (1985), ending that lineage, then not only the location of the centre was changed but also the ruling lineage. Thus many lines of evidence point to the demise of the Miwa Court in the mid-4th century, giving it a maximum lifespan of AD 190–362.

The interpretation of the Miwa Court in terms of Queen Himiko/ Princess Yamato (Chapter 4) furthermore allows the proposition that the court was constituted on the basis of ritual authority. It became central by providing regional elite with common symbolic identifiers, deity-beast mirrors and keyhole-shaped mound-burials from the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries respectively. Adoption of these symbols by regional elites foretold the beginning of the Mounded Tomb Culture, which can be viewed both as a reformulation of the prestige-good system of Middle Yayoi North Kyūshū and as the tool which led, this time around, to the stratification of the populace into two classes (Chapter 7). The procurement of TR-mirrors bearing the deity-beast patterns by Himiko's embassies to the Wei Court in the mid-3rd century solidified Miwa's position not just economically, but ritually, as

I have argued above through the institutionalization of a cult based on Queen Mother of the West cosmology – personified by Himiko/Princess Yamato herself. With standardization of tomb construction, the Miwa Court regulated its membership within Kinai, and members' alliance relationships to the paramount were often solidified by marriages as recorded in the *Nihon Shoki* (Chapter 5).

That the Miwa cult could have had such influence over otherwise autonomous players, who offered faithful devotion to Miwa, may explain the seeming contradiction of a rapidly spread homogeneous material culture, expressing cult values, in combination with relative regional autonomy. It also explains the ability of the Mounded Tomb Culture to expand and Miwa to remain dominant even after the death of Himiko = Princess Yamato, the linking figure between the Queen Mother and the Miwa Court.

In retrospect, the era of the Miwa Court, subsuming the Terminal Yayoi period and most of Early Kofun, was an era of both regional hierarchization and the development of an integrative ceremonial centre, at Makimuku. The Mounded Tomb Culture inspired by activities at Makimuku served as the tool for establishing elite membership, first for individual rulers, then for their subordinates and all their associated families. The emergence of a ruling class was well accomplished by the mid-4th century, facilitated by communication and regulation from Makimuku in the guise of a ritual cult governing chiefly burial and status. It appears to have been a peaceful process, achieved through the judicious use of gifting exotic goods in the manner of the Chinese court coupled with the promotion of popular religious ideas imported from China. However, excessive ritualization of communication can distance the ruling elite from reality to the point that they are not able to respond to changing circumstances (Blanton 1998: 166). Perhaps this was one component of Miwa's fate; it seems that its lifetime was only 100–150 years before changes in the economy, international situation and internal elite relations caused a regime change.

End of an era

The 4th century witnessed dramatic changes in the continental balance of power, at first affecting the flow of goods into Japan and later requiring a complete reorientation of political priorities in the archipelago. The historical void during this century is filled by the retrospective accounts in the 8th-century *Nihon Shoki* of Japan and the 13th-century *Samguk Sagi* (Records of the Three Kingdoms) of the Korean Peninsula, plus the rich evidence of the Mounded Tomb Cultures in the Pen/Insular region. According to these data, the Pen/Insular 4th century is marked by the rise of Koguryŏ, the northernmost state on the Korean Peninsula, which devastated the Lelang commandery region in AD 313.

In AD 316, the Western Jin Dynasty collapsed, leading to the establishment of sixteen states across the northern Mainland and to the founding of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (AD 317–419) in the south (Herrmann 1966: 21). Contacts between insular chieftains and China had consistently been with the successive states Han, Wei and Western Jin in the north, with Wei bronze-casters providing the mirrors for Miwa Court legitimization. The dissolution of Western Jin ended authentic TR-mirror production, probably in the first quarter of the 4th century (cf. Iwamoto 2005: 63), thus endangering the very foundation of Miwa power and influence. Koguryŏ's destruction of the Lelang commandery may have contributed to this disruption in supply, provoking a crisis similar to that in the Late Yayoi period and leading to new production of imitation mirrors which didn't have the cachet of true TR-mirrors.

The rise of Koguryŏ at this time is consistent with the empowering of small states across the northern Mainland landscape in the consequent absence of dynastic power. Koguryŏ's relentless push southwards from Lelang impacted first on Paekche, an emerging state in the west-central peninsula, and ultimately on the polities in the archipelago. The development of vertical-slat armour in the Kaya region [SFK, ch. 5] may be understood as a locally creative response to the Koguryŏ military threat. By the mid-4th century, this type of armour appears in Kinai tombs, succeeding the earlier Chinese-style armour (see Chapter 6), while domestic armour production was initiated using square plates intermediate between Chinese lamellae and peninsular vertical slats (cf. Figure 6.4).

Whereas socio-political status in the first phase of the Kofun period (EK-1) was predicated mainly on imported goods such as bronze mirrors and iron armour, from the beginning of the 4th century in EK-2 we see an enormous expansion of domestic production to provide elite artefacts. Beadstone 'bracelets' and staffs were the primary additions, used in burial rites and identity displays. *Haniwa* funerary sculptures developed from the Kibi decorated jar and jar-stand combination as standard tomb accoutrements, signalling an expansion of the ceramic industry beyond vessels into the representational. Domestic mirrors were cast in imitation of standard Chinese styles and then developed as original artistic creations. And finally, a domestic armour industry arose.

Thus, disruption of traditional sources of legitimization went hand in hand with the development of new elite symbols of status and defensive armament. The numbers of people eligible for elite burial increased, providing a greater pool for the demand of certain products, while regional trade networks and chiefly relations with the centre brought more areas into the MTC. By the late 4th century, therefore, we can see peer relations in the Japanese Islands developing in two directions: regionally as more local chieftains were drawn into the elite network represented by the MTC,

and internationally as the Kinai elite became involved with their peers on the peninsula, particularly through the avenue of iron importation.

It is a moot question how Miwa and the other Early Kofun polities might have developed from this point onwards had not continental politics intervened. Hardly had the basic infrastructures of the cult based on deity-beast bronze mirrors and highly stratified polities – territorial hierarchies, prestige goods production, trade routes and pan-regional elite networks – been established throughout medial Japan before outside events conspired to shift the goalposts for elite interaction. The late 4th century witnessed the intensification of peer relations across the Korea Strait, with the core Kinai elites drawn into military activity on the peninsula. Thus, from this time onwards, Kofun-period peer polity relations were transformed from a domestic concern among regional elites to an international concern with emerging states on the Korean Peninsula.

Japanese archaeologists already postulate a transition from the Miwa Court to a 'Saki Court' in the mid-4th century (Chapter 6). Thereafter, no more large tombs were constructed in the Miwa area as the centre of power shifted westwards towards Ōsaka Bay and links to the Korean Peninsula. The lack of authentic TR-mirrors from China undermined the Miwa cult and its power base, while the activities of Koguryŏ increasingly affected insular power structures. The late 4th century witnessed a change of dynasty as a result, but the growing involvement with peninsular military machinations resulted in a new era of peer relations between Paekche and the Kinai core. From the late 4th century, the pendulum swung away from a focus on China to a focus on the Korean Peninsula. In essence, the long period of elite manipulation of Chinese symbolism came to an end, while economic changes served to transform Kinai court society in the 5th century. The decline of Miwa that preceded these changes brought to a close the first era at the Edge of Empire.

Epilogue

My 1988 work, *Protohistoric Yamato: archaeology of the first Japanese state*, was intentionally confined geographically to the Nara Basin and focussed mainly on Late Yayoi and Early-Middle Kofun period *settlement* data in order to trace the social and economic processes that led to the emergence of the Yamato State in the late 5th century. Conversely, this sequel deals primarily with *burial* data from Middle Yayoi through Early Kofun across the whole of the western archipelago, in conjunction with documentary evidence, in order to trace the processes of social stratification that enabled the emergence of that state. Moreover, while the first work eschewed historical perspectives and based itself firmly in the archaeological record, this volume has argued that the processes of social stratification in the Japanese archipelago cannot be understood without reference to the historical context provided by the Chinese empires and their dynastic records.

The interpretations that have been developed herein rely primarily on the assumptions that the Queen Himiko mentioned in the Chinese records can be identified as a personage connected to the Sujin line of sovereigns as portrayed in the Japanese chronicles, and that her tomb can be equated with one of the monumental keyhole tombs built in the southeastern Nara Basin. The Wei Dynasty court records were compiled approximately contemporaneously with the phenomena they describe, but the Japanese chronicles postdate Sujin's reign by at least four centuries. Thus, there is ample room for error in both the correlation of the Japanese and Chinese texts, and the equation of these with the archaeological record. Nevertheless, these assumptions reflect the currently held judgement of most Japanese archaeologists that Himiko's country Yamatai was one and the same as the later documented Yamato. If these assumptions are ever found wanting, then the interpretations developed herein will have to be thoroughly rethought.

