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Early Japanese Urbanism.

A Study of the Urbanism of Proto-historic Japan and Continuities
from the Yayoi to the Asuka Periods.



Daisen Kofun, believed to be the tomb of Emperor Nintoku.

It is the largest keyhole shaped tomb found and is located southern Osaka.

Timothy Brooks

2013

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Chapter One

Abstract.

The way in which Japanese archaeologists and historians see their past has created two separate systems of periodization causing many issues for dating certain material of the same age. As a consequence of the retro-projection of present day social and political perspectives onto the past, the sequence has become fragmented. Part of the issue lies in assumptions about the nature of urbanism and the state, stemming from the Japanese model of urbanism. This is tied directly to the influence of Chinese grid style cities used as capital cities from the late 7th century onwards. Before this, other different forms of "capital" can be identified, for example in the Asuka and *Naniwa* areas, associated with the initial formation of the state. The Asuka area in particular was the residence of elites and the location of local crafts, associated with shrine and tombs spread out over a wide area. This may therefore be an example of a low-density dispersed urban environment. The thesis aims to demonstrate that this is the case.

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Geographical Setting



Fig. 1.1: Map of the Kansai/Kinai region within Japan.
(Source: www.Kansai-japan.net)



Fig. 1.2: Map of Osaka and Nara Basins.
(Adapted from Google Maps.)

The sites examined in this thesis, primarily come from the *Kinai* or *Kansai* region of Japan.

Asuka is located in the Southern Nara Basin. *Makimuku* is located to the north east of Asuka along the eastern boundary of the Nara Basin. *Saki* is located in the Northern Nara Basin and *Naniwa* is located in the Osaka Basin. Other sites used as examples come from Northern Kyushu and the Kanto region. This region was the location of state development in Japan and has the most data available in English. It is also the location of the "palaces" and grid pattern cities.

Japanese Proto-history

Japanese proto-history is an exciting period of development in Japan. The time span of 300 BCE to 710 CE sees first the establishment of hierarchical, power-based, social stratification

which is then followed by the establishment of the early Japanese state. During this time the Japanese Islands were influenced by interaction with both the polities on the Korean Peninsula as well as the successive Chinese dynasties. This interaction caused both people and ideas to flow into Japan. Northern Kyushu was particularly influenced due to its proximity to the Korean Peninsula. This caused two distinct spheres of influence to form in the Japanese Islands, which lasted until the 3rd century. The Western Sphere was centred in Kyushu and had much in common with the continent. The Eastern Sphere, centred on the *Kinai* region, was less influenced by the continent. This will be explained more in Chapter Three. The block of time that encompasses the Yayoi, Kofun and Asuka periods is traditionally broken up by archaeologists into the Yayoi (300 BCE to c. 250 CE) and Kofun (c. 250 to 710 CE) periods and another overlapping period employed by historians, the Asuka (c. 580 to 710 CE) period which begins with the arrival of writing from the Korean peninsula in the mid 6th century. Writing was only one component of the Asuka cultural package, which also included Buddhism and new architectural forms. Late in this period of time the first Chinese grid style capital city in Japan, Fujiwara, was constructed in c. 694 CE. Fujiwara would be the first of many such capitals which moved around the Osaka and Nara Basins until Heian, modern Kyoto, was built in 794 CE. As will be seen, however, the first capital cities in Japan during the early Asuka, may have created low density, dispersed residential environments.

This thesis will discuss two broad issues with Japanese proto-history. The first of these is what settlement pattern was used in the pre-Fujiwara Asuka and *Naniwa* areas. These areas were locations of elite residence during the Asuka Period and also were areas of localized production. These residences and work areas are spread out across the landscape within the arc of the major tombs.

The concept of a low-density, dispersed urban environment will be applied to these areas to show that they were a different kind of urban centre from the conventional form. This issue is tied directly to the debate surrounding how to characterise urbanism. The traditional view is that urbanization resulted in compact environments. Worldwide examples including the Maya city of Tikal, the great Buddhist centres of Sri Lanka such as Anuradhapura and Angkor, show however, that this is not the case and an urban environment can occupy a large area at low densities. The concept of low-density urbanism is not new and has been recognised as far back as the 1950s and 60s, especially in Mesoamerica (see Willey 1993, Sabloff 1990). This settlement type has been identified as occurring in all the major categories of human society (Fletcher 2012), in hunter gatherer, pastoralist, agro-hunter, farmer, mobile urban and industrial societies. Bagan, Anuradhapura, Tikal and Angkor are all examples of agrarian based low-density urban settlements. These can vary from small to massive. Fletcher states however that these sites were regarded as typical traditional medieval compact urban walled settlements until the late 1990s, focussing only on the walled central enclosure. The conventional model regards the central areas where the large monumental structures are located, as being urban but fails to take into account the large areas of occupation, shrines and massive infrastructure interspersed with fields in the suburban environment. The low density form of settlement patterning has also been found to produce several commonalities between sites. These include a homogenous settlement pattern across large distances, large-scale agriculture with a primary crop, massive infrastructure and a collapse that led to a shift away from urbanism in the metropolitan area (see Fletcher 2012).

Though surveys of the Asuka area are partial, and some parts are built over, indications suggest it possesses some of this spatial pattern. The settlement pattern of the Kofun and Asuka periods for commoners, is believed to have been a system of "hamlets" spread across the landscape of rice fields. Elite compounds were also located within this landscape. Data

for these is limited, however, the shifting "palace" compounds of the Yamato paramounts sheds light on how these compounds may have been arranged and spaced on the landscape. A new palace was constructed after the death of each paramount. The locations chosen were often in areas close by to older palaces. Only in *Naniwa* was a palace built on top of an older palace after its loss to fire. Asuka's "urban" environment is quite small in comparison to the major examples used by Fletcher, only c. 1000 hectares and the only large infrastructure is the great tombs. Asuka did not have any other huge infrastructure except perhaps the "roads" which were built around the same time as Fujiwara but are believed to have followed traditional routes (see figure 1.3. below). Also future developments moved away from the low-density pattern. The most important difference, however, is that the Asuka area did not collapse, the higher level of elites presumably moved to Fujiwara while those who owned rice growing lands remained. Fujiwara changed the urban environment in this region of Japan as the Chinese style grid city influenced Japanese capital building. The Asuka region prior to Fujiwara, is identified as a capital as are other "palace" locations. This suggests that Kofun and pre-Fujiwara Asuka period urbanism and its relationship to the formation of the state is different to the later periods.



Fig. 1.3: Map of Road system (in red) and Fujiwara. (Adapted from http://blog-imgs-42.fc2.com/a/t/a/atamatote/asuka_Naniwa_0.jpg).

The second issue is concerned with the periodization applied by both English and Japanese scholars. There are two separate periodization schemes in Japan, one belonging to archaeologists and the other to historians. The archaeologists have established three periods of prehistory, the Jōmon, Yayoi and Kofun. The historical period sequence begins with the Asuka period in the late 6th century. Following this is the Nara and Heian periods. A key issue is that the archaeological Kofun period and the historical Asuka periods overlap with both ending in 710 CE. The Kofun period is defined on one artefact type, namely the huge keyhole shaped tombs. Kofun in Japanese means tomb. An assemblage of material, mainly pottery, is also used to mark the Kofun period, however, these are closely related to the tombs. This issue is further complicated with some archaeologists referring to historical periods in dating their remains. This is seen mostly in the designation of late tumuli remains to the Late Kofun period, while Buddhist and administrative remains are designated Asuka period. This gives rise to an artificial separation of otherwise contemporary features.

The research questions that guided this study are:

- Do the Asuka and *Naniwa* areas represent extensive, low-density, dispersed urban environments?
- How has the Japanese view of modernity influenced the periodization of Japanese prehistory?

The aims of this thesis are:

- To demonstrate that the Asuka and possibly *Naniwa* area held low-density, dispersed urban environments prior to the construction of the first recognised urban city of Fujiwara.
- To show that the periodization of Japanese pre/history is problematic and needs revising.
- To offer a continuity view of a span of time and a cultural tradition that is otherwise overshadowed by the periodization scheme.

To accomplish this task, this thesis will first examine prior research in this area of study. The two main data sets for assessing the Asuka and *Naniwa* urban environments will be

settlement and building data. Four secondary data sets will be employed to support the continuity view. These are tools, pottery, burials and the economic platform based around rice. These data sets will focus on both cross period similarities. The traditional view in Japanese archaeology has been to emphasis the differences that characterise each period. By focussing on the similarities, continuities can be seen that call the traditional view into question as well as the periodization scheme.

Scope

The geographic scope of this thesis is primarily based in the Osaka and Nara Basins (see figure 1.2 above). Examples are drawn from all over Japan in certain sections, including Northern Kyushu and the Kanto region, however the focus is on the above. The temporal scope of the thesis is from the beginning of the Yayoi period in c. 300 BCE to the end of the Asuka period, or Kofun period as described above, in 710 CE

Limitations

While the extent of the English literature on this period of Japanese history is fairly good, the bulk of the sources are, of course, in Japanese. The author does have some capacity to translate Japanese words, which allowed access to basic visual data on the cultural assemblages and the settlement data. In the main the thesis has maps, plans and diagrams as its basic data. Many images are used from Japanese publications based on translated captions. This thesis mostly takes references from English texts including the references to Japanese sources, which provide the summaries of the sparse debates in that literature on broader issues rather than on disagreements about very particular site and object focussed issues. Much of the publication in English belongs to a few authors, such as Gina Barnes who's work

forms an important base for this thesis. Note that the focus on a specific region, which is part of the *Kinai* region, is due to this area being the locus of state formation.

Conventions

Japanese text is displayed in text as Romaji (the use of English letters to sound out Japanese words). This is a common convention used in English publications on Japan. As per normal convention, commonly used Japanese words will appear un-italicised while uncommon words will be italicised. For example, Yayoi period and *funkyubo* mounded burials.

In this thesis the periodization used will consist partly of the archaeological tradition and partly of the historical tradition. The Yayoi and Kofun periods will be used from the archaeological tradition but the Asuka period will be used from the historical tradition. The Kofun and Asuka periods overlap and where possible this will be shown. Some archaeologists in Japan employ the Asuka period for Buddhist and state remains while tomb remains are dated as Kofun period. This will be examined further in Chapter Three. As can already be seen the differing systems of periodization in Japan are problematic.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter Two contains the background literature to the thesis. Here relevant authors are discussed. This includes Gina Barnes, Koji Mizoguchi and Keiji Imamura.

Chapter Three details how the Yayoi, Kofun and Asuka periods are characterised. It begins to give the continuity view by demonstrating the continuities between periods of things such as, burials and pottery.

Chapter Four continues the continuity view by discussing the nature of settlement patterns from settlements down to buildings. This chapter discusses the Osaka and Nara Basin sites important to the argument for a low-density dispersed urban environment.

Chapter Five contains the discussion portion of the thesis. Here the data sets from the previous chapters will be brought together and discussed. Future study options are examined here. This chapter contains the conclusions section of the thesis.

In the next chapter, the literature relevant to this thesis is examined. Key authors on Japanese archaeology as well as authors dealing with the issue of low-density urbanism will be discussed. Chapter Two forms the first part of the background to this thesis. The second part is included in Chapter Three.

Chapter Two

This chapter provides a background to the low-density dispersed urban phenomenon and how it relates to the Japanese case. It also reviews literature relevant to this thesis, including the work of Gina Barnes, whose work forms part of the basis of the thesis. The intention is to show that the retro-projection of modern concepts of urbanism and the understanding of the later historic periods have caused the breaking up and conceptual fragmentation of Japanese pre- and proto-history. One of the aims of this thesis to show that the breaking up of the cultural sequence has caused the study of the Yayoi, Kofun and Asuka periods to be fragmented into detail on each distinct period. This is partly due to the problem of history dictating the archaeology of Japan. These periods are known as proto-historic periods due to the presence of the Chinese Chronicles, namely that of the Wei Dynasty. The issue of *Yamatai* outlined below is an example of a historical problem dictating archaeological research. It is important to note, however, that not all scholars concerned with Japanese archaeology ignore this chronological issue. In an early article by Barnes, she details the notion of the Yamato period that was explored by some Japanese scholars. However, this notion has disappeared from more recent works in English by both Barnes and other scholars suggesting it has not taken hold. Other Works by Barnes in the late 1980s and early 1990s often discuss this issue.

The first part of this chapter provides a background to the concept of low-density dispersed urbanism and the environment that it produces. Many of these types of sites have been found around the world and represent a problem for the conventional archaeological categorisation of urbanism. This issue is tied to state emergence, with one of the generally accepted requirements of a state being a city. These low-density, spread out settlement environments

have not been considered cities by some but are clearly part of a state structure. One author who has been studying this issue of categorisation is Timothy Pauketat.

The Problems of Categorisation

Timothy Pauketat argues for the abolishment of social evolution which "pigeon holes" societies into evolutionary stages (2007, 14). Central to his argument is the reliance of social evolution reliance on political functions (2007, 14-16). This has caused archaeologists to search for specific "types" within the archaeological record. As more and more sites were found that didn't match the criteria of "chiefdom" or "state" sub-categories were created. He gives an example of this in the separation of chiefdoms into "simple" and "complex" chiefdoms (2007, 23-24). The former have been described as being based on surplus redistribution by "part-time" chiefs. This contrasts with the latter, which is described as having two to three levels of administration controlling a larger territory (2007, 23). Elites within these societies had more freedom to pursue their agendas beyond their local domains. Redistribution is described as being to the benefit of the government. This description of a complex chiefdom almost matches the criteria of a state, outlined in a publication on a seminar of archaic states (*Archaic States* 1998, 6-7).

Pauketat uses the example of Cahokia to challenge the common definition of a city (2007, 138-142). He questions why a polity the size of Cahokia is not regarded by Mississippianists as a city when, if it had occurred anywhere else in the world, it would be. The size and estimated population of Cahokia are used to show that it is much larger than its closest relative, Moundville. Pauketat describes what he calls the Cahokian sprawl, a large low-density settlement (2007, 140-142) of a form unique in North America. This sprawl also appears to occur in Asuka during the pre Fujiwara years of the Asuka period. Pauketat states that there are some who would call Cahokia a city, including Yoffee (2007, 142). However,

he states that Yoffee does not see Cahokia as part of an archaic state. This leads Pauketat to question what Cahokia was part of.

For Yoffee the city represents the requirement for state emergence (2005, 62). He explains that while the process of urbanization created cities, the counter process of "ruralization" produced the crucial rural zone (Yoffee 2003, 60-61). Within this zone new villages and towns emerged that became networked to the urban centre. The cities themselves acted as generative elements in creating new positions and roles (2005, 62). Interaction amongst groups was intensified in cities with new ideologies emerging. The control of the rural hinterland was not always an easy task. Yoffee states that groups in the countryside could ally themselves against the city by calling on traditional kin ties, which did not disappear entirely upon state emergence (2003, 61). It is important to note that while Yoffee argues the link between cities and states he does not recognise low-density urbanism even when it is found in the context of a state.

Pauketat gives a background of some of the ways states have been defined. He discusses the notion of effort, specifically the control of communal labour. Four "criteria of tendencies" are taken from a paper by Yoffee, Fish and Milner (2007, 145). These are: the disembedding of political power from kinship and other structures, the twin processes of "urbanization" and "ruralization" that transform the pre-state landscape, the dynamics of power in various and often competing sources and societal/ideological power is typically exercised by those who maintained and reproduced the symbols of different groups. The shifting palace system used by the early Yamato paramounts, which became the "Emperors", is an example of the first of the above. By moving the royal residence after the death of a paramount, the new paramount could ensure new ties were created and could break the influence of the elites surrounding the old palace location. The second concept of urbanization and ruralization is the process whereby the landscape is transformed. Rural settlements are not relics of the pre-state

landscape, the countryside is created by the state formation process. This can be seen in the landscape of the Osaka and Nara Basins during the Kofun and Early Asuka period.

Settlements were established with specific purposes and located in relation to the urban landscape (see Chapter Four). An example of the final tendency, that of the dynamics of power, may be the spread of the keyhole shaped mounded tombs. These tombs, as discussed further in Chapter Three, spread from the *Kinai* region out along "linear paths" (Barnes 2007, 113-114). The different cultural groups that are evidenced by the regional variation of the Yayoi period began to recognise and reproduce these symbols. Pauketat argues that all four of the criteria of tendencies pertain in some way to the control of labour. The state is diffuse and hidden in the action of the people, implicated in every aspect of daily life. It is under these four criteria that Pauketat assesses what Cahokia was. He states that another scale can also be examined to gain insight into what Cahokia was, namely Cahokian colonization (2007, 154-155). The conclusion reached is that the question may not be answerable definitively yet, but what Pauketat's analysis shows is that Cahokia was something different that cannot be explained in the existing terminology (2007, 160-162). It is an aim of this thesis to demonstrate that Asuka and possibly *Naniwa* are examples of low-density agrarian urbanism which is found in Angkor, Bagan, Tikal and many of the great Buddhist centres of modern Sri Lanka like Anuradhapura (see Fletcher 2012, Robin Coningham, Prishanta Gungawardhanai 2013 (in press)).

One interesting area of research that has not been pursued much, is the role of density in complexity. Given that the cities that Yoffee claims to be vital to state development are mostly small dense city-states, it is surprising he does not consider this more. Fletcher points out settlements vary in density from compact to dispersed, with buildings close together or widely spaced (2007). He also states that there has been a tendency to look focus on compact settlements rather than examples like Angkor and the Maya cities, of agrarian low-density

settlements. Does Cahokia fill this category? If Pauketat's hypothesis of a Cahokian sprawl is correct then it may be the case. Does the Asuka area also demonstrate a similar arrangement? If a city is a hallmark of a state then these low-density dispersed urban environments should be a form of a city. All are situated in a clearly visible state structure, with a network of rural production centres linked to and supplying the urban centre. It is possible that the *Naniwa* area around the *Naniwa* palace, discussed in Chapter Five, is another example of one of these environments. The *Naniwa* area, however, has had less excavation than Asuka and the spread of the Modern city of Osaka has made further investigation a problem. These large agrarian low-density settlements do not fit the conventional categories of social evolution, which leads to the problem of what to call them? Ultimately they do not fit into any of the established categories. This means a change in how we look at, and categorize, states and urban environments is required.