Although I used the concept of the 'Yamato State' to introduce the subject matter of this volume, as I progressed through the chapters, I became more reluctant to consider that the socio-political unit I was analysing

across the Yayoi-Kofun transition in the Nara Basin could be assigned to this concept. My alternative idea of a Miwa polity, which I demonstrate to have coalesced in the early 3rd century in the southeastern basin and expanded to encompass the whole basin by the mid-4th century, is derived from the concept of the Miwa Court, developed by historians to account for the Sujin line of kings and their great burials around the foot of Mt Miwa. However, it appears that this polity disassembled in the late 4th century, to be replaced by a political focus in the Ōsaka Basin with a much wider geographical structure. This can be related to the Kawachi Court identified by historians, which correlates with the Ōjin line of kings; but its physical parameters have not yet been described by archaeologists. I believe it was within this as yet undefined geographical context that the Yamato State arose, while Miwa was merely its local predecessor.

The story presented herein is essentially that of the emergence of a pan-regional grouping of elite rulers who established themselves as distinct from their local commoner populations through subscription to an exclusive burial system comprised of monumental tomb building and a relatively fixed repertoire of symbolic grave goods. This process of emergence is proposed to have constituted the process of social stratification, which took approximately one hundred years (from mid-3rd to mid-4th century) to produce a ruling class of mutually communicating regional rulers and their families. Local distributions of different tomb sizes suggest several regional territorial hierarchies in the western archipelago, among which Miwa was anomalous in having an initial primate centre without a clear territorial structure until the mid-4th century.

Terasawa has proposed that the Miwa polity (his Shiki polity) was founded by a coalition of rulers intruding into the Nara Basin and establishing a new capital at Makimuku. Much about the Late Yayoi settlement archaeology of the Nara Basin supports such a scenario, as already discussed in *Protohistoric Yamato*; and his idea provides a hypothetical explanation for the unique primate structure of Miwa among other territorial polities. However, it does not explain the great attraction of the keyhole tomb burial system that encouraged regional rulers to subscribe to it. For this, we need an ideology of rulership, and Terasawa's use of the 'kingly authority' (*ōken*) concept does not go far enough to explain how widely dispersed local rulers with entrenched local interests came to join a broader based elite culture apparently *without* the exercise of force, that is, without *conquest* by Miwa.

My contribution to this debate is the hypothetical construction of a religious cult derived from Chinese beliefs in the mythical Queen Mother of the West, which could have focussed on a female ruling figure such as Himiko as her earthly analogue. With legitimization of political rule through the adoption of Queen Mother ideology and use of her symbol on the deity-beast bronze mirrors, Himiko could have been in a position

to endow regional rulers with legitimacy in their own realms while simultaneously drawing them into a ritual system that engendered bonds of fealty with Miwa. It is important to realize, however, that such a cult is a hypothesis, an *interpretation*, though it is built solidly on certain artefactual, historical and mythological realities apparent in both the Chinese and Japanese records – archaeological and documentary – such as the widely acknowledged supernatural powers of women in the *Nihon Shoki* (Barnes 2006b). It should not be taken as historical truth just yet, but it does offer a rationale for why Miwa could have been structurally different and geographically confined yet so influential over a broad geographical area.

Was Miwa a state? By many reckonings, the Early Kofun period entailed state emergence in Japan. Japanese archaeologists who define states by their Chinese designation as *guo* cannot escape the inclusion of Yamatai-koku, much less its more prominent successor Yamato. Western archaeologists who consider territorial hierarchies with centralized ruling systems as states must acknowledge that many areas in western Japan in the Early Kofun conformed to these criteria. Those who equate stratified societies with states would likely recognize the Mounded Tomb Culture as socially stratified and therefore representative of state organization.

However, the finer-grained chronological and geographical data offered herein clearly poses a dilemma: by the mid-4th century, there was a visible centralized territorial structure in the Nara Basin, but that was the point of demise of the Miwa Court. If Miwa is defined as a state by having a centralized territorial structure, then it disappeared as soon as it appeared, and many of the other territorial hierarchies found in western Japan must equally be accorded state status, as they are with the *guo* appellation. On the other hand, if the anomalous structure of Miwa indicates that it was the centre of a much larger unit, then the early state focussed on Makimuku and encompassed all of western Japan (the spread of the MTC). I don't think these designations are useful because they do not refer to any specific *organization*; I prefer to subscribe to the idea that the state is a form of *administrative* organization exceeding mere centralization and hierarchy. Thus, I would propose that the territorial groupings that emerged in the Early Kofun period belonged to that ephemeral category of 'stratified chiefdoms', while Miwa, housing a ritual centre, was well on its way to unifying these regional chiefdoms into a larger political unit when its development was truncated due to changing world circumstances.

To further our understanding of the processes of social stratification in Japan and the operation of the Miwa Court, we need to elucidate the economic production and distribution system that provided the artefacts for the Mounded Tomb Culture. This will involve investigation into several artefact categories, each of which has a variety of problems. Much current technological research allows understanding of how the artefacts were made, and typological research facilitates chronological control; but the

relations of production between craftspeople, their leaders, and the central paramounts are as yet unexplored, while the mechanisms of distribution and exchange are equally unknown. In particular, research on how the bead-making communities of the Japan Sea coast were integrated into a supply network, and how iron was obtained from the southern Korean Peninsula and transformed into strategic goods, is crucial to this endeavour. We await further developments along these lines.

Appendix One

The Chinese Court Chronicles

The purpose of this section is to give a brief introduction to the historical sources of China containing information on protohistoric Japan. No attempt is made to convey previous scholarship on the texts or to evaluate their contents. Further details on content, editorship and problems are given in Takemitsu *et al.* (1998) together with guidance to Japanese translations of the Chinese sources. The descriptions below are drawn from the references cited in each section, and the bulk of information on the Liang, Song and Nanqi records is based on Takemitsu *et al.*

HANSHU 漢書 Han Shu

Often called the *Qian Han Shu* 前漢書 (History of Former Han), the *Hanshu* covers the time period from BC 209 to AD 25. As evaluated by Hulsewé (1993), it was compiled primarily by PAN Gu (b. AD 32, d. AD 92) beginning after AD 54 and finished by his sister PAN Chao [Ban Zhao] after his death. The authenticity of the text is not in doubt, and its 100 chapters are accompanied by subsequent notes and commentaries. It duplicates some materials in the earlier *Shiji* but is mainly based on official documents in the court archives and draws on sources by other authors. There is no complete English translation, but details on Japan are translated in Tsunoda and Goodrich (1951). The *Hanshu* is available in Chinese in eight volumes (Anon. 1962a).

WEIZHI 魏志 Wei Chih

The *Weizhi* (Chronicles of the Wei Dynasty), compiled by ZHEN Shou (W.-G. CHEN Shou, 233–97) as a record of events during the Wei Dynasty (AD 221–265), exists as part of the *Sanguozhi* 三国志 (Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms), the official histories of the Chinese dynasties of Wei (221–65),

Shu Han (221–63) and Wu (222–58) which comprised the Chinese Three Kingdoms period (221–80) (Wilkinson 1974: 80). Both the Wei chronicles and the Wu chronicles contain references to the peripheral East Asian peoples; in the *Weizhi*, these primarily take the form of the 'Records of the Eastern Barbarians' (*Dong-I chuan* 東夷伝), within which is a section (*Wa-ren Tiao* 倭人条) on the Wa peoples of the Japanese Islands. These documents are known by their pronunciation in Japanese as the *Gishi Wajinden* 魏志倭人伝. The *Gishi Wajinden* has been translated into English (Aston 1887–9; Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951; Anon. 1976. The *Sanguozhi* is available in Chinese in five volumes (Anon. 1962b).

HOUHANSHU 後漢書 Hou Han Shu

The *Houhanshu* (Chronicles of the Later Han Dynasty, AD 23–220) were compiled between 398 and 445 by FAN Ye, covering the years AD 25–220 (Wilkinson 1974: 79). Despite the Han Dynasty having occurred earlier than the Wei, these chronicles were based on the earlier *Weizhi* with much of the material being duplicated (see Wheatley and See 1978: 21, fig. 21). The *Houhanshu* also contains a section on the Records of the Eastern Barbarians (*Dong-I chuan*) in which the Wa are discussed; these sections have been translated into English in Tsunoda and Goodrich (1951). The *Houhanshu* is available in Chinese in eight volumes (Anon. 1963).

SONGSHU 宋書 Sung Shu

Compiled in AD 488 by SHEN Yue (441–513), it records the history of the Liu Song Dynasty (420–79). Its present form consists of 10 main chapters, 30 histories and 60 supplementary volumes and is considered the most detailed of the Six Dynasties' court records (Shen 1974). The *Waguochuan* 倭国伝 contains records of the 5th-century Five Kings of Wa.

LIANGSHU 梁書 Liang Shu

Completed in AD 636 by YAO Silian (W.-G. YAO Ssu-lien, 557–637) during the Tang period as the history of the Liang Dynasty (502–57), one of the southern courts in the Three Kingdoms Six Dynasties period. The document was previously known as the *Liangshi* and went through several editings during the Liang and Qian Dynasties, but it is said to be generally reliable. The *Liangshu* is divided into six main chapters and 50 supplementary chapters (Yao 1973), and information on Japan is contained in the *Wachuan* 倭伝. Much of it duplicates that available in the *Houhanshu* and the *Songshu*, including the records on the Wa Disturbances and Himiko, but continues with the communications with the Five Kings of Wa.

NANQISHU 南斉書 Nan Ch'i Shu

Compiled in the early 6th century by XIAO Zixian (W.-G. HSIAO Tzu-Hsien, 489–537), these are the records of the Southern Qi Dynasty (479–502). They consist of 8 main chapters, 11 histories and 40 supplementary chapters (Xiao 1972); information on Japan is contained in the *Dongnan-Ichuan* 東南夷伝 and includes references to a queen of Wa and to an embassy from one of the Five Kings of Wa in 479.

Appendix Two

The Japanese Court Chronicles

This section is designed to introduce briefly the 8th-century documents of Japan. Information on the two chronicles given here is mainly derived from the translators' prefaces: by Philippi (1969) for the *Kojiki*, and by Aston (1972) for the *Nihon Shoki*. In contrast to these official court histories, local documents survive for several provinces. Also compiled in the 8th century, these 'Records of Local Customs' (*fudoki* 風土記) provide information on outlying regions that are not fully represented in the court chronicles. All these documents were originally written in *kanbun* 漢文, a method of writing in Chinese with Japanese grammatical transformations indicated by annotation.

Kojiki 古事記

The *Kojiki*, submitted to the Nara Court in 712, was the first official history of Japan (Philippi 1969). It was compiled from two earlier sets of documents: clan genealogies and anecdotal histories. The sovereign Keitai (r. 507–531) is reported to have commanded the noble families to begin keeping genealogical records in the early 6th century, and the 'now' of the *Kojiki* is thought to refer to the reign of Keitai (ibid.: 5). The text was written in a hybrid style of *kanbun* and *manyōgana* 万葉仮名, the latter being a script using Chinese characters for their phonetic value only to transcribe native Japanese words.

Three 'books' comprise the *Kojiki*. Book One is almost entirely mythological in character, describing the activities of the gods and their colonization of the Japanese Islands. Book Two begins with the tale of Jinmu, the first legendary sovereign of Japan, describing his eastward advance from Kyūshū to establish himself in Yamato; it finishes with Ōjin, the 15th sovereign who allegedly died in AD 395 (see Kidder 1959 for adjusted dates). Book Three then proceeds to describe the reigns of the 16th sovereign Nintoku to the 33rd sovereign Suikō ending in 641. All anecdotal history, however, finishes around 487, and only genealogical information is

offered for the remaining reigns (Philippi 1969). Philippi's translation is the standard work to consult in English, and the standard presentation of the *Kojiki* original text in Chinese, its translation into modern Japanese, and its scholarly annotations are published by Iwanami in the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* 日本古典文学大系 series (Kurano and Takeda 1958).

Nihon Shoki 日本書紀

The *Nihon Shoki* (alternatively known as the *Nihongi*), was submitted to the Nara Court in 720. It was apparently based on more documents than the *Kojiki* and covers a longer timespan, from time immemorial to AD 697. Only the contents referring to events from AD 500 onwards, that is, from Keitai's reign, are considered to be completely reliable history; earlier material has been much distorted, both chronologically and genealogically, for political purposes. As presented in Aston's translation (1972), the work is divided into two Volumes (I, II) and thirty Books (i–xxx), with Books i–xvi in Volume 1 and Books xvii–xxx in Volume II; in the standard Japanese edition, it is divided into two volumes (*jō* 上, *ge* 下) with Books i–xv in the former and Books xvi–xxx in the latter (Sakamoto *et al.* 1965, 1967). Books i–ii comprises the 'Age of the Gods', presenting the ancient Japanese cosmology and creation myths. Each of the earthly imperial chronicles (Books ii–xxx), which provide the basis for the traditional Japanese list of sovereigns (Table 1.3), details the reign of an individual ruler, except for Temmu who is allocated two books. The first sixteen books (Volume I) cover almost as much as the entire *Kojiki*, and the rest (Volume II) is devoted to the period between the 26th sovereign Keitai and the 41st sovereign Jitō (see Table 1.3). The content of the *Nihon Shoki* ends in the year AD 697, 23 years before it was submitted to the Nara Court as the official history of Japan.

As in the cases of the founding dates of the early Korean states [SFK, ch. 1: 3], the succession date of Jinmu was fixed intentionally by later scholars. In assigning it to 660 BC (see Chapter 4), approximately 1,000 years were added to the imperial history of Japan; most scholars agree that the 3rd century AD is a more likely starting date for whatever imperial line can be reconstructed. To fill this extra time period, the existing historical documents and anecdotal evidence of the early kings was telescoped to pad out these reigns, including the possible partitioning of domestic and international information, and the arbitrary parcelling out of information into the various kingly chronicles. This is one of the many reasons why the *Nihon Shoki* is considered chronologically unreliable before AD 461, when outside sources attest accuracy.

The standard presentation of the *Nihon Shoki* original text in *kanbun*, its translation into modern Japanese, and its scholarly annotations are published by Iwanami in the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* 日本古典文学大系 series (Sakamoto *et al.* 1965, 1967). The *Nihon Shoki* is the first of the

so-called Six National Histories (see Sakamoto 1991), none of the others of which have been translated into English. Aston's work (1896) is the standard English translation for the *Nihon Shoki* though it is now over a century old. Five successive publishers have reprinted his two-volume 1896 original in a single volume (Aston 1924, 1956, 1972, 1997 and 2005); since these are all photographic reproductions, they all have the same page numbering and chapter divisions, so any one of them can be used to find the citations in this volume. The archaic typography, moreover, helps take one back in time.

Fudoki 風土記

After the establishment of the new capital at Heijō in the northern Nara Basin, the Ritsuryō government promulgated an edict in AD 713 for provinces to collect information on their climate, geography, customs, legends, beliefs, lifestyles and placenames and submit it to the Nara Court. Aoki (1997: 2) notes that some of this material was probably used for the compilation of the *Nihon Shoki*, but materials which were kept by the provincial offices were never subjected to chroniclers' heavy-handed editing for political purposes. The extant materials in the provinces were collected by the Heian Court in 925 as *Fudoki* (Records of Local Customs). Of those submitted at that time, five remain extant; named after their provinces, these records were all compiled in the 8th century: *Hitachi Fudoki* (713–26), *Izumo Fudoki* (733), *Harima Fudoki* (715) and the *Bungo Fudoki* and *Hizen Fudoki* (both thought to have been compiled between 729 and 739) (Aoki 1997: 2–4). Postdating the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* by just a few decades if that, the *fudoki* collectively provide interesting local material for comparison with the court chronicles. All five have been translated into English (Aoki 1971, 1997). The original texts in *kanbun*, their modern Japanese translations, and annotations are available in the Iwanami *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* 日本古典文学大系 series (Akimoto 1958), with material from other provinces included as appendices to round out the geographical resources for entire archipelago.

Appendix Three

Tables of Early Kofun Tombs and Contents

Table A.1 EK-1 keyhole tomb structures and contents (2nd half of 3rd century)

Prefecture *Tomb name*	*Shape* *& size*	*Size* *m long*	*Chamber*	*Iron weapons* *& armour (bronze)*	*Iron tools*	*Bronze mirrors*	*Stone (other)*
Fukushima							
1. *Odan #2* (moated precinct)	■ S	25 m	–Razed–				
2. *Odan #3* (moated precinct)	■ S	15 m	–Razed–				
3. *Miyahigashi #1* (moated precinct)	● S	31 m	–Razed–				
4. *Miyahigashi #2* (moated precinct)	■ S	15 m	–Razed–				
Niigata							
5. *Inabazuka*	● S	26 m	PSSC, Unexcavated				
Chiba							
6. *Igosaku #2*	■ S	30 m	Unexcavated				
7. *Tobari-ichibanwari*	■ S	14 + m	–Razed–				
8. *Kita-no-saku #2*	■ S	32 m	Clay enclosure				2 Jasper cyl. beads
9. *Gōdo #3*	● S	48 m	Assembled wood coffin	1 Sword, 1 spearpoint 2 arrowheads	1 Point plane		103 Glass beads, 13 cyl. beads
10. *Takenokuchi Mukōdai #8*	■ S	48 m	Unexcavated				

(Table A.1 continued)