Japanese Urbanism

The first compact urban city built in Japan, Fujiwara, was built in the late 7th century. It is one of the arguments of this thesis that prior to this a large, low-density dispersed urban landscape existed in the Asuka area and also possibly *Naniwa*. Previous study of the Asuka area has predominantly revolved around the elite "palaces" and associated Buddhist temples. As will be seen in later chapters the Asuka elite area appears to hold workshops but no commoner residences. This suggests that commoners lived away from this area and may have travelled in to operate these workshops and serve the elite. The Asuka area also appears to have had very little farming take place near the elite residences.

Previous Studies on Japanese Pre- and Proto-history

One of the key authors to this thesis is Gina Barnes. Barnes has written prolifically on the subject of Japanese proto-history and state development. Her work spans most of Japan, however, her key focus is on the Nara Basin. Two volumes by Barnes are of particular importance to this thesis. The first is *Protohistoric Yamato* written in 1988. The second is "State Formation in Japan" written in 2007. Both these volumes are primarily concerned with the Nara Basin, although the second expands upon the first to include Japan in what is known as the "Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere", which serves to illuminate the networks between China, the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese Islands.

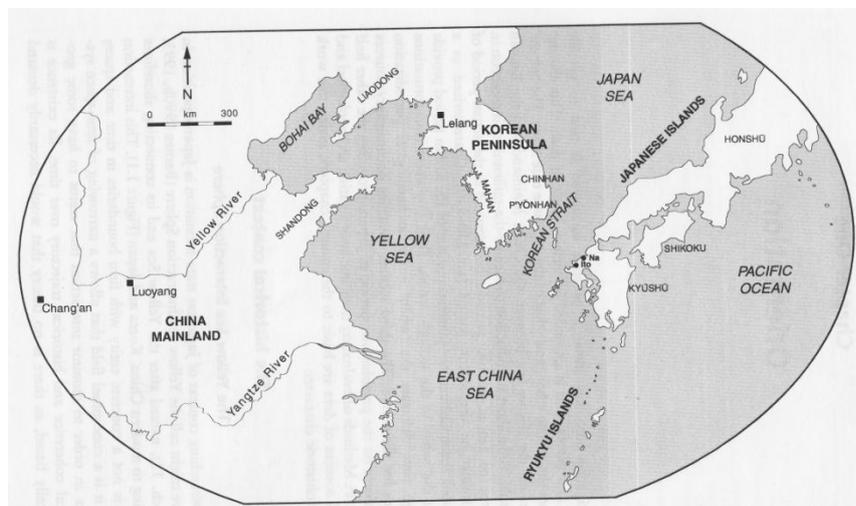


Fig. 2.1: Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere. (Source: Barnes 2007).

Protohistoric Yamato, which is the published version of Barnes' PhD thesis, is focussed mainly on tracing the settlement pattern of the Yayoi and Kofun period Nara Basin. This book holds invaluable data on buildings, settlements, burials and other associated artefacts. The work is divided into two sections. The first section covers the pragmatics of archaeological research in an environment dominated by rice paddy fields. She discusses how the process of forming a paddy field, with its tamped earth base, can both preserve and

disrupt the archaeological record (Barnes 1988, 113-118, 124-131). Once the hard base is established artefacts below it are not able to move vertically. The material removed to construct the hard base can find its way to the surface giving the appearance of a surface scatter. This first section also covers the types of features found in the Nara Basin and elsewhere in Japan including: pit dwellings, pillared buildings, various kinds of moats and ditches and burials.

The second section is devoted to the settlement pattern of the Nara Basin. Here settlement is tracked across the Yayoi and Kofun periods through domestic material. One of the major discoveries is that the Nara Basin across these time periods showed an intensification of settlement from the centre to the western and southern boundaries (Barnes 1988, 206-213, see also appendix ...). Later the settlement pattern would intensify in the northern part of the basin before the movement of the loci of power to the Osaka Basin. This is important as one of the areas to see intensification in the late Yayoi and early Kofun is the Asuka area in the southern part of the Nara Basin. Asuka would become the seat of the paramount after the *Naniwa* area. The movement of the seat of power is hinted at in this book but further explored in Barnes' 2007 work.

One of the key issues with *Protohistoric Yamato* is identified and remedied by Barnes in *State Formation in Japan*. This is that Japan in this period cannot be looked at in isolation as movements of people and ideas from and to China and the Korean Peninsula played a key role in Japan's development.

Barnes examines the greater context of the emergence Japanese social stratification, the precursor to state formation. Included in this greater context is the proto-historic approach whereby Barnes examines how the Chinese chronicles or the Han and Wei Dynasties portray the events taking place in the Japanese Islands. This wider context is identified by Barnes as

the Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere (2007, see also Barnes 1993). The primary theories at play in this volume cover this interaction aspect. Barnes begins her analysis of Japan as being at the "edge of empire" during the Yayoi Period. By this Barnes means the interaction between the Chinese Han Court & Korean Peninsula chiefs and the Japanese Islands. Her analysis then turns to the Yayoi-Kofun Period transition during which she argues for an increase in interaction amongst both Peninsula and Japanese peers. Finally she discusses the rise of an influential polity at *Makimuku* in the *Miwa* area of the South Eastern Nara Basin. This area is home to one of the three "courts", locations of paramount sovereigns who controlled networks of exchange with other elites rather than a physical court (2007, 189-192). Of the three "courts" identified, two occur in the southern half of the Nara Basin and both are relatively close to each other. This is further examined in Chapter Three.

One of the important themes that run throughout Barnes' work, is that the periodization scheme does not fit (see also to the above, Barnes, 1979, 1986, 1993). She uses the archaeological structure of Yayoi and Kofun periods with no Asuka period in her later works but in her early works the issue of the Asuka period comes out (see Barnes 1979, 1986). She introduces to English readers for the first time a Japanese concept of a "Yamato period", Yamato being the old name for Nara Prefecture and the name associated with the early paramounts in the region (Barnes 1979). This would replace the Kofun period while also taking into account the Asuka period. In that article Barnes discusses the problem of tomb related remains being dated to the Kofun period while Buddhist and other state institutions are dated to the Asuka period when both remains are the same age. The Yamato period would solve this issue by dating remains to a single period of time split into several phases. This solution appears to have disappeared as Barnes does not discuss it in later works nor is it brought up in works by other authors. One possible reason for its disappearance is the

concept discussed below by Mizoguchi, of well-established discursive spaces tied to specific periods that prevent change from occurring.

The *Yamatai* Debate

This debate is one of the largest debates in Japanese archaeology. The debate is further complicated by the analysis of the Wei zhi Chinese chronicle which records *Yamatai* and Queen *Himiko* and gives directions to her 'country'. These directions, however, have been interpreted to lead to Kyushu or the *Kinai* (Imamura 1996, 188). Another source of historical controversy is outlined by Imamura (1996). This is the myth of the first emperor Jinmu, which is first recorded in the Japanese chronicle *Nihon Shoki*. It states that Jinmu lead an army from Kyushu to the *Kinai* and ascended the Yamato throne. This myth was taught as fact until the end of the Second World War. Imamura argues that Jinmu has been disproven to exist but the myth's influence on this debate remains. *Yamatai* is said to have been a state society led by a queen and sophisticated enough to be able to send emissaries to the Chinese (Barnes 2007, 86). The date for *Yamatai* of c. 3rd century AD would mean state development began long before the generally accepted 5th and 6th centuries (Barnes 1988, 11, 24-25). However, some Japanese scholars view *Yamatai* as the beginning of the state. Barnes (1988, 11) states that those scholars that view the 5th and 6th centuries as the beginning of the state, follow the anthropological view that states are not identified on social stratification alone and require other criteria such as Service's "legitimate force" or Wright's "specialized administrative structure". Imamura (1996, 191) states that the Kyushu theory was given a boost from the discovery of mounded burials and the Yoshinogari site. Farris (1998) summarises that the debate about *Yamatai* finds no concrete answer. He does attempt to authenticate the Chinese chronicle by assessing how it fits with Yayoi archaeology. He finds that it fits fairly well with the archaeology but differs on some key points (Farris 1998, 36).

His reasons for this seem a little convenient, placing the blame mostly on the author's assumed Chinese ethnocentrism. Farris states that the archaeological debate is one over chronology with one camp placing the end of the Yayoi at 250 AD and another at 300 AD. He states the reason for this as being, because archaeologists have used pottery to give a relative date to the Yayoi period (1998, 53). Barnes (2007, 6) states that scholars now equate *Himiko's Yamatai* with the Yamato polity.

As far as the archaeology is concerned, no evidence pointing directly to a *Yamatai* kingdom seems to exist. The archaeological evidence used in the debate includes the mounded tomb culture, the *Yamatai* capital and the mirrors given to *Himiko's* envoys to the Wei capital (Barnes 2007, 95-102). *Himiko* is said to have been buried in a large mounded tomb. The main contender for Japanese archaeologists for this tomb is the Hashihaka tomb in the Nara Basin. Debate surrounding this tomb is complicated further as the Imperial Household Agency claims this as one of the Imperial Mausoleum. A major problem with this designation is that the tomb cannot be excavated and thus given a date. Redating to match historical events has caused gaps to form between the archaeology and the history (Barnes 1986, 313-314, Barnes 2007, 98). *Himiko* was said to have lived in a stockade with watchtowers. This led to great interest in the Yoshinogari site in Northern Kyushu. This site has remains of what are believed to be watchtowers (Hudson & Barnes 1991, Fig. 1-2). The site, however, is too small in population and the largest burial mound present is also too small. Its location also raises doubts as this conflicts with a travel estimate given in the Chinese chronicles for the distance between *Yamatai* and the Kingdom of Na (Barnes 2007, 99). Farris (1998, 42) states the biggest argument against Yoshinogari is that apart from three fragments, no Chinese mirrors have been found there. This last argument is of course assuming that the historical evidence that *Himiko's* ambassadors received Chinese mirrors. According to Barnes (2007, 99) what Yoshinogari did show is that the Chinese chronicle's description of an elite

settlement corresponds to the archaeology. The main issue, outlined in Barnes (2007, 99-101), concerning the mirrors is that there is no way of knowing what type of mirrors *Himiko* may have received. The popular deity-beast mirrors are one type of Wei mirror argued to be linked to *Himiko* and *Yamatai* (Fig. 16). These mirrors, however, occur in greater numbers than the one hundred said to have been given to *Himiko* (Barnes 2007, 101). This debate has seen Japanese archaeologists become preoccupied with locating *Yamatai*. The sources examined for this essay emphasise the reliance on the Chinese chronicles in this debate. No direct evidence of *Yamatai's* existence has been found. Barnes states that until direct inscriptional evidence is found the debate will never be solved by archaeology (2007, 103).

Japanese Periods as Discursive Spaces

The Japanese, like most modern societies, have been looking into the past searching for correlates with modern features. One of the clearest examples of this, is the search for Emperors. Many of the early Emperors have been referred to as paramounts in the English literature. Another issue with the search for emperors is the search for their "palaces". It has been stated that these palaces, which often end in *no-miya* or honourable house, may refer to residences of anyone connected to the royal family (Barnes 1988, 243). Another problem is that these palace sites may refer to locations of importance rather than a palace as we know it (Barnes 1993, 248). Most of the data on emperors and their palace locations comes from the Japanese Chronicles the *Nihon Shoki and Kojiki*, written in the late 7th century (see Barnes 1988 and Farris 1998). Another example of this search is the *Yamatai* issue discussed above. *Yamatai* is recorded in the Wei Dynasty history as being a large settlement, home to *Himiko*. Many Japanese archaeologists have spent their careers digging in search of *Yamatai*. Koji Mizoguchi has written on what he calls the "topography of identities". Which is the "space in which,....,we can move freely form one temporal segment in the depths of time to another"

(Mizoguchi 2002, 26). He states that this can be done with little regard to the sequential order of these segments. He identifies two ways in which the past is used (Mizoguchi 2002, 26-28). The first is to acquire a sense of unity and shared identity. The second is to use the past as a source of authenticity, the past being seen as authentic due to its depth and distance from the modern individual. This can be seen clearly in Japan, examples include the Imperial Family and the Imperial Household Agency which restricts excavation of tombs regarded as Imperial Mausoleums. This is due to the tendency of archaeology to upset the established history. Another example of this may be the idealized agrarian past, which many Japanese seem to yearn for. Japan, since the end of the Second World War, has seen a huge population shift to its cities. Much the same as the notion that "times were better in my day", the older generation of Japanese appear to romanticize the agrarian past. Evidence of this can be seen in the huge number of people that visit heritage sites and recreated agrarian villages. Mizoguchi argues that the Japanese prehistoric periods of the Jōmon, Yayoi and Kofun (which includes the Asuka period due to the issues of periodization discussed in Chapter Three) represent "discursive spaces" where people constitute the above (Mizoguchi 2002, 28-29). Here the Yayoi and Kofun discursive spaces are most relevant, however, it should be noted that the Jōmon discursive space has seen a rise in recent years as the characterization of the Yayoi space has changed (Mizoguchi 2002, 29-38, 40). The archaeology of the Yayoi period is the archaeology of increasing social complexity, the introduction and advancement of technologies and the ideological concealment of the growing social stratification. The Yayoi period is often seen as embodying a rapid population increase which played a role in the emergence of competition for resources (Mizoguchi 2002, 38-40). Another aspect of the Yayoi period is the rise of the contradiction between family ownership and tribal egalitarianism. Mizoguchi argues that this has caused Yayoi studies to take on two dominant axes, the process of how intra- and inter-communal relations became stratified, and the

process of how emerging relations of dominance became ideologically naturalized. The theoretical background for many Yayoi period studies is a Marxist framework that was established prior to the Second World War (Mizoguchi 2002, 39). This gives these studies a political motivation. This has caused the view that the Yayoi period is the period whereby the characteristics of the early Japanese state were established. This is believed to have then influenced the historical sequence ultimately ending in the collapse of the Imperial Japanese state. Mizoguchi states that in the post war era studies of the Yayoi period were studies of the failure of the modern Japanese state. The post war economic boom also caused the Yayoi period to be viewed as a positive space (Mizoguchi 2002, 39-40). This is because the view that the post war boom was based on Japan's ability to import and improve technologies matched that of the Yayoi period. However as Mizoguchi discusses, the economic downturn has caused the Yayoi period to become associated with the ills of modernity and thus a rise of the Jōmon space has occurred. This is tied directly to a rise of the "interconnectedness of the romanticisation of the Japanese past" and the view that the Japanese identity can be found in the "deepest past" (Mizoguchi 2002, 43-44). This is compounded by the rise of what Mizoguchi calls "relativistic cynicism" which has caused a decline in debate and discussion surrounding study of these periods, "you do you archaeology that way as I do my archaeology this way" (Mizoguchi 2002, 43-44). The Kofun discursive space has caused studies to be characterised by politico-historical processes and core and periphery relations to the emergent *Kinai* paramounts and the continent (Mizoguchi 2002, 40-41). Mizoguchi states that this has caused archaeologists to study the monumental tombs as evidence of the spread of these relations. It is widely viewed that the *Kinai* paramounts developed and redistributed the "prestigious goods" and method of burial to the regional elite. This is directly tied to the process of how the Imperial Family obtained and maintained its "despotic" power. The fact that an established Kofun methodology is the use of the mounded tombs, which are claimed

to belong to emperors as a "materialized genealogy" and their size as an indicator of power and authority level is evidence of the above (Mizoguchi 2002, 41). Mizoguchi argues that this gives Kofun studies a top down character, "power over access to various resources, not the study of power to the continuous reconfiguration of the uneven distribution of various resources that both prohibits and enables people to accomplish something" (Mizoguchi 2002, 42). This causes a disregard for studies concerned with individual agency and "the study of the nuanced interdependence between the self identification of the chiefs and that of the commoners".

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to review some of the relevant literature to this thesis. As can be seen, Japanese prehistory is entangled in many problems, some of which are based on the modern use of the past. Authors like Barnes give insights in Japanese prehistory without being tied to how the Japanese use their past. Of course, one must still be wary of how non-Japanese see the Japanese past. The next chapter will seek to firstly orientate the reader on how the Japanese periods are traditionally characterised. The second part of Chapter Three will then begin the process of establishing a continuity view through the use of tools, pottery, burials and the economy. These data sets show continuity across the periods being studied, even when these periods are often viewed as distinct entities.

Chapter Three

This chapter provides a background on the periods covered in this study and how continuities exist between them. The first section of this chapter begins by discussing how the Yayoi, Kofun and Asuka period have been traditionally characterised. This is followed by a short discussion of what the archaeology of each of these periods has focussed on. The second section of this chapter discusses some of the continuities that exist between these periods. These continuities are fragmented by the system of periodization and it is one of the aims of this thesis to demonstrate this point.

Overview of traditional periods being studied

The Yayoi period is often given the starting date of 300 BCE and the end date of 300 CE This is directly tied to the *Yamatai* debate outlined in Chapter Two. Some scholars have argued for an end date of 250 CE (see Chapter Two). The Yayoi period is traditionally seen as a period of turmoil and social change as immigrants from the Korean Peninsula began to move across to Northern Kyushu. With these immigrants came the wet rice farming technique as well as both iron and bronze tools. These tools allowed rice farming to expand greatly as control of rice production became key to the formation of an elite strata.