Table A.1 Continued

Prefecture *Tomb name*	*Shape* *& size*	*Size* *m long*	*Chamber*	*Iron weapons* *& armour (bronze)*	*Iron tools*	*Bronze mirrors*	*Stone (other)*
Nagano							
11. *Takinomine #2*	■ S	18 m	Wood coffin –disturbed–				(Small glass beads)
12. *Kōbōyama*	■ M	63 m					
Toyama							
13. *Yachi #16*	● S	47.6 m	Clay-covered split-log coffin	1 Sword	1 Hoe shoe, 1 point plane		
14. *Gobuichi*	■ S	43 m	Unexcavated				
15. *Ōzuka*	■ M	58 m	Unexcavated				
Ishikawa							
16. *Shuku-higashiyama #1*	● S	21.4 m	Wood coffin –disturbed–			1 TLV deity-beast	
17. *Kosuganami #4*	■ S	17 m	Wood-box coffin		1 Point plane		(5 Glass beads)
18. *Ichizuka SX07*	■ S	16 m	No information				
Fukui							
19. *Shimizu #13*	■ S	32 m	–Disturbed –				
20. *Sugitani #1*	■ S	21 m	Unexcavated				
Aichi							
21. *Gongenyama*	● S	33 m	Unexcavated				
22. *Okutsusha*	■ S	35 m	No information				
23. *Hakusan #1*	■ S	49 m	Unexcavated				

Shiga							
24. *Asagoi*	■ S	39 m	–Razed–				
25. *Hosshōji*	■ S	23 m	–Razed–				
26. *Iwahata*	■ S	21 m	–(Razed?)–				
27. *Yasudera #1*	■ S	24 m	–Razed–				
28. *Makeyama*	■ S	38 m					
Kyōto							
29. *Moto-Inari*	■ M	94 m	–Disturbed–				
30. *Tsubai Ōtsukayama*	● L	**170 m**	PSSC, split-log coffin	**1 Vertical-plate thonged cuirass, 1 lamellar helmet** several swords, 7+ daggers (1 ring-pommel), 7+ spearheads, 200+ arrowheads, (19 bronze arrowheads)	3 Sickles, 10 axes (5 tabular), 24 knives, 7+ point planes, 1 chisel, 3 hooked obj., 1 fish hook, 10+ fish spears	32 TR-mirrors, 1 inscribed inner petal	
31. *Kuroda*	● M	52 m	Pebble enclosure? Wood coffin	Arrowheads		Chinese inscribed mirror	Jasper cyl. beads (lacquered object)
32. *Aono-nishi SX49*	■ S	31 m	–Razed–				
Nara							
33a. *Hokenoyama*	● M	80?m	Pebble-covered wood chamber	75 Iron arrowheads, 1 iron spearhead, 1 iron ring-pommel sword, 1 iron sword 6+ irondaggers (73 bronze arrowheads)	2+ Iron chisels, 2+ point planes, 18+ L-shaped items	4 Chinese + 2 fragments	Vermilion
33b. *Kurozuka*	● M	127.5 m				33 TR-mirrors, 1 inscription-band deity-beast	
33c. *Bakuchiyama*	● M	110 m					
33d. *Fusagizuka*	■ M	110 m					
33e. *Nishi-Tonozuka*	● L	219 m					

(Table A.1 continued)

Table A.1 Continued

Prefecture *Tomb name*	*Shape* *& size*	*Size* *m long*	*Chamber*	*Iron weapons* *& armour (bronze)*	*Iron tools*	*Bronze mirrors*	*Stone (other)*
34. *Makimuku Ishizuka*	• M	93 m	(Stone facility?) –disturbed–				
35. *Hashihaka*	• L	**280 m**	Unexcavated				
36. *Nakayama Ōtsuka*	• M	120 m	PSSC –disturbed–				
37. *Hiezuka*	• M	125 m	Unexcavated				
38. *Ishinazuka*	• M	111 m					
Osaka							
39. *Mori #1*	• M	106 m	Unexcavated				
40. *Bentenyama A #1*	• M	120 m	Stone chamber unexcavated				
Wakayama							
41. *Akizuki #1*	• S	27 m	–Razed–				(Glass beads)
Hyōgo							
42. *Yoshima*	• M	80 m	PSSC, split-log coffin –disturbed–			1 Deity-beast flat-rim mirror, 1 inscribed inner-petal mirror, 2 TR 4 × 4 flowered deity-beast mirrors, 1TR 4 × 4 deity-beast mirror	66 Glass beads
43. *Yakuyama #1*	• S	32 m	PSSC, wood-box coffin	2 Swords, 3 arrowheads	1 Point plane	1 4-beast mirror	
44. *Kongōsan #6*	• S	28 m	PSSC	Disturbed but unexcavated			

45. *Gongenyama #51*	■ S	48 m	PSSC, split-log coffin			5 TR-mirrors: 1 inscribed beast-band 4 × 4, Zhang-made 3 × 5, Wu-made 3 × 5, Chen-made 4 × 2, wavy-band 4 × 2	
46. *Yorohisago-zuka*	● M	104 m	PSSC –disturbed–				
47. *Chōkeiji-yama #1*	● S	34 m	Wood coffin with clay and stone	2 Swords, 1 dagger, 1 socketed spearhead, 40 arrowheads	2 Axes	1 Inner-petal mirror	
48. *Yokoyama #7*	● S	30 m	PSSC –disturbed–				
49. *Seiryōzan*	■ M	70 m	PSSC –disturbed–	(Dagger?) 13 Bronze arrowheads			
Shimane							
50. *Shiotsuyama*	■ S	25 m					
Okayama							
51. *Kawa-higashi Kurumazuka*	● M	61 m	Unexcavated				
52. *Suo Jinja-ura*	■ M	51.4 m	Unexcavated				
53. *Gokannon-yama*	● S	43 m	PSSC –disturbed–				
54. *Hikami Tennōyama*	● M	55 m	Unexcavated				
55. *Miwayama #1*	● M	80 m	Unexcavated				
56. *Uetsuki Terayama*	■ M	92 m	Unexcavated				
57. *Urama Chausuyama*	● M	138 m	PSSC	12 Swords, 5 daggers		Fine-lined beast-band	Beads
58. *Misaoyama #109*	● S	32 m	Unexcavated				

(Table A.1 continued)

Table A.1 Continued

Prefecture *Tomb name*	*Shape* *& size*	*Size* *m long*	*Chamber*	*Iron weapons* *& armour (bronze)*	*Iron tools*	*Bronze mirrors*	*Stone (other)*
59. *Bizen* *Kurumazuka*	■ S	48 m	PSSC	1+ Sword, 1+ dagger, socketed spearhead(s), 7+ iron arrowheads, 1 quiver	1+ Axe, point plain	1 Inner-petal, 1 inscribed **deity-beast** 10? TR-mirrors?	
60. *Aminohama* *Chausuyama*	● M	92 m	PSSC –disturbed–				
61. *Suge #2*	■ S	44 m	Unexcavated				
62. *Nanatsuguro #1*	■ S	45 m	PSSC, split-log coffin –disturbed–	1 Dagger, 1 sword	5 Sickles, 1 socketed axe, 1 tabular axe, 3 point planes, 4 knives, 2 needles	TLV, phoenix (3 mirrors)	1 Jasper cyl. beads
63. *Totsukizaka #1*	■ S	33 m	PSSC –disturbed–	1 Sword	1 Axe		1 Jasper *magatama*
64. *Katayama*	● S	47 m	–Disturbed–				
65. *Tsukura*	■ S	39 m	Unexcavated				
66. *Nakayama* *Chausuyama*	● M	120 m	Unexcavated				
67. *Kamitsuchida #4*	■ S	27 m	Unexcavated				
68. *Yabe Ōguro*	● S	47 m	PSSC –disturbed–	Sword frags.			Vermilion
69. *Myōrenji #1*	● S	40 m	Unexcavated				
70. *Arakiyama* *Higashizuka*	■ S	43 m	PSSC –disturbed–				
Hiroshima							
71. *Shiozaki-yama*	?	?	PSSC?		1 Tabular axe	1 TR 5 × 4 **deity-beast**	

Tokushima							
72. *Miyadani*	● S	45 m	PSSC (disturbed)			3 TR-mirrors	
Kagawa							
73. *Tsuruo Jinja #4*	● S	40 m	PSSC, wood coffin			1 Beast-band TLV **deity-beast**	1 Jasper cyl. bead
74. *Suribachi-dani #9*	● S	27.4 m	PSSC –disturbed–				
75. *Marui, burial 2*	● S	29.8 m	PSSC	3 Arrowheads	1 Axe	1 Ring-nippled inscribed **deity-beast**	
76. *Oku #3, burial 1*	● S	37 m	PSSC, split-log coffin			1 TR-3 × 5 **deity-beast**	
Ehime							
77. *Karakodai #15, burial 1* [mound-burial?]	● S	15 m	1 Clay enclosure, 1 wood-box coffin	Sword in coffin			
78. *Karakodai #10, burial 4* [mound-burial?]	● S	29.5 m	2 Pit burials, 2 jar burials	1 Spearpoint in pit burial			
79. *Kitaido*	■ S	23.6 m	–Razed–				
80. *Ōkubo #1*	● S	24 m	–Razed–				
81. *Kijino-o #1*	■ S	30.5 m	Wood coffin (disturbed)	2 Swords, 1 dagger, 13 arrowheads	1 Axe, 2 point planes, 2 wire tools	1 Concentric circle design	(Wood comb frag.)
Fukuoka							
82. *Naka-hachiman, burial 2*	● M	75 m	Split-log coffin			1 TR 5 × 4	1 Jade *magatama*, 2 jasper cyl. beads (1 glass bead)
83. *Odōguyama*	● M	65 m	Unexcavated				