Towards the Middle Yayoi period (200-0), bronze-casting technology was adopted from the Korean Peninsula. This technology caused two distinct ritual bronze spheres to form on either side of the Seto Inland Sea (Barnes 2007, 4-7). The Western Seto sphere, located primarily on Kyushu, is characterised by the production of ritual bronze weapons, particularly spear heads. These are often found as grave goods indicating preferential burial in this sphere. The Eastern Seto sphere centred on the *Kinai* region (modern Osaka, Nara, Kyoto and Hyogo prefectures) is characterised by the casting of large ceremonial bronze bells. These bells were cast from

bronze items that are believed to have been obtained from the Western Seto. These bells were deposited in caches not associated with burials. These caches often interpreted as showing centres of communities within this region. As discussed in Chapter Two, these bronze spheres feature strongly in the *Yamatai* debate. With the start of the Kofun period, grave goods appear for the first time in the Eastern Seto, forming one of the arguments for the dominance of the Western Seto. Proponents of the Eastern Seto, however, argue that the spread of the keyhole shaped tomb shows that the Eastern Seto was dominant.

As detailed further below, precursors to the monumental keyhole shaped tombs of the Kofun period were built in the Yayoi period. These were called *funkyubo* and are called mounded burials in English. The *funkyubo* show lots of regional variation, this differs to the most popular tombs of the Kofun period, the keyhole style, which are fairly universal in appearance.

The archaeology of the Yayoi period is focussed on how the arrival of the continental immigrants, and the technologies they brought with them impacted the Jōmon population (see Barnes 2007, 1988, Imamura 1996). The settlement pattern of this period, which is detailed in Chapter Four, meant that attention was paid to both elites and commoners as they lived in the same settlements. Both pottery typology and carbon 14 dating have been used to establish the Yayoi chronology (Aikens and Higuchi 1982, 189). As shown later in this chapter, focus shifts during the Kofun and Asuka periods.

The Kofun period is traditionally given the date range of 300 to 710 CE. Problems exist with both the start and end dates for the Kofun period. Due to the influence of the *Yamatai* debate, the Kofun period is often stated as starting with the construction of the first keyhole shaped tomb. The Kofun period is normally characterised by the construction of the keyhole shaped tombs. These tombs have been found as far north as the Tohoku region and in southern

Kyushu (see tomb distribution maps in appendix ...). The keyhole tombs are named for their appearance and were built with either a round or square rear mound (See Fig. 3.11 below).

Other developments that occurred in the Kofun period are the separation of elite and commoner residences and a change in local pottery style, as well as the importation of a style of pottery from the Korean Peninsula (Barnes 1990, 452-453). The Kofun period is also seen by some scholars as the beginning of the state formation process in Japan (Barnes 2007, 17-18).

The Kofun period sees the establishment of networks of local elites under a paramount sovereign. These sovereigns began to form "courts" of elites, which are described as ritual networks rather than physical courts attended by specific people (Barnes 2007, 189-190). This allowed the paramounts to control the acquisition and distribution of goods. Three main successive courts attributed to three dynasties of sovereigns began in the Early Kofun period. These were the *Miwa* Court centred on the *Makimuku* area near Mount *Miwa* in the Nara Basin, the *Kawachi* Court centred on the *Naniwa* area of the Osaka Basin and the Asuka Court centred on the Asuka area in the southern Nara Basin (see Fig. 1.4 on page 11, Barnes 2007). The first two of these courts are believed to have formed in the Kofun period. The Kofun period also saw the creation of the moving palace system, whereby after the death of each paramount the new ruler would move their palace to a new location. As seen in Chapter Four, these palace locations were often far from the tombs ascribed to these rulers.

If the traditional dates are followed, then Buddhism also arrived in Japan during the Kofun period. It is here that we run into a major problem with the periodization of proto-historic Japan.

As detailed in the Asuka period section below, the Asuka period is stated as beginning in the late 6th century with the construction of *Asukadera* temple in 588 CE (Tadano and Edwards,

1995), although Barnes states that the Asuka period begins in 645 CE (2007, 15). This is because the Asuka period is regarded as part of the historical tradition. The archaeological tradition does not include an Asuka period. This has led to tomb remains being dated as Late Kofun and Buddhist and state remains as Asuka period, even if they are temporally the same. As outlined in Chapter Two, and further detailed in Chapter Five this has led to some attempts to reclassify the periods.

The Asuka period is normally attributed a starting date towards the end of the 6th century. The end date for the Asuka period is the same as the traditional date for the Kofun period of 710 CE. This is when the capital is moved to *Heijo* and the Nara Period starts. The Asuka period is when the state formation process slows down with the establishment of the *Ritsuyo* state based on Chinese style law codes (Farris 1998, 104, Barnes 2007, 15). This period sees the introduction of Buddhism, which begins to change how elites identify themselves. Monumental keyhole tombs begin to decline as new rounded tomb styles emerge with multiple burials of family members (see burial section below). Buddhist temples begin to become the new monumental elite identifiers on the landscape (Barnes 2007, 15). As shown in Chapter Four, the Asuka area contains a large amount of Buddhist temples including *Asukadera* which is believed to be the first temple built in Japan.

The archaeology of both the Kofun and Asuka periods is focussed on the monumental remains of the elites. In the Kofun period these are the large keyhole shaped tombs and residential compounds. In the Asuka period the focus is on the Buddhist temples, palaces and other remains of the early state. From the literature available, very little from these two periods is concerned with the lives of the commoners and there is a lack of information on commoner residence in contrast to the work in the Yayoi and Jōmon periods.

Although these periods tend to be studied as distinct entities, many continuities exist between them. The process of periodization has caused these continuities to become fragmented.

These include tools, pottery, burials and other economic behaviour such as the importance of rice. These continuities are detailed below and form a support to the following chapter, which details the settlement pattern continuities.

Continuity

Tools

The arrival of iron at the beginning of the Yayoi period allowed farmers to transform their local area into a landscape of paddy fields. Throughout the three periods, and even until modern times, wood was the main component of these farming tools (Barnes 1993, 187).

Another common component in early tools was stone. Initially, iron was rare and was obtained from the southern Korean Peninsula. Early iron tools were simply wooden tools with the working edge capped with iron.

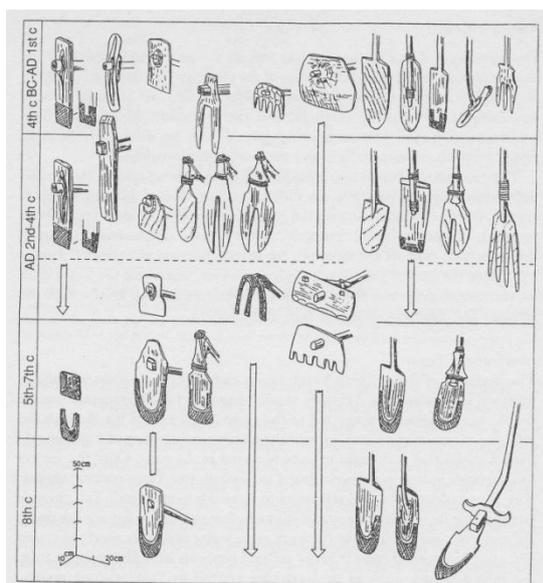


Fig. 3.1: Tools from Initial Yayoi to Late Asuka periods. (Source: Barnes, 1993).

The Image above shows tools that have been found during the Yayoi, Kofun and Asuka

periods. The localized production of iron in the Kofun and early Asuka periods may explain

the increase in iron edges on tools from the 5th century onwards (Barnes 1993, 187, Imamura 1996, 142). The use of iron only on the working edge, may suggest that it was still a rare commodity. This may also have been a choice by farmers to allow the tools to be used over a longer period, only having to replace the iron working edge. The above image also shows that over time the repertoire of tools shrunk to a few specific types. This shrinking appears to have been at its peak in the Yayoi to Kofun period transition around the beginning of the 4th century.

Pottery

The pottery of the three periods being studied appears to have changed little. The Yayoi earthenware of the Yayoi period begins to be replaced with the *Haji* type pottery during the Kofun period. The earliest forms of *Haji* pottery are very similar to Yayoi type pottery and are believed to represent a transitional period (Imamura 1996, 134-135). *Sue* type pottery was introduced from the Korean Peninsula in the Kofun period and began to be locally produced (Kidder Jr. 1990, 40-41). Initially used by elites in ritual and domestic events, *Sue* ware once locally produced became common amongst the commoner strata. During the Asuka and later historical periods, *Sue* and *Haji* were in use in almost all houses (Karoku 1990, 54, Mellot 1990, 59). Many regional differences occurred in these broad pottery types but for the most part scholars identify pottery within these styles. *Haji* and *Sue* wares continued to be produced until the early Historical period in the late 10th century (Barnes 1986, 453).



Fig. 3.2: Yayoi ware. (Source: archaeology.jp).

Yayoi pottery is a brown unglazed earthenware. Yayoi pottery is a mix of traditional Jōmon ceramics and Korean Plain Pottery (Barnes 1990, 28, Imamura 1996, 134-135). The common shapes of Yayoi pottery are: jars, pedestalled bowls, bowls and pots (Barnes 1986, 452-453). These shape forms were modified over time and are grouped together in temporal divisions called phases for Yayoi pottery and styles for *Haji*. A major issue with this is that ceramics of a specific phase/style are believed to be exclusive. Barnes states that this assumption has not been revisited since the pottery typologies creation (1986, 472). There is mounting evidence that this assumption is wrong and the implication of this on the cultural sequence could be major. Barnes believes that transitional sites hold the answer and in later works she demonstrates that overlap probably occurred (see Barnes 1988 and 2007). This overlap may be explained as elites adopt the new styles of artefacts for themselves while the commoners retain the older styles.

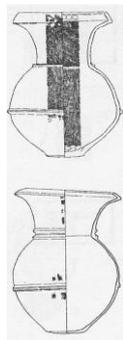
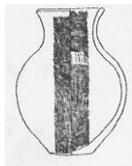
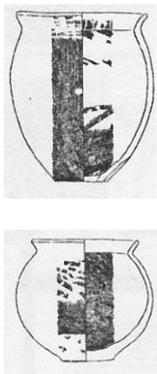
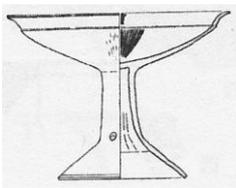
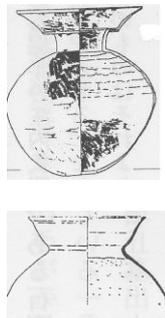
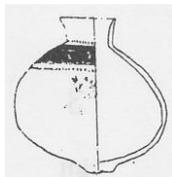
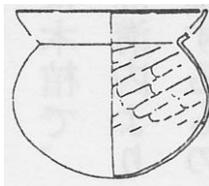
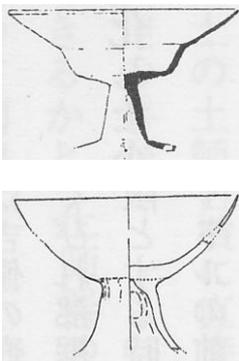
Period.	Large Jars.	Small Jars.	Pots.	Pedestaled bowls.
Late Yayoi.				
Kofun <i>Haji</i> ware.				

Table 3.1: Examples of pottery types that appear to continue through the Yayoi and Kofun period transition. (Source: Yayoi images from Kawakami 2012, *Haji* images from Kawakami 2006 2).



Fig. 3.3: Haji ware (brown) from the Asuka Period. (Source: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara 2002).

Haji pottery like Yayoi pottery is a brown unglazed earthenware (Mellot 1990, 56-57). Some of the shape classes of the Yayoi pottery appear to continue into *Haji* manufacture. *Haji* pottery is distinguished from Yayoi pottery mainly by manufacturing characteristics (Barnes 1986, 462). An example of this is Yayoi and *Haji* pots. Yayoi pots have paddled exterior surfaces and flat bases. *Haji* pots have thinned interior walls from scraping and rounded bases. The exterior of *Haji* pots is often scrapped with wood. As Table 3.1 shows, Yayoi and

Haji pottery show many continuities. Regional variation in both types is high but the general shape types appear to continue. *Haji* is tied to the *Haji-be* producer group discussed below (see also Farris 1998, 101 and Mellot 1990, 56). This group's rise to prominence may be an example of a regional variation of Yayoi becoming popular and continuing to be refined.



Fig. 3.4: Sue ware from the Asuka Period. (Source: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara 2002).

Sue pottery was introduced by Korean craftsmen in the Kofun period and is a bluish grey stoneware (Kidder Jr. 1990, 40). It is generally regarded as unglazed, but often a natural ash glaze formed on the outside due to the type of kiln used (Mellot 1990, 59). *Sue* pottery was not solely ceremonial but could be easily adapted to such use (Kidder Jr. 1990, 40). It often formed a component of grave goods, replacing the *Haji* ware used earlier in the Kofun period. *Sue* ware required clay to be prepared with fresh water, marine water made the clay porous during firing (Karoku 1990, 54). This means that kilns were located along rivers of fresh water. *Sue* pottery began to be produced locally in the hills and river valleys south of Modern Osaka city (Kidder Jr. 1990, 41-44, Mellot 1990, 57-58). Here, over six hundred *Sue* kilns have been found. The earliest kilns here date to the 5th to 7th centuries. By the 8th century *Sue* was used commonly alongside *Haji* in everyday usage amongst all members of society (Karoku 1990, 54). During the Asuka period, *Sue* production was centred on the Osaka Basin and the area around modern Sendai city in the Tohoku region. Production

shifted to the Nagoya area towards the middle to late Asuka periods due to the discovery of a good source of clay and transportation (Mellot 1990,58). Osaka *Sue* pottery has been found as far north east as Iwate Prefecture in Tohoku and as far south west as Kagoshima on southern Kyushu Island (Kidder Jr. 1990,43).



Fig. 3.5 & 3.6 Left: Late Yayoi cylinder and jar stand Haniwa. Right: Two Late Kofun Haniwa stands. (Source: Fumio 1974).



Fig 3.7: Middle Kofun Haniwa depicting a structure normally interpreted as a house. (Source: Fumio 1974).

Another type of pottery manufactured during the Kofun period and possibly the Asuka period is *Haniwa*. *Haniwa* are earthenware ceramics that were placed on graves and tombs. The practice of placing *Haniwa* on tombs is thought to have come from the older practice of placing ceramics on graves (Kidder Jr. 1990, 44-45). Initial *Haniwa* designs were decorated cylinders that were placed in rows atop a mounded tomb (Fumio 1974, 34-37). This type of *Haniwa* was added to with new forms, which were made to resemble animals and objects such as houses, horses, birds, dogs, pigs and weapons. Their use, especially the house type, is believed to be linked to ownership of such things in life (Kidder Jr. 1990, 47). *Haniwa* were for the most part manufactured like Yayoi pottery however some were fired in *Sue* kilns which gave these *Haniwa* the bluish grey appearance of *Sue* pottery and were regarded as a separate type (Kidder Jr. 1990, 45). In the Nara Basin, wooden *Haniwa* were also

manufactured alongside ceramic *Haniwa*. Other areas also made *Haniwa* from stone (Kidder Jr. 1990, 51).

Burials

Burials form one of the main continuities between the three periods. In all, three mounded tombs were built to show preferential burial, for initially individuals then families of elites. Yayoi burials were the first to show preferential treatment for individuals. A pattern of aggrandisement appears to have culminated in the construction of the first keyhole shaped mounded tombs. During the Kofun and Asuka period these monumental keyhole tombs underwent many changes. The Kofun period sees improvements to construction as well as the peak of the size of tombs. The Asuka period sees tomb construction continue but in a new form, for families rather than individuals. The way in which burials were arranged also changed over the three periods. Yayoi burial groups show regional variations much the same as the method of burial. Kofun period tombs were arranged in clusters centred on areas of occupation, often in areas overlooking settlements and rice fields. Asuka period tombs appear to be built in more private locations in areas of elite occupation only such as the Asuka valley. The clustering of burials appears to change little from the Yayoi to the Asuka period, as does their proximity to settlements.

Yayoi Period burials.

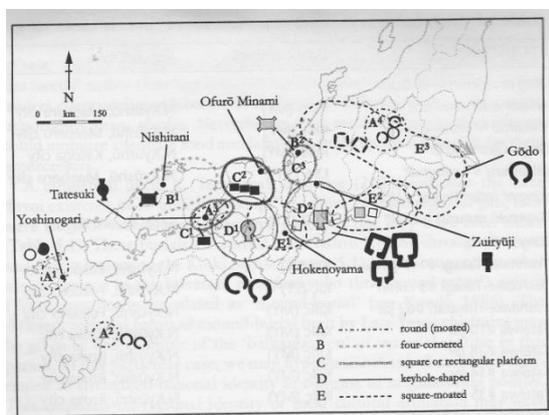


Fig. 3.8: Yayoi burial types per region. (Source: Barnes 2007).

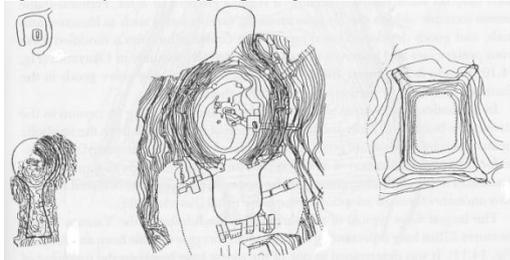


Fig. 3.9: Various types of funkyubo mounded burials. (Source: Imamura 1996).

Yayoi burials have many regional varieties, but two of the major patterns that emerged alongside the Eastern and Western Seto ritual bronze spheres, centred in the *Kinai* and Northern Kyushu respectively (see earlier in this chapter and Fig. 3.9). In the west Jar burials holding a primary burial and grave goods were used. These burials were clustered together with some placed in mounds, called mounded burials, one of the precursors of the later mounded tombs (Imamura 1996, 191-192). In the East burials were often located within a "moated precinct" (Barnes 1988, 95-106). These moated precincts are believed to have

housed the burials of family members. There have been some issues, however, with moated precincts in the Nara Basin. Barnes states that no burials have been found in Nara Basin moated precincts and some have been found in shapes other than the normal square or rectangle. This may indicate that they were used for other purposes. Eastern Seto burials also did not generally contain grave goods. It is interesting that the mounded tombs of the Kofun period, which emerged out of the *Kinai* region (Eastern Seto), were initially single burials with grave goods.