(Table A.1 continued)

Table A.1 Continued

Prefecture *Tomb name*	*Shape* *& size*	*Size* *m long*	*Chamber*	*Iron weapons* *& armour (bronze)*	*Iron tools*	*Bronze mirrors*	*Stone (other)*
84. *Ishizuka-yama*	• M	110 m	PSSC –disturbed–	Chinese-style lamellar armour, ring-pommel dagger, 23 iron arrowheads, bronze arrowheads	5 Axes	(11 Chinese mirrors) 7 TR mirrors, 1 beast-band mirror	3 Jasper cyl. beads, 1 agate *magatama*
85. *Gongenzuka*	• S	36 m	Cist-like stone coffin –disturbed–			1 Chinese mirror: picture panel	
86. *Hon-hayashisaki*	• S	25 m	Cist-like stone coffin –disturbed–				
87. *Iwara #1*	• S	42 m	–Razed–				
88. *Yamanohana #1*	• S	50 m	PSSC? –razed–				
89. *Najima*	• S	30 m	Wood coffin –razed–	1+ Sword		1 TR 3 × 3	
90. *Shimazu Maruyama*	• M	57 m	Unexcavated				
91. *Tsuko Shōgake*	• S	33 m	Assembled wood coffin –disturbed–	1 Sword, 35 arrowheads, quiver fitting	1 Socketed axe, 1 point plane, 1 chisel, 1 tabular axe	1 TLV bird motif	(58 Glass beads)
92. *Tsuko #2*	• M	29 m	Split-log coffin?	–Destroyed–		3 TR 3 × 3	Cyl. beads, 5 beads
93. *Haraguchi*	• M	81 m	Wood coffin	2 Daggers	4 Axes		
94. *Kannokura*	• S	40 m	PSSC, split-log coffin	2 Swords	1 Axe, 1 flanged hoe shoe	1 TR inscribed 4x4	

Saga				
95. *Sōzui Shibayama #2*	• S	35 m	Wood-log coffin unexcavated	
96. *Akasaka*	■ S	24 m	Unexcavated	
Ōita				
97. *Shimobaru*	• S	25?m	PSSC, assembled wood coffin, –razed–	5 TR-mirrors: 1 wavy-band dragon, 1 inscribed zigzag 4 × 4, 1 tendril 2 × 2, 2 inscribed beast-band 3 × 3
98. *Akatsuka*	• M	57.5 m	Cist-like stone coffin	

Source: (Compiled from Kondō 1992–2000; Terasawa 2004; Kashiwara 1998.) This listing is based on the six volumes of the keyhole-tomb atlas (Kondō 1992–2000); volume six contains additions, changes and corrections to the other five, yet two tombs (33a,b) excavated in the 1990s in Nara are not redated in this edition: Hokenoyama (K. Terasawa 2004) and Kurozuka (Kashiwara 1998). Moreover, three further tombs in Nara (33c,d,e) are identified by Shiraishi (2002, 2004) as *shutsugen-ki* (appearance phase) tombs. They thus have been included here on the basis of this new information. It should also be noted that Makimuku Ishizuka and other keyhole-shaped mound burials or keyhole-shaped moated precincts may also be included in this compendium, but some, such as the keyhole-shaped moated precincts in Kawachi (Yamada 1994) are not included. Numbers are keyed to Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.3.

Notes: ■ = square-keyhole; • = round-keyhole, size keyed to Figure 6.2; PSSC = pit-style stone chamber; 4 × 4 = The numbers of deities (4) and beasts (4) depicted on the mirror.

Table A.2 Early Kofun tombs with iron armour

Tomb name location, prefecture	*Shape*	*Size*	*Chamber*	*Weapons & armour*	*Iron tools*	*Bronze*	*Stone (other)*
Part I TOMBS WITH CONTINENTAL ARMOUR							
A. Kurotsuka Tenri, Nara	Round-keyhole (EK-1)	130 m lg	6.2 m-long PSSC, split-log coffin in clay half-enclosure	**Lamellar helmet,** daggers, swords, arrowheads	Tools, u-shaped obj.	33 Chinese mirrors	(Vermilion)
B. (30) Tsubai Ōtsukayama Yamashiro, Kyōto	Round-keyhole (EK-1)	170 m lg	9.9 m (inner length) PSSC	**1 Vertical-plate thonged cuirass, 1 lamellar helmet,** several daggers, 7+ swords (1 ring-pommel), 7+ spearheads, 200+ arrowheads	3 Sickles, 10 axes (5 tabular), 24 knives, 7+ point planes, 1 chisel, 3 hooked obj., 1 fish hook, 10+ fish spears	36+ Chinese mirrors, 19 arrowheads	
C. Yukinoyama Yōkai-ichi, Shiga	Round-keyhole (EK-3)	70 m lg	6.1 m-long PSSC	**(Lacquered wood cuirass?) lamellar helmet,** 7 daggers, 3 swords, 1 spearpoint, 3 quivers, 33 arrowheads	2 Sickles, 2 point planes, 1 chisel, 2 knives, several needles, 5 fish spears?	3 Chinese mirrors, 2 imitation mirrors, 92 arrowheads	(22 Upright combs, vermilion) 1 jasper cyl. bead, 1 jasper *koto* bridge-sh, 2 jasper spindle-sh, 1 hoe-sh
D. Omaruyama Higashi-yashiro-gun, Yamanashi	Round-keyhole (EK-3/4)	99 m	2.6 m-long PSSC composite stone coffin	**Vertical-plate cuirass,** 8 daggers, 8 swords, arrowheads	Flat axes, socketed axe, sickle, adze, point plane, chisel, drill, knife	1 TR-mirror 3 × 3, 1 ring-nipple deity-beast, 1 imitation beast	(Glass small beads, cyl. beads) (stone pillow)
E. Shiroyama #2 Kita-kazuraki, Nara	Round	20 m dm	Clay enclosure	**Lamellar cuirass,** spearpoint, dagger, sword, arrowheads	Knife	Bronze ferrule	

F. Nishi Motomezuka Kōbe, Hyōgo	Round-keyhole	100 m lg	PSSC	[Armour reported by Terasawa but not in Kondō]		1 Chinese mirror	(Vermilion)
G. (84) Ishizuka-yama Kyōto-gun, Fukuoka	Round-keyhole (EK-1)	110 m lg	PSSC	**Lamellar helmet,** 1 ring-pommel lg. sword, 23 arrowheads	5 Axes	11 Chinese mirrors arrowheads	3 Jasper cyl. beads, 1 agate *magatama*
H. Myōkenyama Mukai'ichi, Kyōto	Round-keyhole (EK-3)	114 m lg	PSSC composite stone coffin	**Thonged lamellar helmet**	5 Axes, 1 chisel	1 Chinese mirror	3 Jasper cyl. beads
J. Shonobuoka	Round-keyhole (EK-3)	90 m lg	PSSC, split-log coffin	**Thonged lamellar helmet,** 2 daggers, 1 long sword, 2 socketed spearheads, arrowhead frags	2 Sickles, 3 axes, 1 knife, 1 point plane		(Wooden sword decoration) Hoe-sh 'bracelet', 6 jasper spindle-whorl-sh obj.
Part II SQUARE-PLATE ARMOUR TOMBS *Kinai*							
a. Uedono Tenri, Nara	Round	30 m dm	9 m-long Pit, clay enclosure	**Leather tasset? 2 sq-plate cuirass** 2 shields, 11 spearpoints, 32 arrowheads, 17 daggers	16 Sickles, 8 hoe shoes, 7 chisels, 5 knives, 3 point planes, 2 adzes, 4 iron axes	Arrowhead	Radial-sh, wheel-sh, hoe-sh
b. Niizawa #500 Kashihara, Nara	Round-keyhole (EK-3)	62 m lg	9.5 m-long Pit, clay enclosure	**Cuirass** 1 arrowhead, 4 daggers, 23 swords, 8 spearpoints	18 Sickles, 4 chisels, 10 axes, 21 hoe shoes, 16 point planes, 29 knives, sickle	8-Leaf ornament, 27 arrowheads, 5 imitation mirrors	3+ Hoe-sh, 2+ radial-sh, *koto* bridge-sh, *magatama*, cylindrical bead, staff ferrule, jar

(Table A.2 continued)