The later Asuka period tombs appear to restart the process of burial of family members in the same tomb. This would become the pattern of burial still used in Japan today, where graves belong to a specific family. The appearance of grave goods in the *Kinai*, is seen by some as a triumph of the Western Seto sphere over the Eastern Seto. This is tied directly to the debate over the location of *Yamatai* as discussed in Chapter Two. Scholars have traced the Keyhole form to the mounded burials of the Yayoi period (see appendix Fig. 6.6). This shows the pattern of aggrandisement transcends the established period system.

Kofun Period burials

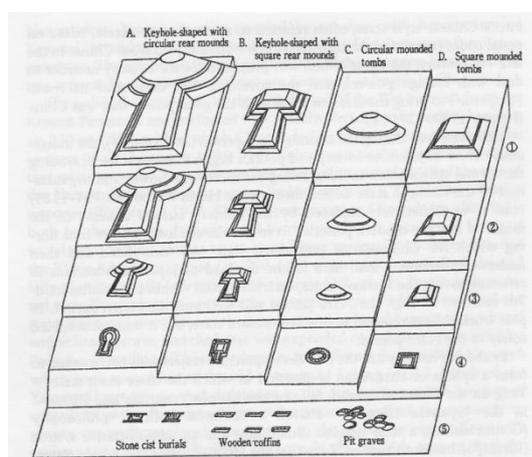


Fig. 3.10: Various types of Kofun period burials. (Source: Barnes 2007).

During the Kofun period, burials of elites begin to take on the keyhole style of mounded tomb. However, it is important to note that not all burials were keyhole shaped (see Fig.

3.11). The keyhole shape also came in two varieties, both had a pyramid shaped front mound while the rear was either a circle or square mound. The primary burial was within a chamber in the rear mound. These tombs continue to grow until, according to historical records, tombs were restricted in size due to costs. The keyhole shaped tombs spread rapidly from the *Kinai* to the Tohoku region and Kyushu (see Imamura 1996, 195). Barnes has argued that the tombs spreading across the landscape do not constitute a spreading of the Yamato paramount's authority, as is popular with some Japanese scholars (Barnes 2007, 113-114). Instead it represents the spread of the network of connections to the Yamato paramount. These networks allowed for the flow of raw material and other goods into the Nara Basin. This ties in well with her image of the three "courts" present within the Osaka and Nara Basins, which is discussed in Chapter Five. The above point is supported by the locations of medium sized (60-100 metres in length) keyhole tomb clusters, which are located along important trade routes.

The mounded tombs underwent a number of improvements during the early Kofun period (Barnes 1988, 5). This included many water management refinements such as, clay lining and pebble or charcoal base for the burial chamber. Some tombs also started to be built with moats, which must have served to further distance the dead from the living increasing the authority of those related to them. The moat may also have served to prevent grave robbers. Stone sarcophagi also appear at this time. These improvements must have increased both the material and labour requirements of tombs, which would server to increase status of the owners. As figure 3.11 above shows, the size and shape are believed to indicate the status of the owner. Large keyhole shaped tombs being the highest, while small square moated tombs being the lowest. The bottom row indicates the burials of commoners.

Asuka Period burials.

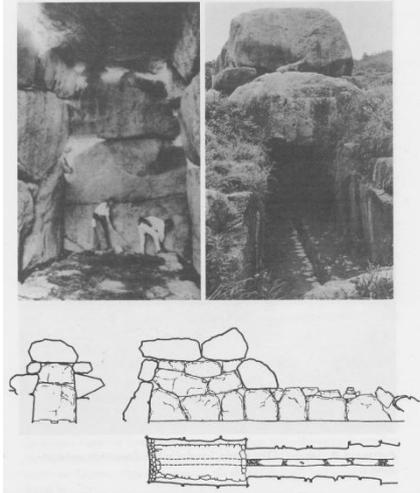


Fig. 3.11: Ishibutai tomb in Asuka, an example of the corridor style tomb. (Source: Farris 1998).

As the Asuka period coincides with the later Kofun period, tomb building continued.

However the size had been restricted by Imperial decree. A new burial ideology appears to have also influenced tomb construction. Tombs began to be built as family burial places rather than for individuals (Farris 1998, 92-95). Construction methods changed to allow for a long corridor that could be reopened to accommodate future burials. These came from the introduction of the corridor-chamber tomb and the cliff-cut cave tombs (Barnes 2007, 14). Both of these tombs were much smaller than the preceding monumental mounded tombs. Elites began to devote resources to the building of Buddhist temples during this period, which explains the reduction in size of tombs. Tomb building would eventually disappear altogether (Barnes 1993, 251-255).

Economy.



Fig. 3.12: Reconstruction of Toro paddy fields in relation to settlement. (Source: national-trust.or.jp).



Fig. 3.13: Site recording of Toro and paddy fields. Solid lines represent the archaeological paddy fields. (Source: Architectural Institute of Japan 2008).

Rice is one of the main continuities in the economy. From the beginning of wet rice agriculture, rice has been a primary component of the Japanese economy. Before the widespread use of currency, rice was used to measure wealth. The control of rice growing areas gave elites power. Keyhole tombs were often built overlooking rice fields and rituals arose around the key times in the growth of rice (like many of the modern matsuri festivals see Barnes 2007, 185-186). The requirements of rice growing stimulated the adoption of new tools and buildings to produce and house rice (see above and Chapter Four). Rice growers also took advantage of coastal plains which tended to be uninhabited by the Jōmon people who lived in the hills and river valleys (Barnes 1993, 188-189).



Fig. 3.14: Model showing the Asuka-ike workshop. *Asukadera* temple can be seen on the right while *Kiyomihara* Palace is located on the left. (Source: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara 2002).



Fig. 3.15: Artists impression of how the workshop space was used in the Asuka-ike site. (Source: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara 2002).

Much of Yayoi craft was regionalized. The Kofun period sees elites beginning to insure control of production and exchange by localizing craft (Barnes 1988, 258-264). By the Asuka period settlements of localized production are dotted across the landscape. Specific areas of the Osaka and Nara Basins were devoted to production of specific items. The raw materials for these goods were often sourced from areas which had once been the source of the finished products. An example of this is bead making. Beads had been sourced from the Japan Sea Coastal areas to the north and north west of the Osaka and Nara Basins. Bead making came to take place in the Nara Basin during the Asuka period. One example of a bead-making site is the Asuka-ike site, located within the elite area of Asuka. This shows a concern by local elites to secure the wealth and prestige associated with manufacturing goods even if it meant sourcing materials over long distances. These settlements are tied to the *be* system of hereditary craftsmen groups, units or clans which supplied the elite (see Farris 1998, 101 and Mellot 1990, 56). These units were formed in the first half of the 6th century. Some scholars

argue that *be* was simply a name change from the older tomo groups, which had existed since the beginning of the rise of the Yamato paramount. (Farris 1998, 101-102).



Fig. 3.16: Location of Asuka-ike, in yellow, with other key structures in Asuka. (Source: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara 2002).

Conclusions

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that the traditional characterisation of the Yayoi, Kofun and Asuka periods is problematic and that continuities exist between them. It can be seen that the continuities between the Yayoi, Kofun and Asuka periods are quite strong. This highlights the issue that these periods do allow for transitional periods as each is seen as distinct. What is being found is that the transition between the Yayoi and Kofun periods is not clear-cut and that the chronological scale may need to be moved. The answer thus far appears to be, to move the starting date for the Kofun period back. Originally 300 CE the Kofun is now regarded as beginning in 250 CE and some argue it needs to be revised back further. In Chapter Four this notion of continuities will be taken further to argue that a continuity view of these periods provides a more holistic view of the changes occurring during this time. This will be done through the examination of the settlement pattern of these three periods, particularly in the areas of the Nara and Osaka Basins, and aims to demonstrate

that if looked at in continuity terms a pattern emerges whereby settlements begin to become dispersed, and eventually in the Asuka period, a low-density urban landscape emerges.

Chapter Four

This chapter will first examine the general settlement and burial patterns of the Yayoi, Kofun and Asuka periods and, secondly, the same patterns at key site cluster locations within the Osaka and Nara Basins. These site clusters are located at *Naniwa* in modern Osaka, Asuka in the southern Nara Basin, *Makimuku* near Mt. *Miwa* in the eastern Nara Basin and *Saki* in the northern Nara Basin. Asuka, *Naniwa* and *Makimuku* are the locations of the "courts" of some of the early Japanese Emperors. *Saki* is an important location in both the Yayoi and Kofun periods and, later, is the location of the Nara Period capital city of *Heijo*. Although no pre-*Heijo* palaces are known at *Saki* the pattern of the shifting capital can be seen as a continuation of the shifting palace pattern. This will demonstrate that as time progresses, settlements begin to become less dense and elites form separate residences to the commoners. This ultimately results in the dispersed pattern seen in pre-Fujiwara Asuka.

General Yayoi Patterning

Yayoi settlements generally belong to one of two categories based on their topographical location: lowland sites based in flood plains and hilltop or upland sites (Barnes 1993, 188-189). Moats have been found on sites in both categories. There are differing views on the use of these moats, ranging from drainage to defence. Defence is a popular interpretation given the general view of the Yayoi period as a time of social strife. Burials were often located close to the settlement site and, as described in Chapter Three, came in several distinct varieties. Yayoi settlements generally consist of pit dwellings, which have been found in both circular and rectangular shapes. These are examined further below. Another building found in many Yayoi settlements is a raised structure often interpreted as a storehouse for grain. Some

sites had raised structures that have been labelled as watchtowers. One such site is Yoshinogari which is detailed below.

Yoshinogari, Otsuka, Toro

Two of the best-preserved moated Yayoi settlements, are the Early to Late Yayoi Yoshinogari site in Northern Kyushu and the upland, Middle Yayoi Otsuka site in Yokohama near Tokyo.

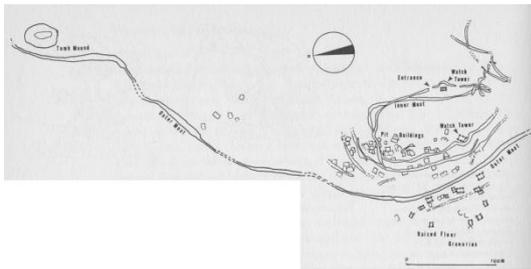


Fig. 4.1: Yoshinogari site plan showing core residential area and northern mounded burial. (Source: Barnes 1993).

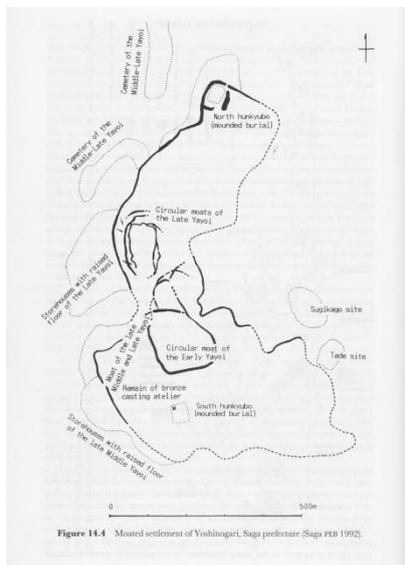


Fig. 4.2: Wider layout of Yoshinogari site. (Source: Imamura 1996).

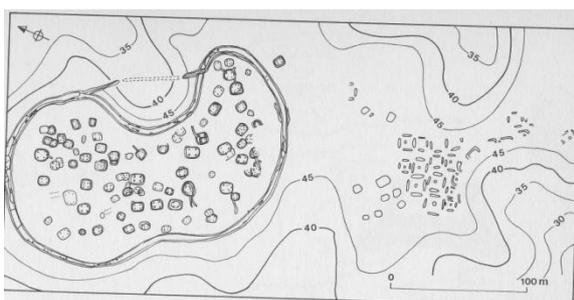


Fig. 4.3: Otsuka site plan. (Source: Imamura 1996).

Both of these settlements consist of a moated residential area containing pit buildings. Yoshinogari is a particularly interesting site as it contained two "watch towers" and the raised storehouses are located outside the primary moat (see Hudson and Barnes 1991). Burials at both sites are located close by with Otsuka's consisting of moated precincts with a single primary burial and other burials located within these moats. Yoshinogari's burials consist of two *funkyubo* mounded burials inside the primary moat and other cemeteries located outside. The *funkyubo* consist of a primary burial in the centre of the mound with other satellite burials towards the boundary of the mound. These satellite burials are believed to be family members of the primary burial.

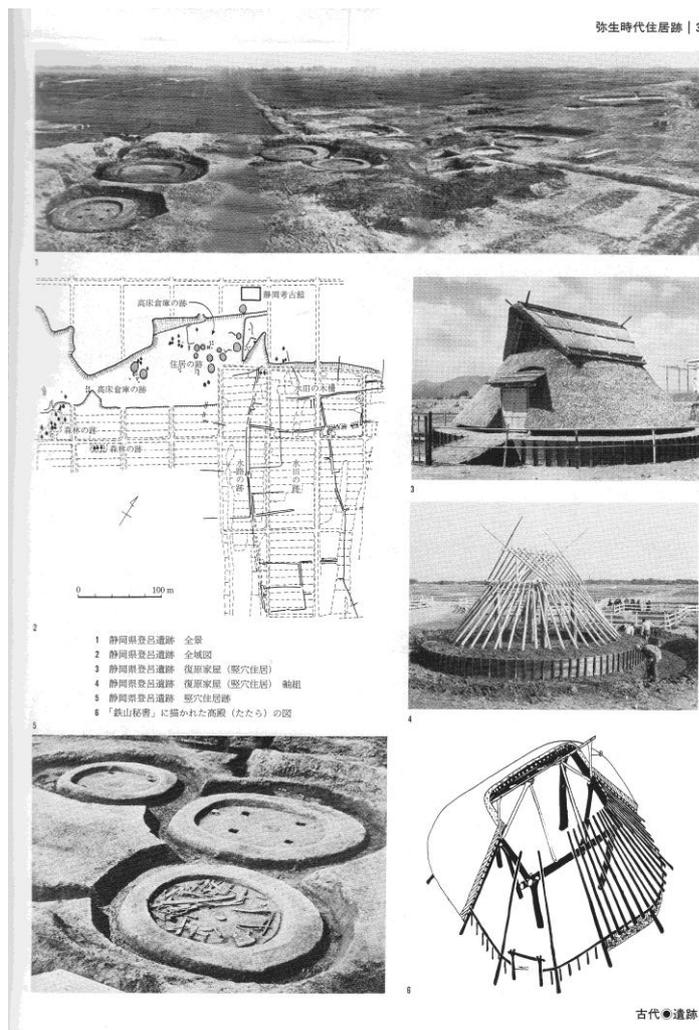
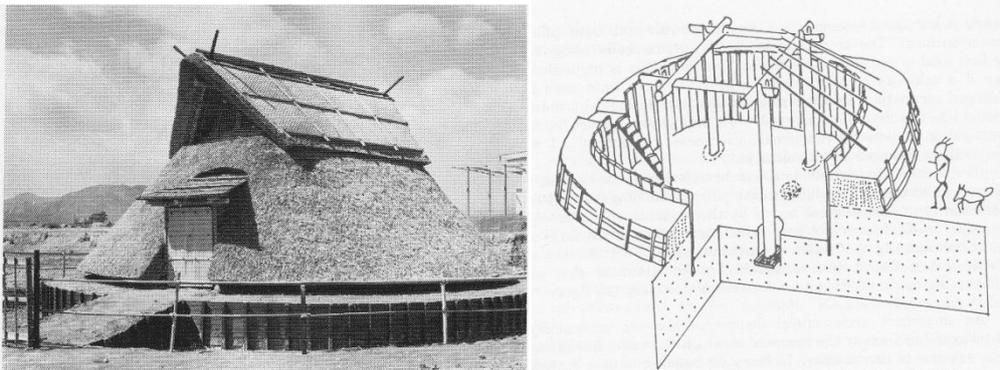


Fig. 4.4: Layout and reconstruction of pit dwellings at the Toro site. (Source: Architectural Institute of Japan 2008). Another well preserved and documented site is the Late Yayoi Toro site located in Shizuoka prefecture south east of Tokyo. This site was a small farming village, which was situated in a wet environment. Evidence for this comes from a different style of pit building which was actually a surface building with a banked enclosure to protect against water, giving the appearance of a pit (Imamura 1996, 140-142). Raised storehouses are also present at this site. The Toro site also yielded a remarkable amount of preserved wooden implements. As stated in Chapter Three this included many wooden tools related to paddy farming that appear similar to modern tools. Toro is not bounded by a moat and no burials have been located near the settlement.

Yayoi Period Structures



Figs. 4.5 Left and 4.6 Right show reconstruction of Yayoi period pit dwellings. (4.5 Source: Imamura 1996, 4.6 Source: Barnes 1988).

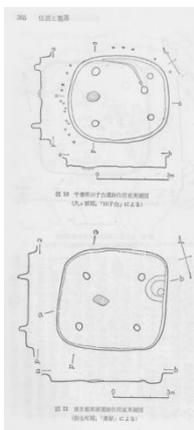


Fig. 4.7: Yayoi period pit dwellings occurred in both circular and rectangular shapes. (Source: Sugihara 1967).

Some buildings of the Yayoi and Kofun periods are similar in shape and construction. These are mainly the structures associated with commoner villages, pit buildings and storehouses. Yayoi period pit buildings can be either rectangular or circular (Barnes 1988, 81). The circular pit building's superstructure was supported by a row of posts around the circumference of the floor. This differs to the rectangular buildings, which used a set of four posts towards the centre of the building. Imamura (1996, 149-150) states that the round type of pit building was either of Korean origin or influence. The rectangular types are believed to be from the Jōmon period. This is particularly interesting given that Barnes (1988) states that a shift occurs in the Late Yayoi from circular to rectangular pit buildings. Yayoi period storehouses were raised structures resting on between six and nine pillars. These structures are believed to have originated from Southern China (Imamura 1996, 144). Other raised floor structures are often featured on Yayoi pottery and are believed to be either shrines or palaces (Imamura 1996, 144-145). An interesting example of a potential cross over between pit and pillared buildings comes from the Nara Basin site of Furu, north of *Makimuku* (Barnes 1988, 86-89). This site yielded the first evidence of workshops to be found in the basin when a pillared building was found to have earthen pit floors as a component of their main floor plans. This type of building would mean a new type of pillared structure has been found. This has more implications as the workshops seen in Asuka, during the Asuka period, was earthen-floored pillar buildings.

Kofun Settlement Patterning

Kofun period settlement pattern data is scarce, however, what little is known has shown that a shift in settlement pattern occurred from relatively dense settlements to dispersed. The generally accepted pattern is a landscape of elite compounds or "housesteads" situated near rice paddy fields owned by those elites (Barnes 2007, 187-189). Commoner "hamlets" of

several pit dwellings are believed to be situated amongst the rice fields, but separated from the elite residences. This system of residence separation is evidence of the continuation of the differentiation between elites and commoners established in the Yayoi period burials. The major shift between the Yayoi period and the Kofun period appears to be from defensive and relatively dense villages to a dispersed landscape of elite compounds and commoner villages. The Kofun period is often seen as the beginning of the state formation process in Japan, with the widespread conflict of the Yayoi period under control.

Mitsudera.



Fig. 4.8: Reconstruction of the Mitsudera site, showing an elite compound of "housestead". (Source: heritageofjapan.wordpress.com). During the Kofun period, the pattern of settlement spreads out as elite "housesteads" begin to appear with common people spread amongst the associated rice fields. These elite compounds were often moated such as the Mitsudera site located in Gunma prefecture. This site, and the reconstruction work undertaken there, provides a rare insight into the settlement pattern of the Kofun period.

These compounds show a separation of elites from commoners. This is different from the Yayoi pattern. However, these compounds were still located close to hamlets and elite tombs and were often clustered into important areas within the landscape. The *Makimuku* site in the Eastern Nara Basin is another example of this pattern. This site during the Kofun period is

believed to be the location of one of the "courts" of the early emperors (see below). The reconstruction shows a central structure identified as a palace situated within a landscape of large keyhole shaped tombs and other clusters of structures (see Fig. 4.20. below).

These elite residences may be the precursor to the residences that are regarded as palaces. Palaces are mainly identified based on the location in relation to the Japanese Chronicles. This has allowed maps to be created matching the palaces and tombs of emperors (see later in this chapter). As can be seen, this relies on major assumptions that both the palaces and the tombs listed in the Japanese Chronicles belonged to the specific emperor and that the remains found correspond to this. What these palace structures do show, however, is that they were built for those who had wealth and power and wished to be separated from commoners. In the later Asuka period, palaces are a common feature of the Asuka landscape. The palaces at Asuka do not appear to have moats, as some of the elite compounds are believed to have had. This suggests that they were part of a wider community of elites and not isolated elites living amongst the commoner hamlets.

Kofun Period Structures

Kofun period pit buildings appear to only be of the rectangular type (Barnes 1988, 81). They use the four central post construction method, however, some examples appear to have six posts, although these may be other pits within the structure. A change that occurs between circular and rectangular pit buildings is the location and use of fire within the building (Aikens and Higuchi 1982, 293-304). The circular buildings of the Yayoi period had a central hearth that was used for cooking as well as heating and lighting. The rectangular buildings have a "stove" that was built into one of the walls of the building. This was used primarily for cooking and its position is believed to have made it ineffective for heating and lighting.

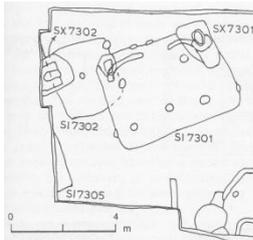


Fig. 4.9: Kofun period pit houses. (Source: Barnes 1988)

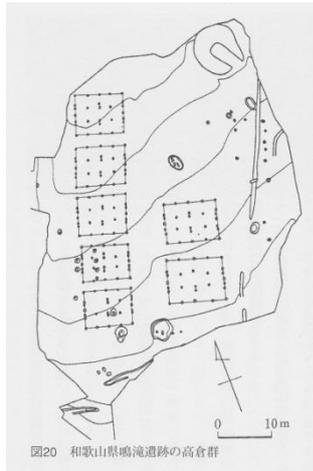
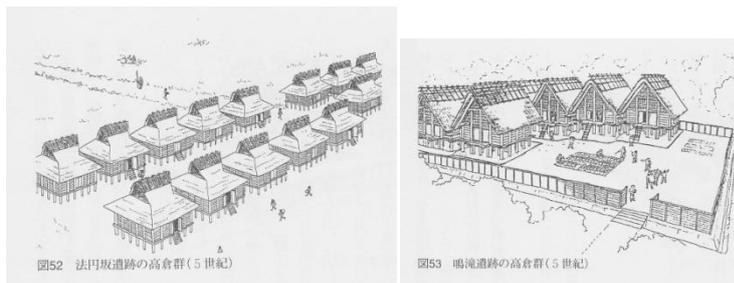


Fig. 4.10: Kofun period pillared buildings believed to be raised floor storehouses. (Source: Hironobu 2006).



Fig. 4.11: Kofun period settlement with internal divisions, may be an elite compound. (Source: Hironobu 2006).

There is more information for the Kofun period storehouses than the pit buildings. These storehouses are similar to the Yayoi versions with raised floors but normally sitting upon more posts. The Kofun period storehouses are normally aligned in rows, which may be protected by ditches, moats and/or fences (see appendix Fig. 6.16- 6.18). Some of these storehouses occurred within elite compounds but with the additional ditches or fences sectioning them off.



Figs. 4.12. and 4.13. show two different reconstructions of how Kofun period raised floor storehouses may have looked in their row pattern. (Source: Hironobu 2006).

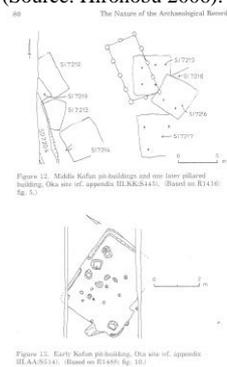


Fig. 4.14: Kofun period pillared buildings and pit dwellings. (Source: Barnes 1988).

Asuka period Settlement Patterning

The general settlement pattern for the Asuka period is difficult to find data for. Given the chronological issues outlined in Chapter Three and discussed further in Chapter Five, it is likely that the settlement pattern of separate elite residences and commoner hamlets from the Kofun period continued. It is believed that commoner settlements changed little from the Yayoi period into the historical periods (Aikens and Higuchi 1982, 321). Pit buildings appear to have been used from the Jōmon period into the historical periods. The appearance of elite residences may have changed with the introduction of Buddhism as those who could afford to, built temples close by. The best examples of Asuka period settlement come from the Asuka area, which is detailed in the next section of this chapter.

Asuka Period Structures.



Figs. 4.15. and 4.16. show the reconstruction of the Asuka landscape. 4.15. on the left if looking down towards the *Kiyomihara* Palace from the Ishigami site. 4.16. shows a similar angle but with *Asukadera* in the foreground. Both show the kinds of structures in use in Asuka. (Source: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara 2002)

As the Kofun period nears its end, pit buildings are replaced in favour of pillared structures although Barnes states the shift is not temporally known (Barnes 1988, 89). These were used both as storehouses and dwellings. The buildings of the Asuka period elites are above ground pillared buildings. These buildings are formed into sub-compounds within a greater walled compound. The workshops are believed to be pillared buildings with a dirt floor and a small ditch surrounding them. They are depicted as being functionless spaces, with specific tasks being undertaken within them on moveable workstations (see Economy section in Chapter Three). The available data on Asuka period buildings appears to be heavily biased towards the elite. The elite compounds of the Kofun period may be the precursors to the system of elite palaces seen in the Asuka period. The dispersed pattern established in the Kofun period continues to be seen into the Asuka period. Only when Fujiwara is built does the pattern change to a compact urban one.

An important building that begins to be constructed in the Asuka period is the Buddhist temple. After its arrival in the mid to late 6th century Buddhism was adopted by many of the elite. This caused a shift in elite identification from monumental mounded tombs to Buddhist temples. The temples in Asuka were built within their own compounds. They differed from the palaces in that they had ceramic roof tiles of some of its buildings, not a feature of Japanese palaces until Fujiwara (Farris 1998, 152). McCallum argues that Buddhist temples are difficult to reconstruct above the ground floor (2009, 30-32). This particularly becomes a problem with the multi-storey pagodas. This issue is difficult to overcome given that temple construction differed greatly from native buildings. It is believed that Korean craftsmen were brought in to construct the early temples in Asuka. Temples were also used for gaining political power. McCallum details how the Soga clan, which is believed to have controlled the Asuka area, built the first major Buddhist temple *Asukadera* (2009, 81-82). It is interesting to note that even though temples have reconstruction issues, more is known about their architecture during the Asuka period than other buildings.

Settlement in the Nara Basin

This section will begin with a general overview of settlement patterns of the Nara Basin from the Yayoi period to the Asuka period. Following this, specific sites within the Nara and Osaka Basins will be discussed.

One of the major shifts that occur in the Nara Basin during the transition from the Yayoi to the Kofun period, is a shift to the edges of the basin. Barnes notes, however, that this may be due to the Early Kofun materials representing elites only (Barnes 1988, 206-213). If so, then the elite settlements begin to occupy areas that will contain "palaces" as well as areas of local production later in the Kofun period. It seems reasonable that the commoners would remain

mostly in the centre of the basin close to river catchments allowing for irrigation for rice fields.

Specific Sites in the Nara Basin

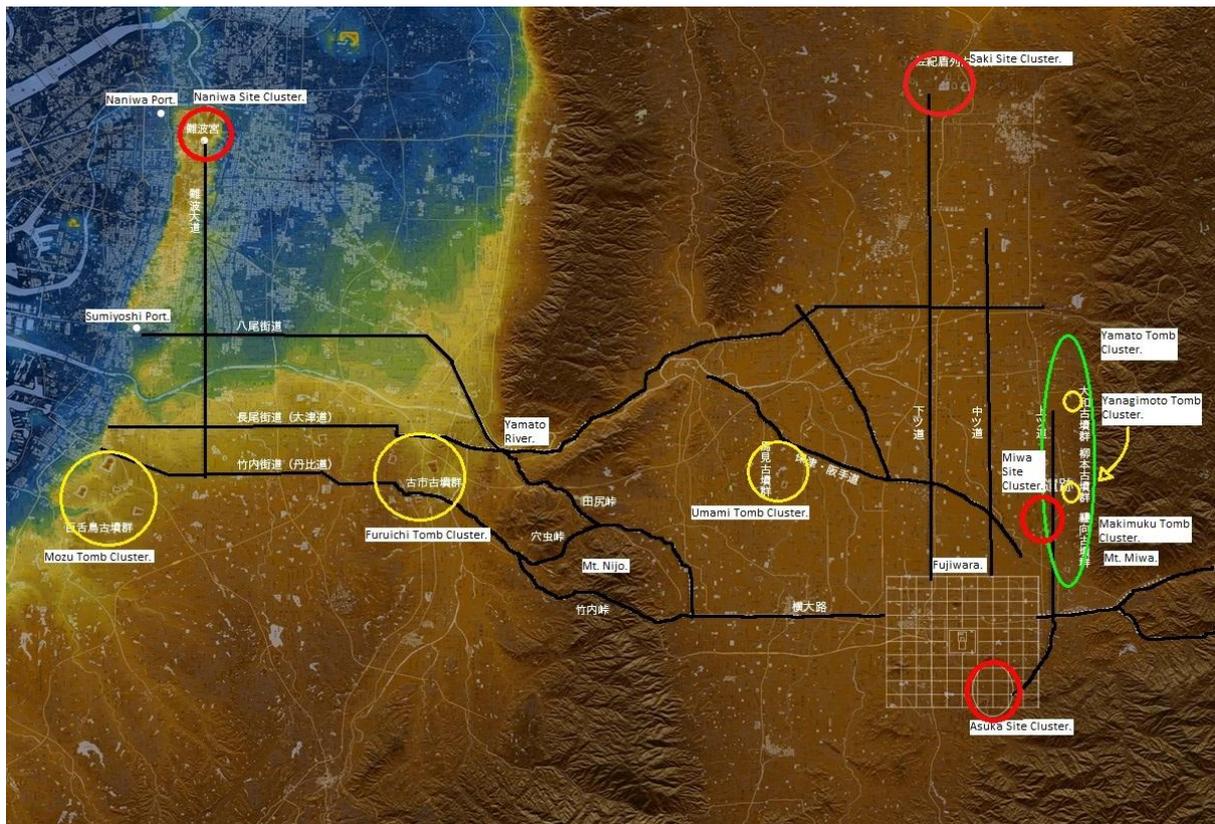
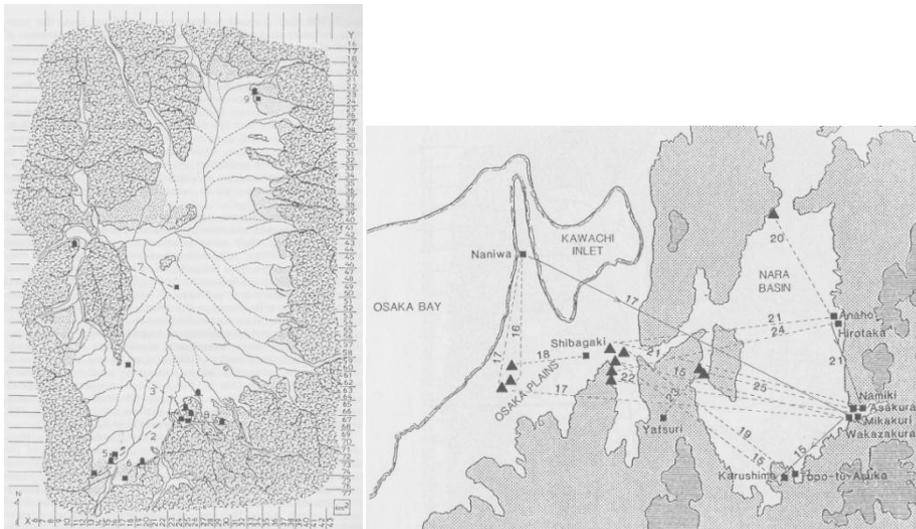


Fig. 4.17: Map showing key site clusters and associated tomb clusters and road network in the Osaka and Nara Basins. (Base map from: http://blog-imgs-42.fc2.com/a/t/a/atamatote/asuka_Naniwa_0.jpg)

Key sites in the Nara Basin are the clusters of sites at *Saki*, *Makimuku*, *Asuka* and *Naniwa* (as shown on map above). These site clusters exist within a greater landscape of tombs that help to identify areas of authority or wealth. The last three of these locations are linked to certain dynasties of early Japanese emperors as discussed in Chapter Three. Each of these locations has at least one "palace" site identified with a particular sovereign. The believed locations of the burials of these sovereigns, highlights the network of ties across the Osaka and Nara Basins (see Fig. 4.17. and 4.18. below). Of particular interest is the cluster of tombs at Furuichi. Many of the tombs at this location are claimed to contain early sovereigns. This is

somewhat different to the pattern of palace and burial of the second to ninth emperors who were buried relatively close to their palaces in the Nara Basin.



Figs. 4.18. and 4.19. show the locations of the palaces and claimed tombs of early emperors. 4.18 shows the first nine emperors while 4.19 shows the emperors during the 15th to 25th emperors. (Source: Barnes 1988).

Saki.

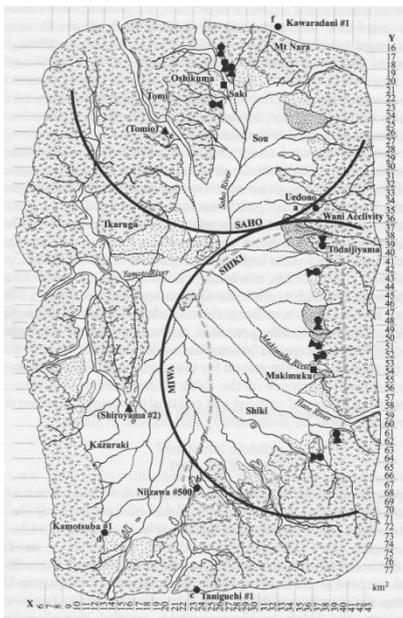


Fig. 4.20: Map of the Nara Basin showing the extent of power of the Makimuku and Saki polities in the Kofun period. (Source: Barnes 2007).

This cluster of sites is located in the northern Nara Basin just west of modern Nara city. The area has sites showing occupation during the Yayoi and Kofun periods and is the location of a large cluster of keyhole shaped tombs (see Barnes 1988 and 2007). Given that the *Saki* area is

the future location of the *Heijo* capital in the Nara Period, it must have been an important location during the preceding periods. Barnes identifies the *Saki* area as being a polity centre that saw growth during and after the decline of *Makimuku* (Barnes 2007, 152-158). Barnes argues that both *Makimuku* and *Saki* were competing polity centres during the early Kofun period. However, no palace sites that are attributed to early emperors have been found here and this may be due to the rise of the *Kawachi* court, which quickly followed *Makimuku's* decline. It is not known if any elite compounds in the area shared the appearance of the palace sites. Only one palace site belonging to Emperor Kaika who reigned in the 2nd century CE is believed to have been located in the Northern Nara Basin, not far west of the *Saki* area (No. 9 on Fig. 4.17). This is believed to have been the last emperor before the beginning of the *Miwa* court in *Makimuku* (see Table 1.3 in Barnes 2007). However, the importance of the *Saki* area did not vanish as can be seen with the construction of *Heijo*.

Makimuku.