Table A.2 Continued

Tomb name location, prefecture	*Shape*	*Size*	*Chamber*	*Weapons & armour*	*Iron tools*	*Bronze*	*Stone (other)*
c. **Taniguchi #1** Takaichi, Nara	Round	20 m dm	7.8 m-long Pit, clay enclosure without coffin	**Cuirass,** knife, 2 socketed spearheads, 2 swords (1 ring-pommel), 2 spearpoints, 14 arrowheads, 1 dagger	2 Large axes, 1 point plane, 2 chisels, 1 needle	1 Mirror, 2 ferrule cylinders	
d. **Kamotsuba #1** Gose, Nara	Square	20 m lg	5.9 m-long Pit, clay enclosure	**Cuirass,** 1 dagger, 2 swords, 81 arrowheads, 2 lacquered quivers, 1 shield, bow, 2 spearpoints, 4+ daggers	1 Flat axe, 2 axes, 5 point planes	6 TR-mirrors	(Lacquered staff) (44 glass beads) 5 *magatama*, 8 cylindrical beads
e. **Tomio Maruyama** Nara City, Nara	Round	64 m dm	10.6 m-long Pit, clay enclosure	**Leather cuirass, leather tasset, iron arm guard,** 20 swords	Hoe shoe, axe, point plane, chisel, drill, sickle, saw, fish spear, knife	Hooked bracelet, 1 ferrule cylinder, arrowheads, 1 spiral ornament	Bracelet-sh: (all 3 types), arrow-head-sh, jasper container, talc ped. jar, talc axe-sh, talc knife-sh
f. **Kawaradani #1** Kizu, Kyōtō	Round-keyhole (EK-3)	51 m lg	7.8 m-long Pit, clay enclosures	**Leather-thonged, lamellar helmet cuirass,** 1 dagger, swords, 7 spearpoints, 64 arrowheads	1 Knife, point plane frag., chisel frag., fish spear frag.	1 Mirror	(Upright comb) 3 arrowheads
h. **Sonobe Kaichi** Sonobe, Kyōtō	Round-keyhole (EK-3/4)	82 m lg	7 m-long Clay enclosure, split-log coffin	**Leather-thonged sq-plate cuirass,** 50 daggers, 23 swords, 23 spearpoints,		3 Chinese mirrors, 3 imit. mirrors, 15 arrowheads	2 Jade *magatama,* 2 jasper *magatama,* 125 jasper cyl. beads, 9 wheel-sh, 3 radial-sh,

				87+ arrowheads, 2 perforated iron plates			17 jasper arrowheads
i. **Anzuchi Hyōtanyama** Anzuchi, Shiga	Round-keyhole (EK-3)	162 m lg (134 m?)	PSSC, 6.2 m-long Split-log coffin	**1 Square-plate cuirass,** 14 daggers, 3 swords, 23 arrowheads	3 Sickles, 8 axes (1 tabular), 5 knives, 4 chisels, 2 unknown	Chinese/imit mirrors, 30 arrowheads, 2 ferrule cylinders	23 cyl. beads bracelet-sh: 1 each hoe-sh, wheel-sh, radial-sh
j. **Shōgunyama** Ibaraki, Ōsaka	Round-keyhole (EK-3)	107 m lg	PSSC	**Leather-thonged sq-plate cuirass,** 7 daggers, 1 sword, 50 arrowheads		16 arrowheads	(4 Glass beads) 6 jade *magatama,* 1 jasper arrowhead
North/East							
k. **Ame-no-miya #1** Kasei, Ishikawa	Square-keyhole	64 m lg	8.6 m-long Pit, clay enclosure split-log coffin	**Sq-plate cuirass,** 30+ arrowheads, sword, shield	52 Arrowheads	Imitation mirror	Bracelet-sh: 4 wheel-sh, 15 radial-sh
m. **Hitachi Tsunezuka** Iwase, Ibaraki	Square-keyhole	40 m lg	7 m-long Pit, clay enclosure	**Sq-plate cuirass,** 1 dagger, 1 straight sword	Knife, 2 point planes, axe	4 Arrowheads	(Small beads)
West							
n. **Nakayama-B #1** Iwami, Shimane	Square-keyhole	22 m lg	Cist-like stone chamber	**Sq-plate cuirass**	Axe, knife		
p. **Waka-Hachiman-miya** Fukuoka City, Fukuoka	Round-keyhole (EK-3)	47 m lg	Boat-sh wood coffin	**Sq-plate cuirass,** 2 clover-pommel swords (Han), 1 dagger, 19 arrowheads	1 Knife, 1 chisel, 1 axe	TR-mirror	14 Jasper cyl. beads (Furu-2 pottery)
r. **Kumamoto-yama** Saga City, Saga	Round?		Boat-sh coffin of Aso welded tuff	**Sq-plate cuirass,** weaponry		Mirror	Beads, jasper spindle-sh

Source: (Compiled from T. Terasawa 2003; Kondō 1992–2000; Nogami 1991.) Tombs keyed by number to Figure 6.1 and by letter to Figure 6.3

Notes: Abbreviations: cyl = cylindrical; frag = fragment; imit = imitation; lg = long; m = metre; obj = object; ped = pedestaled; sh = shaped; sq = square; TR = triangular-rimmed

Glossary, Character List and Index of East Asian Terms

The page number, endnote page (E), figure (F) and table (T) references given here apply only to the italicized or character version occurrences in the text; the significant translations are indexed in the Main Index. Language of pronunciation is Japanese unless otherwise indicated by C. = Chinese, K. Korean, J. = Japanese

ama	天	heaven	88
amakudari	天下り	lit. 'descending from heaven'	88
ateji	当て字	borrowed character; the arbitrary assignment of characters regardless of pronunciation or meaning	E227
bachigata	撥型	shaped like a flaring plectrum for a musical instrument	111
bakufu	幕府	military administration	7
biwa	琵琶	a lute	16
daijōbō	台状墓	platform burial	106, T5.2
dai-kyōdōtai	大共同体	large community	73
daimyō	大名	feudal lord	6, 124
dai-shuchō	大首長	great(er) chief	73
daiwa	大和	the characters by which the name Yamato is written	E223
dongmu (C.)	東母	'eastern mother'	T8.1
fudoki	風土記	geographical treatise	88
funkyūbo	墳丘墓	mound-burial	106, F5.2

genka-reki	元嘉暦	(C. *yuanjiali*) a Chinese calendar invented in AD 443	E225
gihō-reki	儀鳳暦	(C. *ifengli*) a Chinese calendar invented in AD 665	E225
guk (K.)	國	'country', polity	4, E223
guo (C.)	國	'country', polity	4, 18, 51–2, 68, 70–1, 73, 75, 77, 87, 105–6, 174, 197, E223–4, F3.6, F3.8, T5.1
hakaru	計る	to measure	96
haniwa	埴輪	earthenware funerary sculptures	13, F1.6, T1.1
Heijō	平城	also read Nara; the name of the 8th-century grid-capital	E224
hekigyoku	碧玉	jasper (sometimes including green tuff)	E224
heqin (C.)	和親	Early Han system of 'reverse tribute'	41–4, 51
hiko	彦	male/Prince	94
hime	姫	female/Princess	94
hime/hiko-sei	ヒメヒコ制	'chieftaincy of dual-gender pairs'	94, 155
hisui	翡翠	'jade' but may include jasper	E224
hōkei shūkōbo	方形周溝墓	moated precinct burial	106, T5.2
hōragai	法螺貝	a conch shell (*Cassis cornuta*)	F7.3
ie	家	house	187
ifengli (C.)			(see *gihō-reki*)
imogai	芋貝	a spiral shell (Conidae)	F7.3
inaki	稲城	'rice castle', more likely a granary compound	155

(*Glossary continued*)

ishikushiro	石釧	'stone bracelet', translated as 'radial' bracelet	F7.3
jing (C.)			(see *kei*)
jū	獣	beast	F4.3
kaidō	街道	trunk road	E226
kaikyū shakai	階級社会	class society	176
kei	徑	(C. *jing*) pathway, diameter	96
ki	き	enclosure	189, E227
kigō	記号	pre-fired marks on jar shoulders	126
kimi	君	'king'	T1.3
kinoye tora	甲寅	51st year in the sexagenary cycle	89
kofun	古墳	mounded tomb	7, 118, F4.2, T5.2
kofun bunka	古墳文化	Mounded Tomb Culture (MTC)	104, 178
kofun-gun	古墳群	tomb cluster	118
kokka	国家	state	178
koku	国	'country', polity	4, 73, 75, 77, E223, F3.8
kotoji-gata	琴柱型	*koto* (zither)-bridge-shaped	F7.4, T1.2
kudari, kudaru	下る	descent, to descend	88
kūhaku	空白	void, emptiness	20, 82
kukochi-hiko	狗古智卑狗	an official of Kunu	109
kuni	国	'country', polity	4, 73, 75, 77, E223, F3.8, F3.9
kuni-tsu-gami	国神	earthly gods	88
kuwagata-ishi	鍬型石	lit. 'hoe-shaped stone'; a hoe-shaped bracelet	F7.3
ma	真	true/sacred	189
magatama	勾玉	curved bead	69, 183
maki	纏	this character is pronounced *ten*, *mato*, *matsu*, and *kuru*, but not *maki*	189, E227 (see *ateji*)

Makimuku	纒向＝真城向?	placename in Nara	189
Maki-no-uchi	巻内＝真城の内?	placename in Nara	189
matsuri	祭り	religious festival	185
matsuri-goto	政、祭り事、奉り事	ritual, ceremony	185–6
matsuru	祭る、奉る	to worship, to command	185
miwadama	三輪玉	three-humped bead	T1.2
mono	者	person	182–3
mono	物	thing	183
no	の	genative particle in Japanese	E225
ō	王	king	73
ōchō	王朝	court	9
ōken	王権	kingly authority	184, 196
ōkimi	大君	great(er) king (*primus inter pares*?)	89
omikoshi	御みこし	deity palanquin	185
ōtsuka/ōzuka	大塚	great mound	E226
ritsu	律	penal codes	7
ryō	令	administrative law	7
sakaki	榊	*Cleyera japonica*, the sacred tree of Shintō	170, 172
sankakubuchi	三角縁	'triangular cross-section rim'	F4.3
sankakubuchi shinjūkyō	三角縁神獣鏡	triangular-rimmed (TR-) deity-beast mirror	101
sashiwatashi	差渡し	transect	96
seiken	政権	political authority	184
shamisen	三味線	three-stringed Japanese banjo	16
sharinseki	車輪石	'wheel stone', translated as 'wheel-shaped bracelet'	F7.3
shimaguni-ron	島国論	island country thesis	3
shin	神	god	F4.3

(*Glossary continued*)

shinken	神権	'godly authority'	184
Shinsei Wakoku	新生和国	New Wa	125
shō-kyōdōtai	小共同体	small community	73
shō-shuchō	小首長	lesser chief	73
shotō	初等	elementary, incipient	113
shuguo (C.)	属國	dependant polities	55
shūkō	周溝	moated	108
ta-fu	大府	'great officer'	52
tate	縦	lengthwise, vertical	96
tatematsuru	奉る、祭る	to present an offering or tribute	185
teikei-ka	定型化	standardization	112, T5.2
tennō	天皇	emperor	7, 89, 112
tsuka	塚	mound	E226
wa	和	harmony	E223
wang	王	king	18, 71, 73, 75, 174
Wakoku Dairan	倭國大乱	Wa Disturbances AD 147–89	79
Wo (C.), Wa (J.)	倭	meaning a 'dwarf'; ancient Chinese name for Japan	E223
ximu (C.)	西母	'western mother'	T8.1
Yamaichi	邪馬壱	an alternative writing for Yamatai	85
Yamatai	邪馬台	the country of Queen Himiko	85
yama-ushiro	山後ろ	'behind the mountains'	E227
yi	夷	barbarian	3, E223
yonseiki no kūhaku	世紀の空白	4th century (documentary) void	20, 82
yuanjiali (C.)			(see *genka-reki*)
yuzuru	譲る	to bequeath, transfer	88
zenpō-kōen-fun	前方後円墳	keyhole tomb with a round rear mound	110, T5.2

zenpō-kōen-fun kokka	前方後円墳国家	'keyhole-tomb state'	178
zenpō-kōengata	前方後円型	keyhole-shaped	T5.2
zenpō-kōhō-fun	前方後方墳	keyhole tomb with a square rear mound	111, T5.2
zenpō-kōhōgata-funkyūbo	前方後方型墳丘墓	keyhole-shaped mound-burial with a square rear mound	111, T5.2
zhongguo	中國	China	3

Notes

1 Orientation

1 Di Cosmo has stated categorically that the word 'barbarian' has no 'single analog in the Chinese language' (2002: 95, ftn 7), but his comments really apply only to the Zhou period when many different outlying groups were each called by their own name. By Han times, the word *yi* had become a general reference term for mounted peoples on the northern borders.
2 The Chinese characters for italicized East Asian words can be found in the Glossary.
3 SFK refers to Barnes 2001, the companion volume to this.
4 *Guo*, *guk* and *koku* are the respective modern Chinese, Korean and Japanese pronunciations of the same Chinese character. *Kuni*, the ancient native Japanese word for a similar socio-political unit, came by analogy to be written with the same Chinese character, which thus can be read either *kuni* or *koku* in Japanese – a fact exploited in some archaeological theorizing, as we shall see later.
5 'Wo' (J. *wa*) is a derogatory word meaning 'dwarf'; it occurs in the Chinese texts together with the word *guo* (Woguo) and thus means the 'land of the Wo', or in Sino-Japanese pronunciation, Wakoku, 'land of the Wa'. It is arguable that the 'dwarf' character has been substituted with a character of the same Sino-Japanese pronunciation (*wa*) meaning 'harmony' in the characters used to write Yamato, which can be pronounced *daiwa* in Sino-Japanese, meaning 'Great Wa'. The name Yamato itself may be more related etymologically to the country name Yamatai as recorded in the *Weizhi* (Chapter 4). See the Glossary for renditions in Chinese characters.
6 Wade-Giles (W.-G.) is the romanization; see the Conventions section in the Preface.
7 Yamato survives as a placename in modern Nara (e.g. the Yamato River). Until 1871 Nara prefecture itself was known as Yamato province (see Table 0.1), reflecting the historical epithet 'Yamato, central land of the reed plains' as applied to the Nara Basin. The early state was never called the Yamato State by its rulers or inhabitants, but Japanese historians have traditionally referred the pre-7th century form of governmental rule as the Yamato Court, with the term Yamato 'state' being a later scholarly development.
8 See the Preface for discussion of regional placenames used in this volume.
9 According to the classification of Chinese archaeological periods adopted in Barnes 1999.

10 Heijō is the Sino-Japanese pronunciation of its Chinese characters, well established in the English-language literature. Japanese historians have argued that this character combination 平城 was pronounced 'Nara' in the 8th century, but I prefer to retain the name Heijō here because of its distinctiveness *vis-à-vis* modern Nara prefecture and Nara city and its complementarity with the Heian 平安 capital in Kyōto.

2 Theoretical approaches

1 The hyphen is important in identifying Wallerstein's (1974) concepts against a more general concern with systems in past and present worlds, designated as world systems without the hyphen (cf. Thompson 1983). This distinction will be retained in this volume.
2 The pyramid design has been adopted from Terasawa 2000, which he used to illustrate hierarchical levels in developing *guo* (cf. Figure 3.8).
3 This model needs much refinement to completely characterize economic interaction in detail; but such classificatory efforts depend on knowing the exact sources of objects and mechanisms of distribution, little of which is understood yet in Japanese archaeology. Nevertheless, the schematization of hierarchically tied avenues of communication is an improvement on flat links diagrammed between polities (Friedman and Rowlands 1977: fig. 6.3).

3 Edge of Empire

1 The source for this map, which has been redrawn, is untraceable. Information on its publication details would be welcomed in order to acknowledge the vision of the original artist.
2 See Di Cosmo 2002: 249 for a brief discussion about the motives and unintended consequences of these military maneuvres.
3 The 'east' of Watson 1972 refers to the eastern steppes, not the Pen/Insular region.
4 It is very difficult without specialist analysis to distinguish between the rocks in these pairs, and it has been noted (e.g. Terasawa 2004: 372, note 5) that the categories *hisui* (usually translated as 'jade') and *hekigyoku* ('jasper') are catch-all categories, often based on colour, which may include several types of geological materials.
5 Note that there was a printing mistake in Terasawa's original: the illustration that goes with the caption for Stage 2 on p. 235 is located on p. 294, and vice versa. The captions are positioned correctly but the illustrations reversed on these two pages.
6 Actually, two time periods have been specified in the Chinese chronicles for disturbances in Wa: AD 147–189 in the *Weizhi* (Tsunoda and Goodrich 1951: 2) and AD 178–183 in the *Liangshu* (Edwards 1996: 55, ftn. 7). The *Liangshu* comprises the court histories of the Liang Dynasty (AD 502–556).
7 This overrides my statement in Barnes 1981 that mirrors were not produced in Yayoi Japan.

4 From Yamatai to Yamato

1 The kernel of this chapter was initially presented as an invited lecture, 'A Tale of Two Histories: early states in Japan,' the first in the new annual Boone

Lecture Series in East Asian Anthropology & Culture, at The Field Museum, Chicago, 17 November 2001.

2 Ō no Ason Yasumaro was one of the Nara courtiers involved in the compilation of both the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* chronicles. His grave, with an engraved 'copper plate', which identified him and recorded his rank and death date, was discovered by a farmer in 1979 at Konose, Nara in the tea plantation region of the prefecture (Anon. 1979).

3 In one variation, the mythical descent of the Land God Susa-no-o is said to have terminated in Silla on the Korean Peninsula [SFK, pp. 40–4] (Aston 1972.I: 57).

4 See the Preface for use of the term 'emperor'. Upon his death, the present Emperor Akihito will probably be remembered by his reign name as Emperor Heisei, as the former Hirohito is now known as Emperor Showa.