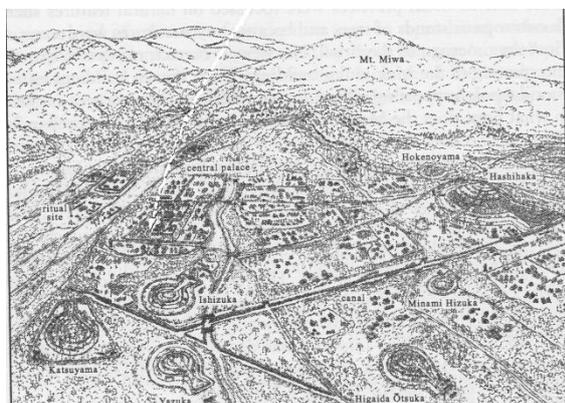


Fig. 4.21: Reconstruction of the Makimuku polity in the south western corner of the Nara Basin. Note the sites proximity to Hashihaka tomb, believed to be one of the earliest and largest keyhole tombs in the basin. (Source: Barnes 2007).

Makimuku is located close to the *Makimuku* River in the South-Eastern Nara Basin. The site has settlement data for each of the three periods being studied and forms an important location within the Nara Basin (see Barnes 2007, 152-159, 178-190). *Makimuku* is an important palace location and is believed to have been the location of one of the early Emperor "courts". The landscape is filled with keyhole shaped tombs of varying sizes,

including the large Hashihaka tomb, and elite residences. Hashihaka is one of the earliest and largest keyhole shaped tombs and plays a prominent role in the *Yamatai* debate outlined in Chapter Two. Reconstruction of the area shows a main palace and satellite residences within this landscape of tombs. These compounds may represent elites living close to the paramount sovereign. *Makimuku* is described by Barnes as a "district" due to the size of the area, which it states as being too big for one site (Barnes 2007, 118-119). Whether or not *Makimuku* is a low-density dispersed elite settlement requires more research on the full extent of the cluster of sites. This pattern of palaces within the landscape of mounded tombs is similar to that seen at Asuka but on a presumably smaller scale.

Asuka

During the 6th-7th centuries, the area around Asuka became filled by elite residences identified as palaces (...*no miya* lit. honourable home), Buddhist temples, workshops and other buildings. The area is believed to have housed the palaces of several of the *Kawachi* Court Emperors in the 5th century and had been occupied from the Yayoi period (see Fig. 4.18 above). Reconstructions of the landscape show that Asuka became somewhat dense in the valleys, but spread out into the basin to occupy a large area. Commoner settlements have not yet been reported at Asuka, but have not been sought. Workshops have been found that would have required local labour (see Chapter Three). This suggests that the commoner hamlets were located outside the immediate Asuka area but were associated with it as a source of labour. One reference was found stating that under the Fujiwara palace site commoner residences were found. This places commoners just outside the immediate elite area at Asuka (Farris 1998, 152). This pattern might also be visible at *Makimuku* if the reconstruction is correct, as it appears to show no commoner hamlets. This supports Barnes'

(2007, 187-189) view of *Makimuku* as a site of ritual governance, which may also be in effect at Asuka prior to the establishment of the *Ritsuryo* state in 645 CE.



Fig. 4.22: Map of the Asuka area including Fujiwara. Sites of interest have been circled. (Source: Asuka Historical Museum 2002).

The above image shows the features of Asuka during the Asuka period laid over a modern map. The blue circles mark the locations of the "palaces", the red circles mark the location of

Buddhist temples, the green circles mark the location of Shinto shrines and the yellow outlines mark the locations of tomb clusters. Note that these tomb clusters consist of mostly non-keyhole shaped tombs as only two such tombs are marked on the map. This may be due to disturbance over time or they are tombs built after the abandonment of keyhole shaped tombs.

This shows the landscape of Asuka was full of palaces, temples, tombs and other buildings. Fujiwara no miya is the Fujiwara palace; the city occupied more space than marked above. One thing that stands out in the images above, is the number of palace sites and temples, many of which are closely associated with a specific palace. Early Buddhism in Japan was for elite consumption only and this landscape supports this. These palace and temple combinations are set within a landscape of both keyhole shaped and the later types of mounded tombs. No commoner villages or hamlets are identified on the above map. This may be due to the bias of the map's purpose, or due to the lack of these sites within the Asuka area. The system of elite separation from commoners that begins in the Kofun period, plus the non-existence of commoner settlement in other sources, suggests that the latter of the above is more likely. However, commoners must have lived nearby, as their labour would have been needed by the elites. Farris states that excavations at the Fujiwara palace revealed that commoners lived there prior to its construction (1998, 152). Thus more commoner settlements may have been built either on the more open region to the North or in the hills to the South. Another feature that stands out is the lack of sites other than temples around the Fujiwara site. Figure 4.22. below shows that there were at least four temples, outlined in red, within the Fujiwara grid area that were not kept. The three blue outlined temples were a part of the grid system and were built with Fujiwara. This suggests that the Fujiwara palace and the city were planted in a landscape that had only been barely occupied by elites before.

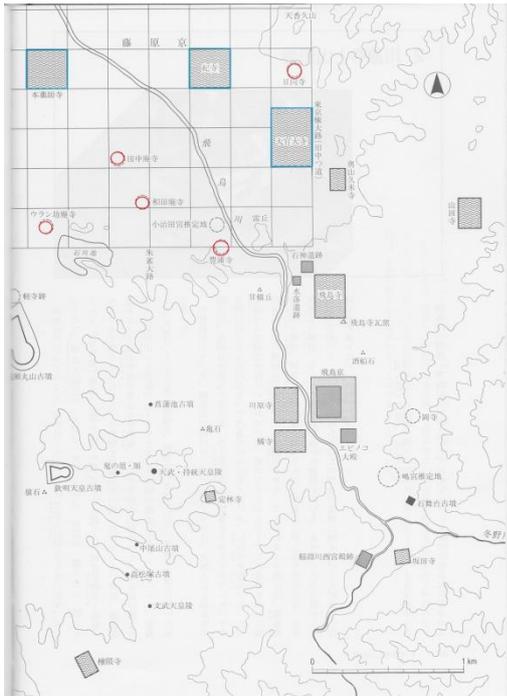


Fig. 4.23: Map showing the locations of temples that appear to have been destroyed either prior to or as a result of the construction of Fujiwara. The temples outlined in blue are the official temples for the city. (Source: Hisashi 1985).

Naniwa.

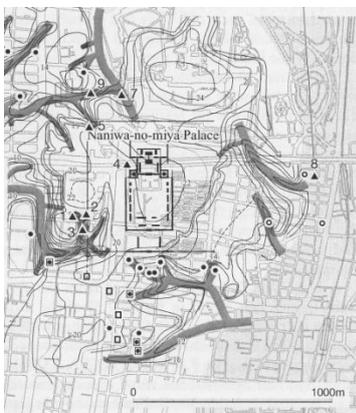


Fig. 4.24: Plan showing the first palace at Naniwa. (Source: Sekiyama 2012).

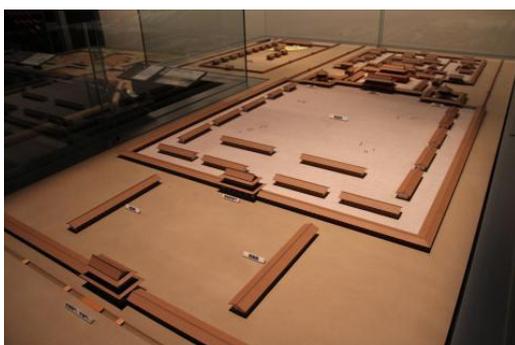


Fig. 4.25: Model showing the reconstruction of the first palace at Naniwa. (Source: <http://blog-imgs-42.fc2.com/a/t/a/atamatote>).

The *Naniwa* cluster of sites was positioned on a peninsula of land extending into the now filled in *Kawachi* bay (see Farris 1998, 136-141, 173-175). Like *Makimuku* and Asuka it was the location of important palaces believed to have been the seat of power for the Ojin dynasty of sovereigns (see Table 1.3 in Barnes 2007). Two layers believed to represent separate palaces exist at *Naniwa*. The bottom layer is believed to belong to the Ojin dynasty sovereigns of the mid 4th to late 5th centuries. The excavation of this palace showed that it was of native construction, unlike Fujiwara which had ceramic roof tiles a first for Japanese palaces. This palace is also believed to have burnt down as the postholes at the site contained ash. The second layer belongs to the later *Naniwa* capital, which was planned but not fully built after Fujiwara. The *Naniwa* palace's location is associated with two large clusters of medium and large keyhole tombs located to the south on the *Kawachi* plain (see Fig. 4.16 above). Several early sovereigns who had palaces in Asuka are believed to have been buried in these tomb clusters. This area included at least two ports that would have been important to trading and networking along the Seto Inland Sea and beyond. This is one of the possible reasons given by Barnes for the rise of the *Kawachi* court after the demise of the *Miwa* court at *Makimuku* (2007, 192-194).

Conclusions

Archaeologically, the focus shifts in the Asuka period. This is from the monumental tombs of the Kofun period to the study of the remains of the emerging state and Buddhist temples. One thing that remains is the lack of information on commoner settlements. The pre-Fujiwara Asuka period represents the continuation of the dispersed pattern of settlement. The Asuka valleys although occupied by elites, seems to contain no commoner settlements which must

have been located somewhere close by in order to operate the workshops present in the area and service the elite. The landscape of the elite settlement is of individual compounds, which were palaces, temples or workshops. There was much open space between and surrounding these compounds. The construction of Fujiwara marked a change in settlement pattern for the elites, it is unlikely given the evidence of settlement continuity presented above that commoner settlements changed much. The construction of the city must have forced villages that occupied the site to move, thus further dispersing the commoner population. As will be discussed in the next chapter, Fujiwara was built as an ideal Chinese style, however, like all Japanese capitals until the medieval period, it had no walls. The boundaries of Asuka and to a degree *Naniwa* are hard to define, as per the low-density dispersed pattern.

Chapter Five

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter will review the issues raised within the body of the thesis and assess the implications of the conclusions reached from this research. The first major issue is the periodization problem and how the Yamato period concept may solve this issue. The second key issue is the nature of early urbanism in Japan and the prevalent assumptions about it. The concept of the low-density, dispersed urban environment will be compared to the assumed compact form of urbanism. Compact Chinese styled grid cities were constructed in Japan in fairly rapid succession between the late 7th and late 8th century. This period saw the construction of Fujiwara in Asuka, *Heijo* in *Saki*, Kuni to the north east of *Saki*, Nagaoka in the south western Kyoto Basin and Heian which is located under the centre of modern Kyoto. The form of these cities have previously defined early urbanism in Japan creating an explanatory problem that combines with the Kofun-Asuka periodization problem to obscure the initial development of urbanism in Japan.

Conventional Views of the Development of Japanese Culture and the Periodization Problem

The Kofun Period problem

The emergence of huge keyhole shaped tombs is viewed by many scholars as the start of the state formation process. However, burials in the Yayoi period show a trajectory towards monumentality and aggrandisement. It may be that the keyhole tombs are a continuation of that process of elites showing off their power and wealth. The adaptation of the keyhole form, however, does show that it was being taken back from the *Kinai* region and adopted in almost

all of the Japanese islands. Monumental tomb building was curtailed by the Emperor Kotoku in the mid 7th century according to the Japanese Chronicles. This means that the Kofun period, which is primarily identified by the monumental keyhole tombs, ended at this time. With the introduction of Buddhism sometime in the mid 6th century, the method of elite identification changed to the patronising of this new religion. If the tombs of the Yayoi and Kofun periods were simply elites showing off their wealth and power, then this continues into the Asuka period but in a new form. The assignment of Buddhist remains to a historical period instead of the Kofun period causes problems with the continuity of elite expression. It is here that the notion of a Yamato period as outlined in Chapter Two is important.

Japanese cultural development during the periods examined in this thesis, rely heavily on the Chinese Chronicles. The *Yamatai* debate outlined in Chapter Two is an example of this. The Japanese rely heavily on the Chinese chronicles with their designation of *guo*, which is translated with some problems as state or country in English (Barnes 2007, 17-19, 194). *Yamatai* was identified as one of these *guo*, which has led some to assert that it was a state level polity. Barnes argues that the historically known *Yamatai* polity is equated with the archaeologically known Yamato polity (2007). This places Himiko, said to have ruled *Yamatai*, within the landscape of state development in the Nara Basin. It also places her within the landscape of the first keyhole shaped tombs, since Himiko is said to be the first buried in such a way (see Chapter Two). This is problematic as Barnes herself states that archaeological evidence is weakest in this debate (2007, 103). It is likely that, until the beginnings of the *Ritsuryo* state in the Asuka period, polities existed within a network of elites who gave allegiance to a paramount who used ritual power to maintain control (see Barnes 2007, Chp. Eight).

Possible reasons for lack of Asuka period data

Most archaeological studies do not regard the historically designated Asuka period as an archaeological period. This causes the big issue of attributing remains of the same date to different periods based on their type. Archaeologists and historians have established different periodization schemes and this represents a major problem (see Tadano and Edwards 1995 particularly Figure One). This is particularly interesting given the archaeological record of the Asuka period, which includes the first Buddhist temples, palace sites and the first grid city of Fujiwara. Most of these sites only exist archaeologically or as interpreted remains. After the Kofun period archaeologists appear to group the subsequent periods as historical. The abandonment of the Kofun period and an extension of the Asuka, and possibly the Yayoi periods, would allow for the period of state formation to be included under one period. Indeed this appears to be how archaeologists have done it by simply assigning the Kofun period an end date of 710 CE. However, by this time a state does exist, hence the designation of the Asuka period named after the location where the state is centred.

The issue of the Yamato Period

By covering all remains from c. 250 to 710 CE under one period, it helps to study this time period from a continuity viewpoint. Such a Yamato period could then be compared with the Yayoi and later historical periods. This would allow for the Yayoi period to represent the hierarchical development of society, the Yamato period to represent the emergence and establishment of the state and the later historical periods like the Nara and Heian periods to represent the consolidation of this state. This would also allow for the continuity of

commoner settlement to be better explored. The little data for Kofun period commoner settlement suggests that it differs little from Yayoi period settlement. It also differs little from historical period settlement.

Periodization and the issue of state development in Japan

The Kofun period represents, in part, the transition from the Yayoi period and the period of state formation. But as Barnes (2007, xiv-xv) remarks no state has emerged in an un-stratified society thus the Yayoi period becomes an important part of the study of state formation in Japan. The designation of the Kofun period muddles the continuity view from the beginning of hierarchical society, in the Yayoi period to the establishment of a state, completed in the Asuka period. Imamura argues that the earliest wet rice sites in Northern Kyushu show that the practice started in the Final Jōmon period (1996, 133-137). This led to the re-assessment of the Jōmon and Yayoi pottery classifications and caused the establishment of a transitional period between the two periods. This is important, as it appears that the same situation has been encountered in the Yayoi and Kofun period transition. However, Barnes argues that no transitional period for these periods has been established (1988).

Given the above, it appears that the Yamato period concept may not go far enough as an integrating phase. Barnes' 2007 work on state emergence begins with the rise of a stratified elite in the Late Yayoi. This would mean that a single period to cover state development in Japan would begin in the Late Yayoi, c. 3rd-4th centuries, and end in the Late Asuka period in the early 8th century. This completely removes the Kofun period and places the tombs within their wider context, as elite identification, prestige and authentication features.

Ultimately the problem of Japanese periodization is difficult to solve. The Yamato period concept, while possibly able to solve some of the issues, appears to have disappeared from scholarship. This may be because discourse in the Japanese literature has moved on to a new

concept for solving this problem but one would imagine Barnes' 2007 work would have mentioned this. One possible reason for the disappearance of the Yamato period concept is the entrenched use of the discursive spaces the Yayoi and Kofun periods represent as detailed in Chapter Two. State development in Japan needs to have a single period to assign remains to. This would then allow for contrast with the preceding Yayoi period, where social stratification takes hold, and the Nara and later historical periods whereby the early state is consolidated.

Early Urbanism in Japan

The Chinese grid city is a relatively short lived phenomenon in Japan with the final example. The first example — Fujiwara — was established in 694 CE while Heian — the last example — rapidly developed away from this model after its initial pattern was established in 794 CE. The reason for Heian's sprawl was mostly environmental as the south-western and some of the north-western corners of the original grid were located on a swamp. Perhaps the domestic model of capitals prior to the use of Chinese styles is similar to the low-density, dispersed urban environment. It is difficult to assign these types of urban environments (e.g. at Asuka) a name because the current system of classification in archaeology does not conform to them. One thing that stands out from this research is that whatever Asuka and *Naniwa* were, it was different to what comes after the establishment of Chinese grid cities.

Fujiwara

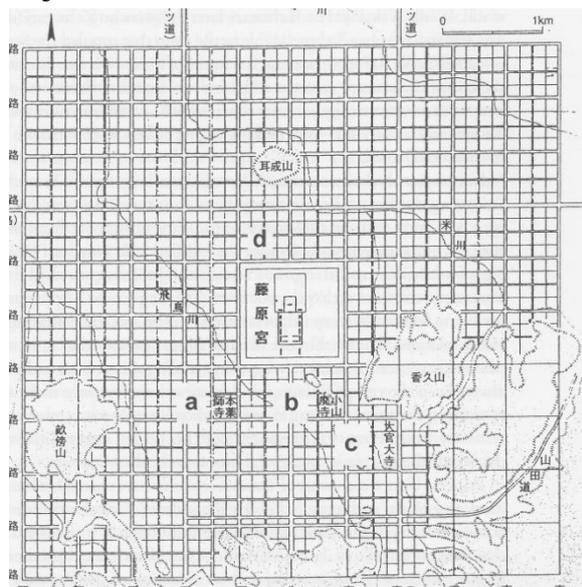


Fig. 5.1: Grid plan of Fujiwara. A,B and C denote temples built within this grid. D is the Fujiwara palace. (Source: McCallum 2009).

Fujiwara was built just to the north of the Asuka cluster of sites in about CE 694. This was the first spatially bounded, higher density city built in Japan to serve as capital for Emperor Temmu. It was not completed before his death, however, and was finished by his wife who assumed his position as Empress Jito (Farris 1998, 149-158). The city was built in the ideal Chinese style grid city, although this form was never actually built by the Chinese themselves in the pure Wang Cheng form (see Nancy Steinhardt). The key difference to real Chinese capitals and later Japanese capitals is the location of the palace, which was located in the centre of Fujiwara. It is usually along the Northern boundary. It is also believed to be the first palace to be roofed in tiles and is Chinese in appearance (Farris 1998, 137). This may be the precursor of the Shinden-Zukuri style of construction, which formed the key architecture of statecraft in the following historical periods.



Fig.5.2: Model showing the Asuka and Fujiwara landscape. In the foreground *Kiyomihara* palace and associated temples can be seen while Fujiwara can be seen out in the more open area. (Source: <http://blog-imgs-42.fc2.com/a/t/a/atamatote>)

Each of the grids within the city was further divided into plots of land for households. These were individual compounds that appear to have a single central building with associated buildings. These would have consisted of storehouses, residences for family members and/or servants, etc. It is interesting that the settlement pattern of elite family residences continues in Fujiwara, the shift appears to be in density. Some of the compounds were Buddhist temples. This pattern of temples associated with the capital continued until Heian, when only two state sponsored temples were allowed within the city.

Heijo and beyond

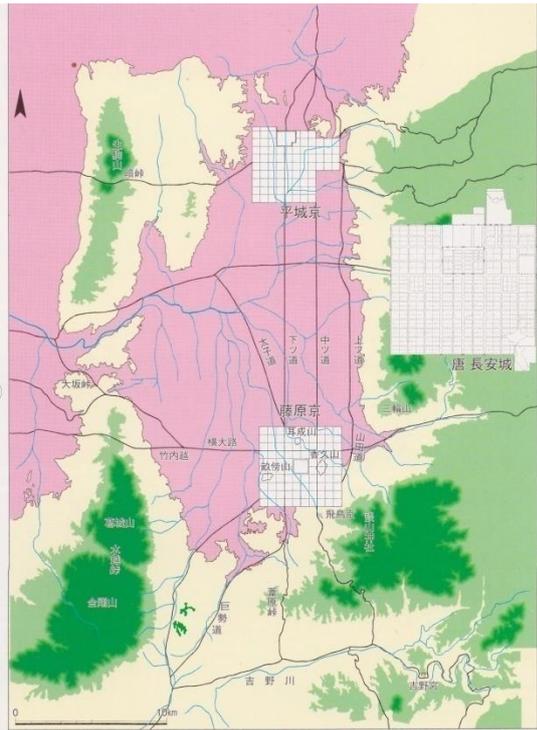
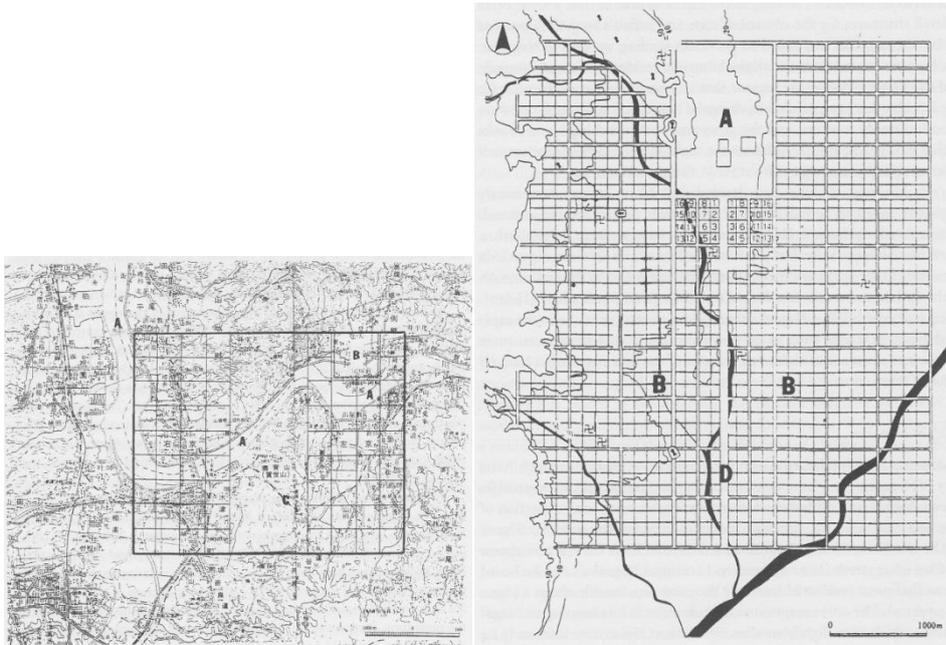


Fig. 5.3: Map showing Fujiwara and Heijo capitals in the Nara Basin with Chang'an shown as a comparison. (Source: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara 2002).

After Fujiwara the capital shifted several times before settling in the Kyoto Basin. The first of these is often believed to be *Heijo* near modern Nara. However, the dates for *Heijo* and the capital at *Naniwa* overlap. This may be because the *Naniwa* capital is believed by some to have never been finished before the decision was made to construct *Heijo*. But, as Farris argues, it may also represent an attempt by the Japanese sovereigns to emulate the Chinese model of dual capitals (Farris 1998, 150). *Heijo* was the first capital city in Japan to take on the true Chinese style, which is embodied by Chang'an, although not on the same scale. The palace was located along the northern boundary of the city, compared with the central location of the Fujiwara palace. Following *Heijo* the path to Heian appears to be somewhat difficult to map. Several movements of the capital occur with new cities established. The first of these is Kuni to the north of *Heijo*. This capital, while a grid city, appears odd in form possibly due to the topography of the area it was built. After Kuni, *Heijo* again became capital briefly before a new city was built at Nagaoka. Nagaoka is located to the south west of Heian in the Kyoto Basin. Following this Heian was established in 794 CE and remained the

capital until it was moved by the Tokugawa Shogunate to Tokugawa, modern Tokyo, in the 17th century. Heian was the last Chinese style grid city and it quickly began to sprawl outside the original grid.



Figs. 5.4. left and 5.5. right, show plans for the Kuni and Nagaoka capitals respectively. Note the odd appearance of the Kuni capital. (Source: Farris 1998).

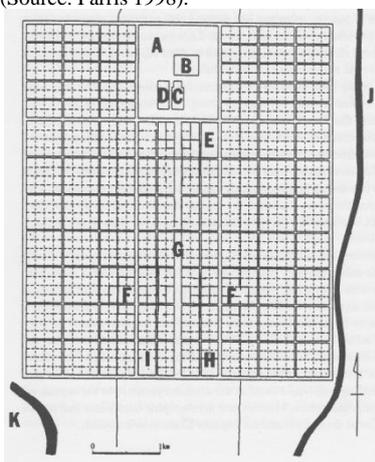


Fig. 5.6: Plan of Heian. Note the river to the right of the city marked J, as Heian sprawled it crossed this river and shifted the centre of the city, although the palace remained in place. (Source: Farris 1998).

The Issue of low-density dispersed urban environments

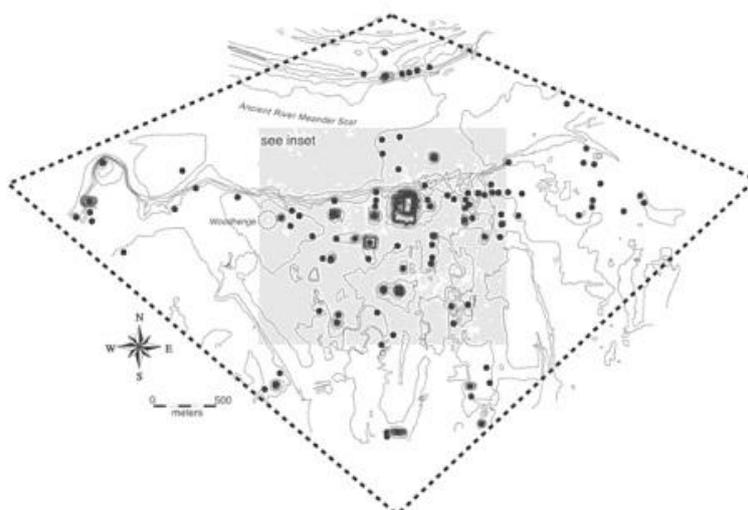


Fig. 5.7: Plan view of greater Cahokia. (Source: Pauketat 2007).

The oddity that Cahokia represented for Pauketat was solved by recognising it as a low-density, dispersed settlement. Likewise, it helps to solve how Japanese capitals appeared prior to Fujiwara. One of the implications that this study has further shown, is that this pattern of large scale low-density settlements may be more common than currently known. It appears that they are a global phenomenon. As seen in Chapter Two examples can be found in Central America, South and South East Asia. Further study in this area is required to identify more of these sites and place them within the archaeological classification system. Although this act in itself will require a re-examination and ultimately a re-organisation of the classificatory structure, it also leads to the much larger and more complex issue of how to encompass the massive amounts of variation in large settlements within the single term “urban”.

Future studies that could build upon this thesis could include: studies mapping the extent of Asuka and possibly *Naniwa*. Although this would be very difficult due to *Naniwa*'s position, this would allow for a greater understanding of the model of settlement that developed in these areas. Another study possibility would be to attempt to find other examples of this settlement model in Japan. This could then be extended further to include the whole of the

Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere. The extent of the Heian sprawl and how it compares to the Asuka layout would make for another interesting study.

Conclusions -looking at early Japanese urbanism

As the body of this thesis shows, Japanese urbanism first developed as a low-density environment, before Chinese influence caused a shift to compact urban environments. It is interesting that the model, after the end of Chinese style capital building, reverted to a more irregular pattern like the early urban settlements such as Asuka, but retained the overall compact settlement form. The Japanese, in anticipating and retro-dicting a compact urban environment on the basis of later urbanism, appear to have overlooked the dispersed environment at Asuka. There is the possibility, of course, that some Japanese scholars are looking at this issue, however, the scholarship covered in the English literature does not reveal this. Nor do Japanese scholars of this period engage at all with the discussions of low-density urbanism elsewhere in the world, even though other disparate areas, i.e. Mesoamerica, Sri Lanka and Cambodia, have come together to discuss this issue.

This thesis has sought to examine two issues that are related to each other. As has been shown, the periodization issue has artificially fragmented an otherwise continuous period of change. The Kofun period should be removed and either a new period to encompass the entirety of the state formation process should be adopted, like the Yamato period, or the Asuka period should be adjusted accordingly. The continuity view allows us to examine the development of Japan without overemphasising certain features of the landscape, such as the monumental mounded tombs. While these features are important, they should be examined within the context of how they contributed to the cultural development of Japan.

During the Early Yayoi to Late Asuka, the polities on the Japanese Islands go from separate settlement to settlements incorporated under a paramount sovereign. Finally this paramount rises to become the first "emperor" and territorial control is extended outside the immediate

Kinai region. If Yoffee's assertion, that states required cities to emerge, is valid (see Chapter Two), then an urban environment should have existed prior to the construction of Fujiwara. Yoffee's assertion does not need to be valid, however, for us to see that the Asuka area was an urban environment, as seen in the other examples given in Chapter Two. The process of elite separation from commoners was started in the Kofun period and by the time the Asuka area rose to prominence, elites were grouping themselves around the paramount in elite clusters. The limited evidence, however, shows that commoners were located nearby and would have been required to operate the workshops and service the elite in the area. This gives the Asuka area an almost modern urban feel, with the wealthy living in the heart of the urban environment and the less wealthy having to commute there to work in the workshops around the elite residence areas.

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Appendix.

Here additional images that support the text will be added.

Continuity.

Tools.

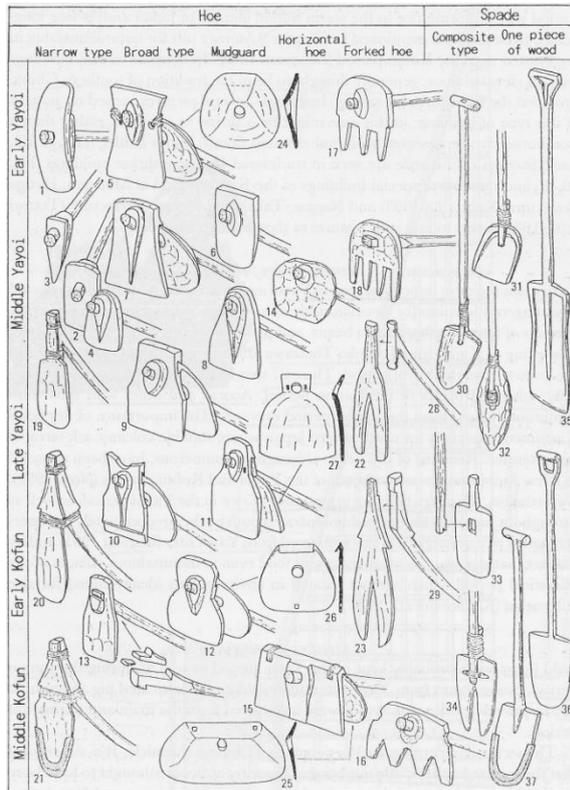


Fig. 6.1: Tool typology. (Source: Imamura 1996).

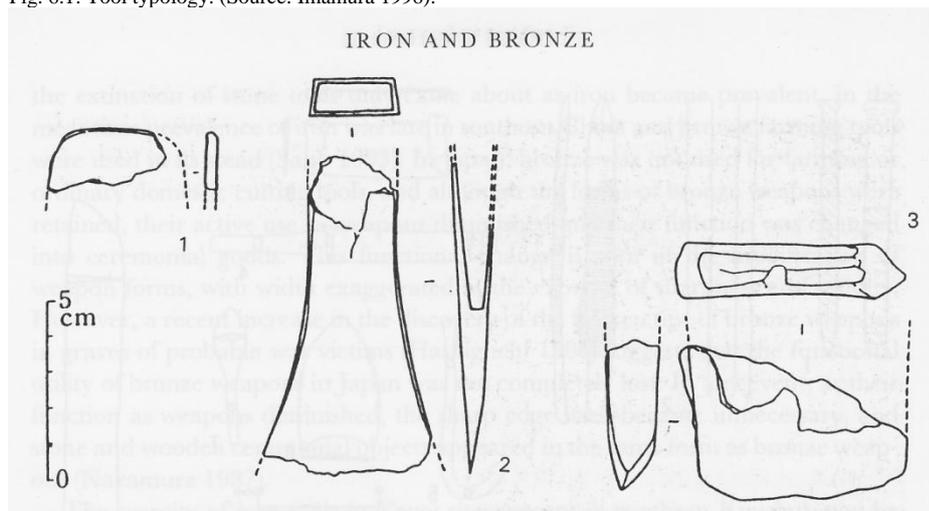


Fig. 6.2: Iron and Bronze tools from the Yayoi period. (Source: Imamura 1996).

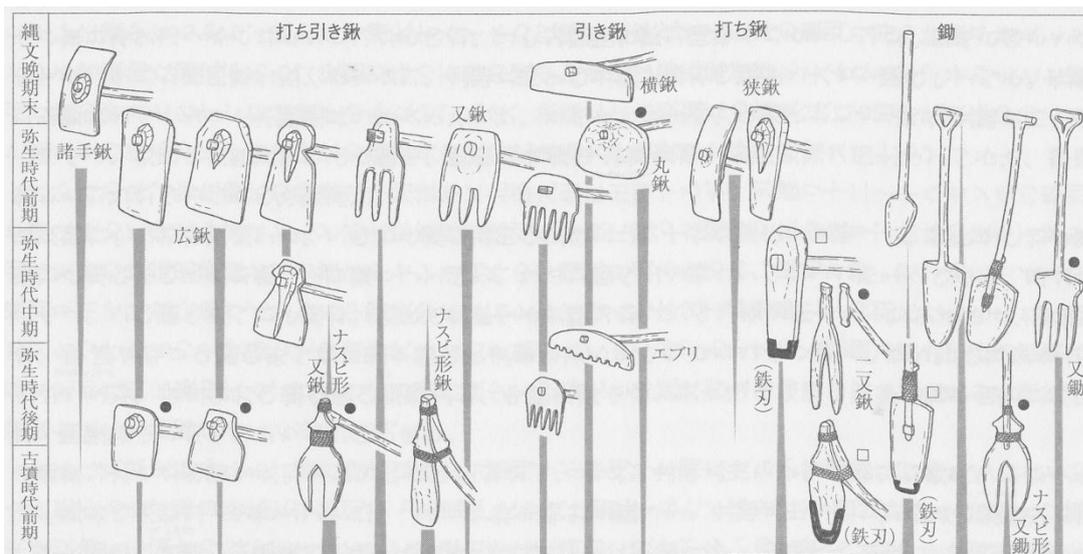


Fig. 6.3: Tool typology from initial Yayoi to early Kofun period. (Source: Terasawa 2000).

Pottery.



Fig. 6.4: Photo showing both Haji (red) and Sue (blue/grey) pottery. (Source: Nara Bunkazai Kenkyujo Asuka Shiryokan 2011).