5 Two Chinese calendars have been identified in the construction of the *Nihon Shoki*; use of the *yuanjiali* (J. *genka-reki*), invented in AD 443, and the *ifengli* (J. *gihō-reki*), invented in AD 665 (Okada, Y. 1995: 181). It is hypothesized that the entries in the *Nihon Shoki* for the years between the early 5th century and AD 697 were calculated according to the *genka-rek*i, and years up to the 5th century and from 697 were calculated according to the *gihō-reki* (Okada, Y. 1995: 181).

6 Earlier transcribed as Jingō (see Aston 1972; Young 1958; Edwards 1996: 60, ftn. 14). The 18th-century historian MOTOORI Norinaga is credited with the overt identification of Jingū with Himiko (cf. Edwards 1996: 60).

7 Edwards (1996: 60, ftn. 14) calls attention to a misstatement by Young (1958) that Himiko's name appeared in the *Nihon Shoki* when in reality it merely referred to the 'Queen of Wa' or the 'Ruler of Wa'.

8 See the discussion in Young 1958: 51–4 and Edwards 1996: 59–60.

9 Unfortunately, both these positionings appear to have been intentionally set: by the *Nihon Shoki* compilers, in the case of the traditional chronology, in order to match Jingū with Himiko; and by Umehara and Kobayashi, in the case of the adjusted chronology, in order to match Sujin's reign with Himiko (Table 1.3, ftn. v).

10 See Edwards 1996: 60, ftn. 14 for references.

11 To avoid confusion, I will refer to the tomb mentioned in the *Nihon Shoki* as Hashi-no-haka (following Aston) and to the physically known tomb as Hashihaka, following modern usage. The names are synonymous: the genitive particle *no* does not alter the meaning.

12 For example, the mausoleum of Empress Jingū is 275 m lg and the rear round mound is 194 m dm, the Sujin Mausoleum is 242 m lg × 158 m dm, and the Keikō Mausoleum is 300 m lg × 168 m dm (Kashikōken 1971–4).

13 The 'mounded tombs' labelled in this figure should be re-named 'mound-burials' according to the terminology developed in Table 5.2.

14 Kobayashi proposed his thesis first about Wei mirrors and was countered with Mori's alternative of Han mirrors. See Edwards (1996) for a discussion of the theoretical battle and Edwards (1995) for a translation of Kobayashi's seminal work on triangular-rim mirror distribution patterns.

5 Hashihaka and Mounded burials

1 The distribution of these sites does not conform exactly to those areas which Mizoguchi identified as progressive above, though this appears to be due to

sampling selection as Sasaki did not analyse sites in Shikoku or Hokuriku (including Tanba/Tango in northern Kyōto prefecture).
2 The ends of the Tatesuki projections have eroded, and there are differing reconstructions of their shape. Ishino (1990: fig. 153, 157), along with others, leaves the ends ragged and unreconstructed, while Tsude (1998b: fig. 10) gave the projections rounded ends. Terasawa (2000: 259), however, gives them flared profiles, facilitating the burial's interpretation as the proto-type for Hashihaka with its flared front mound.

6 Early Kofun polities

1 The term 'Chinese-style' as used here includes both imports and copies. Some artefacts, such as lamellar armour, are known to be imports, but it is difficult to ascertain whether a ring-pommelled sword, for example, was made in China, or copied in Korea and imported, or forged in Japan in imitation of an original.
2 This distribution is slightly different from other mappings of the earliest Kofun-period keyhole tombs (e.g. Okamura 1989: 71; Shiraishi 2004: 33). I have taken Kondō (1992–2000) as authoritative in this matter, adding only Kurozuka and Hokenoyama Tombs, recently excavated in Nara (Kashikōken 1998; K. Terasawa 2004).
3 The rank-size rule states that the size of the *r*'th largest occurrence of the event is inversely proportional to its rank *r* (http://www.cs.unc.edu/~vivek/home/stenopedia/zipf/).
4 ' "The primate city is commonly at least twice as large as the next largest city and more than twice as significant." – Mark Jefferson 1939. Geographer Mark Jefferson developed the law of the primate city to explain the phenomenon of huge cities that capture such a large proportion of a country's population as well as its economic activity. These primate cities are often, but not always, the capital cities of a country. . . . They dominate the country in influence and are the national focal-point. Their sheer size and activity becomes a strong pull factor, bringing additional residents to the city and causing the primate city to become even larger and more disproportional to smaller cities in the country' (Anon. 1999 unpaginated).
5 *Kaidō* is a Tokugawa-period word that was given to major trunk roads between provinces.
6 This distribution might be misleading. Keyhole-shaped moated precincts have been excavated at some Central Kawachi sites (Yamada 1994), though they are not included in the keyhole tomb compendium (Kondō 1992–2000).
7 For example: (1) tombs so close together that there were no distances represented between them are treated as a cluster from whose centre measurement was made; (2) judgements made on topographic access between tombs determined whether a measurement was made (i.e. those separated by mountain ranges without a reasonable path were not measured); (3) distances were measured as the crow flies, without regard to actual routes between sites; (4) selections were made of clusters which seemed topographically discrete; (5) multiple representations were made of certain areas based on tomb size or clustering; (6) interim values were rounded to one decimal point, while areal measures were rounded to integers.
8 As measured on the National Geographic (1960) map.
9 The name of this tomb may be rendered either as Kurotsuka (as in Kondō 1992–2000) or Kurozuka (as in Edwards 1998, 1999). Here the English-language tradition following Edwards is maintained. Many other tombs having

the element *-tsuka*, meaning 'mound', may also have this alternate spelling, for example, *ōtsuka/ōzuka*.

10 Sou is apparently a contraction of the name Sofu, which may be related to Saho, the name of the river draining the basin from the north. It appears as a county name under the later Ritsuryō territorial system (see G. Barnes 1988: fig. 53).

11 The name Yamashiro may be a contraction of *yama-ushiro*, meaning 'behind the mountains'. If so, this phrase may have originated in the Nara Basin, specifying the area 'beyond the hills' that separate the Nara and Kyōto basins.

12 This structure was probably a granary or granary compound in which rice was stored, judging from the use of the morpheme '*ki*', meaning 'enclosure', as discussed in Chapter 8.

13 The size divisions through these phases are heuristic and somewhat arbitrary and will change with more tombs assigned to these phases in future.

7 Prestige goods and class identity

1 It is particularly irritating to see authors using the term 'social stratification' for social hierarchies in which there is vertical ranking but no class segregation. It would be useful to keep the former term for exclusive use with 'class society' and refer to ranked statuses as a form of social differentiation or hierarchy.

8 The Miwa Court and cult

1 These texts are the *Shanhaijing* [W.G. *Shan Hai Ching*] 'Classic of Mountains and Seas', the *Zhuangzi* [W.G. *Chuangtzu*] and the *Xunzi* [W.G. *Hsun-tzu*].

2 The current character 纏 assigned to the unit *maki* is an *ateji* (borrowed character) which does not relate to the sound represented; the pronunciations of 纏 are *ten*, *mato*, *matsu* and *kuru*, but not *maki* (A. Nelson 1966).

3 As Crumley (1987: 158) states, 'structures are heterarchical when each element is either unranked relative to other elements or possesses the potential for being ranked in a number of different ways'.

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Main Index

This listing contains entries for the front matter, chapters, epilogue, figures, tables and endnotes, but *not* appendices or glossary. Things mentioned in passing (m.i.p.) form large components of the classified categories ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBJECTS and BURIAL TYPES, CAPITALS, COMMANDERIES, COURTS, HISTORICAL PERSONS, KINGS, LEGENDARY PERSONS, PALACES, PEOPLES, PERIODS, POLITIES, QUEENS and SOVEREIGNS. For most placenames, *see under* ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES, and GEOGRAPHY in the separate Classified Placename Index (referred to below as Placename Index). When feasible, bold font picks out proper names for easy viewing.

Numerals prefaced with F indicate Figure numbers (F0.1), while Table numbers are prefaced with T (T0.1); both include references to their captions. E designates the page for an endnote reference. Locators prefaced with E, F, T are listed after plain text pages. Numbers in *italics* = main reference, definition or illustration; ch = chapter; alt. = alternative spelling; m.i.p = mentioned in passing; C. K. J. = China, Korea, Japan.

Classified Placename Index

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES (m.i.p.) *see also* **Hashihaka**; *and* **Makimuku** *in* Main Index; *See especially* F3.4, F3.6, T5.1, *and* Appendix Three, which is not indexed. *Italic* figure numbers show site illustration or location. dist = district, m-b = mound-burial, k. = kingly, b. = burial.

GEOGRAPHY: *Italicized* figure numbers show labeled geographic feature. References to ubiquitous placenames addressed by the whole volume (Japanese Islands, Honshū Island, Kyūshū Island, North Kyūshū, and Nara Basin) are confined to illustrations of location.