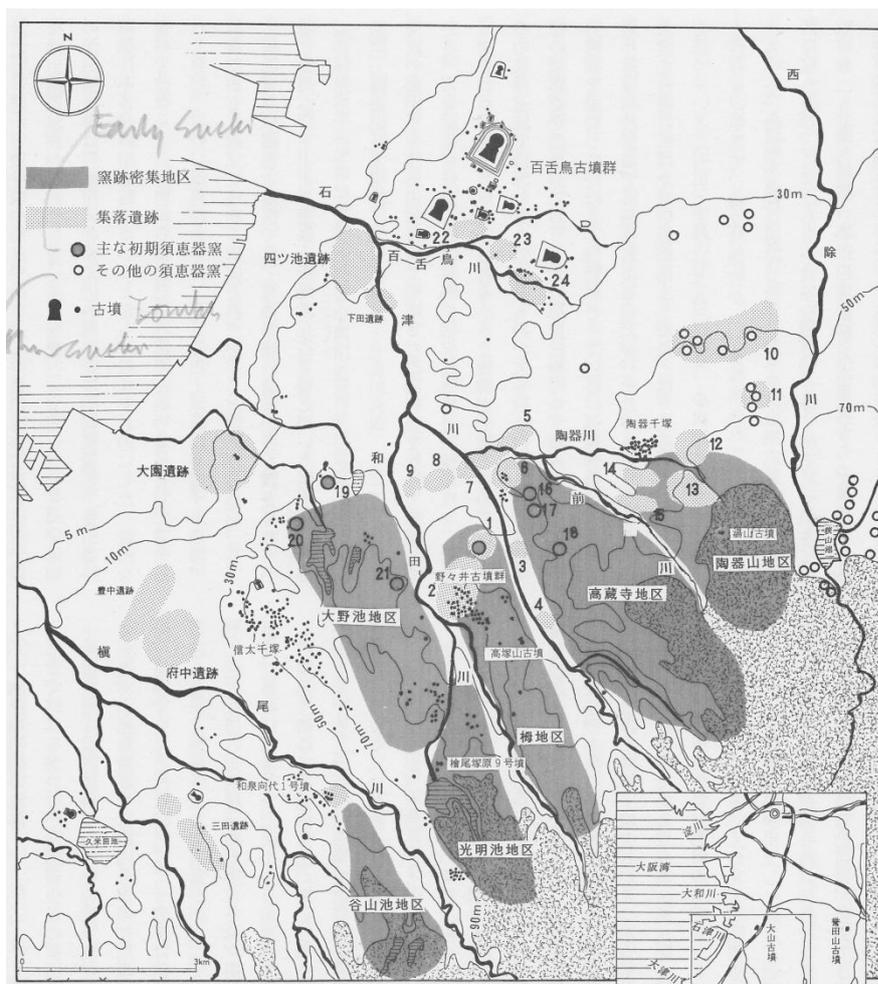


Fig. 6.5: Map showing the Sueware kilns south of Naniwa, in the Osaka Basin. (Source: Hirose 2004).

Burials.

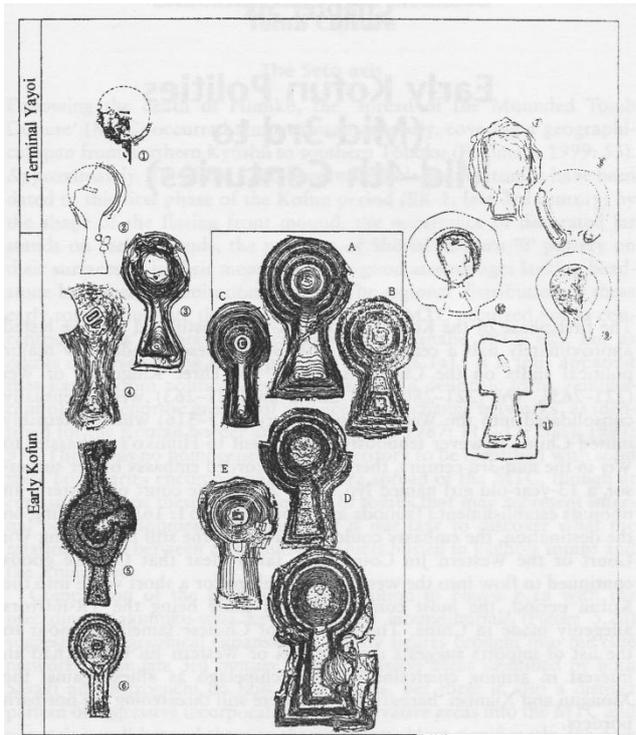


Fig. 6.6: Mounded tomb types across the Yayoi and Kofun transition the middle set are the Keyhole shaped tombs. (Source: Barnes 2007).

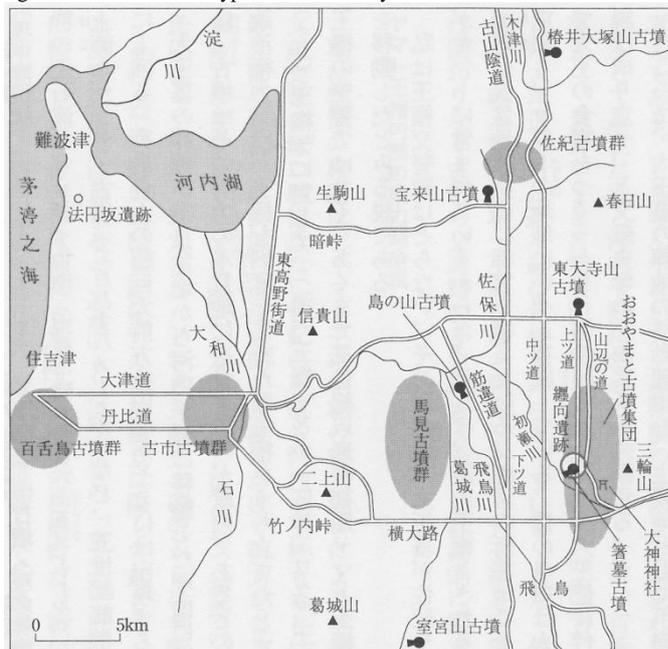


Fig. 6.7: Keyhole tomb clusters of the Osaka and Nara Basins, shaded in grey. (Source: Terasawa 2000).



Fig. 6.8: Yamato tomb cluster located along the western boundary of the Nara Basin. Area surrounded by dashed line indicates the *Makimuku* area. (Source: Terasawa 2000).

Settlement.

Yayoi.

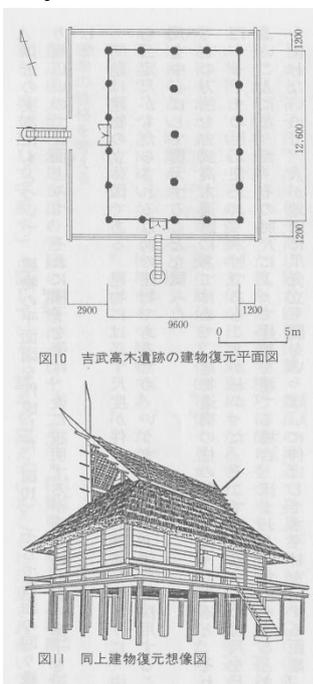


Fig. 6.9: Yayoi period pillared structure believed to be a storehouse. (Source: Torigoe 1994)

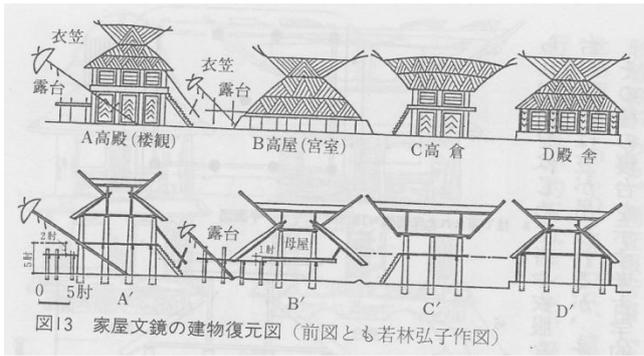


Fig. 6.10: Various types of Yayoi pillared buildings. (Source: Torigoe 1994)

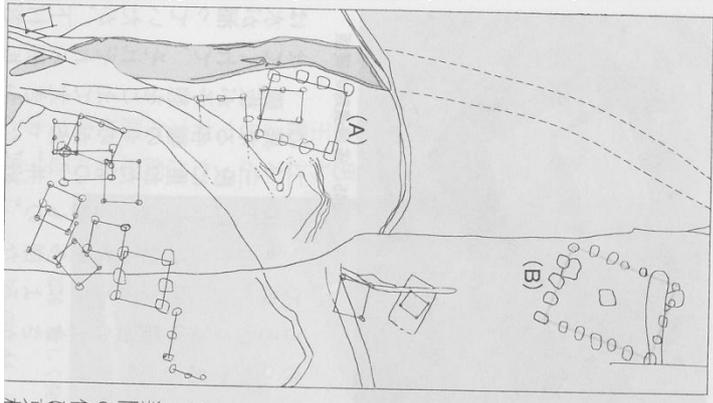


Fig. 6.11: Site plan of Yayoi period pillared buildings. (Source: Torigoe 1994)

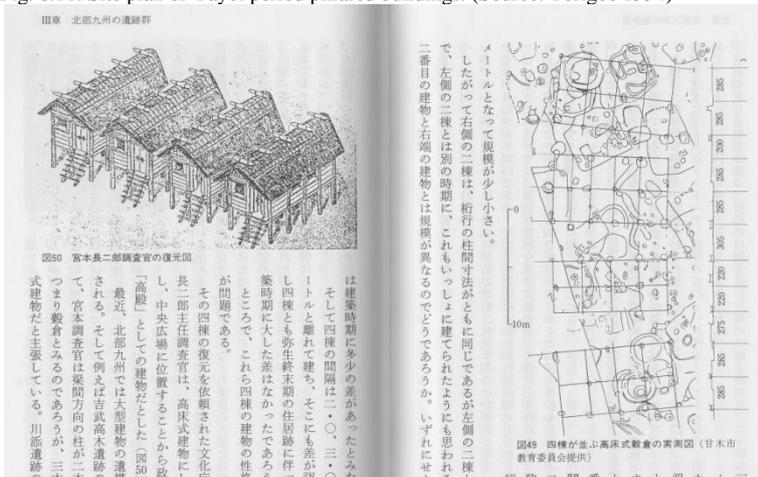


Fig. 6.12: Row of Yayoi period pillared buildings and reconstruction. (Source: Torigoe 1994)

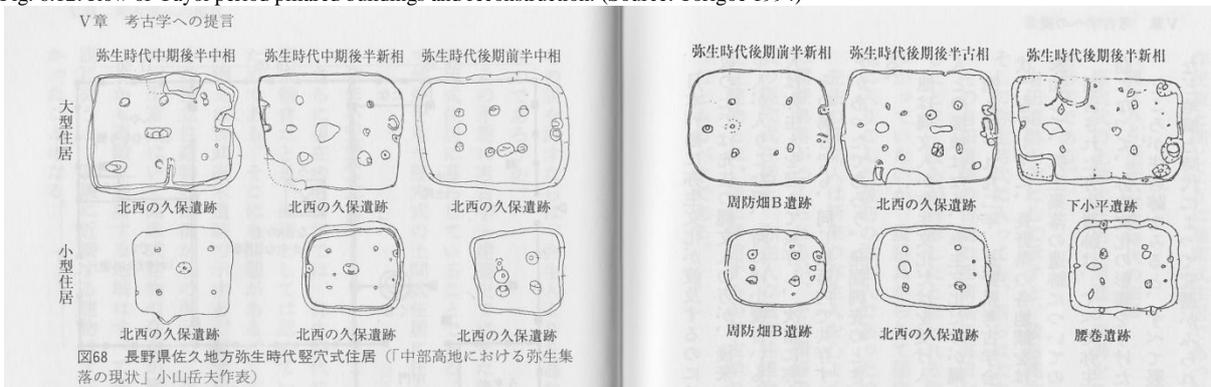


Fig. 6.13: Various types of pit dwellings from the Yayoi period. (Source: Torigoe 1994)

Kofun.



Fig. 6.14: Model showing the Mitsudera site and surrounding settlements and tombs. (Source: Kishimoto 2010).

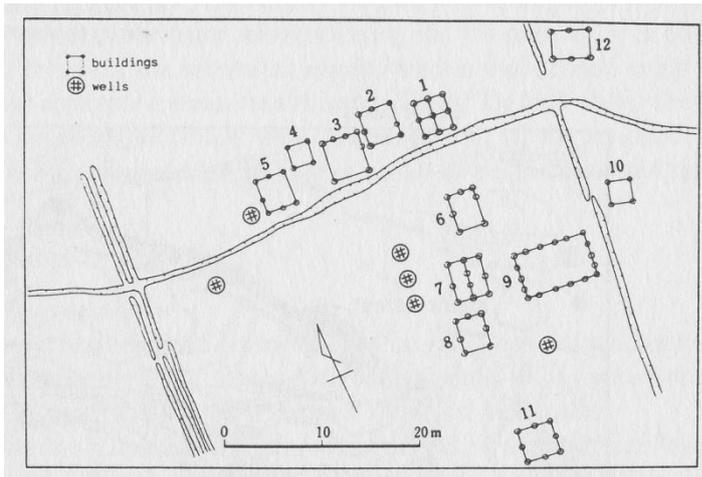


Fig. 6.15: Possible elite "housestead" at Ozono, Osaka Prefecture. (Source: Barnes 1993).

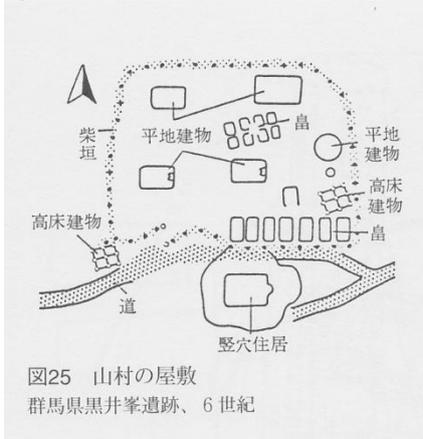


Fig. 6.16: Potential elite housestead, Kofun period. (Source: Hironobu 2006)

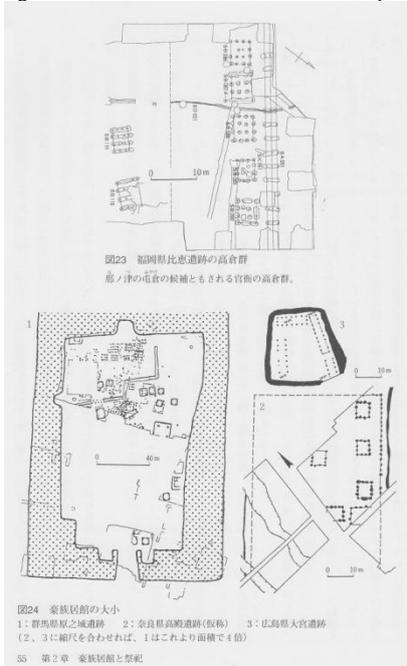


Fig. 6.17: Potential elite housesteads, Kofun period. (Source: Hironobu 2006)

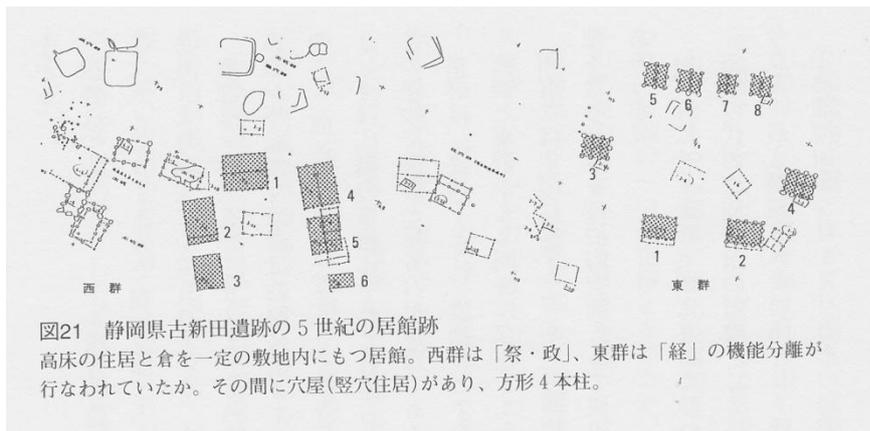


Fig. 6.18: Pillared structures possibly part of a single compound, Kofun period. (Source: Hironobu 2006)



Fig. 6.19: Large Kofun period site showing several clusters of pit houses. (Source: Hironobu 2006)



Fig. 6.20: Moated or ditched compounds with structures, possibly elite residences, Kofun period. (Source: Hironobu 2006)

Asuka.

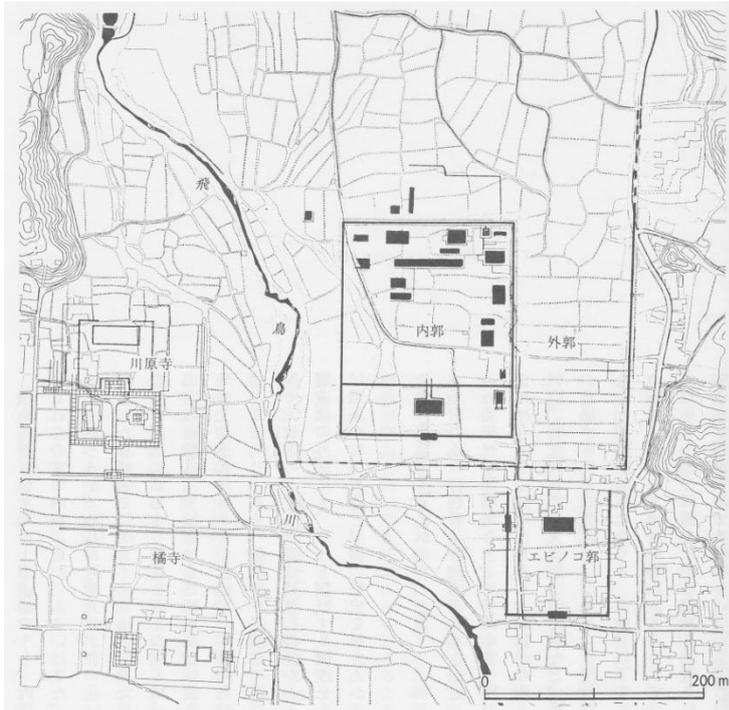
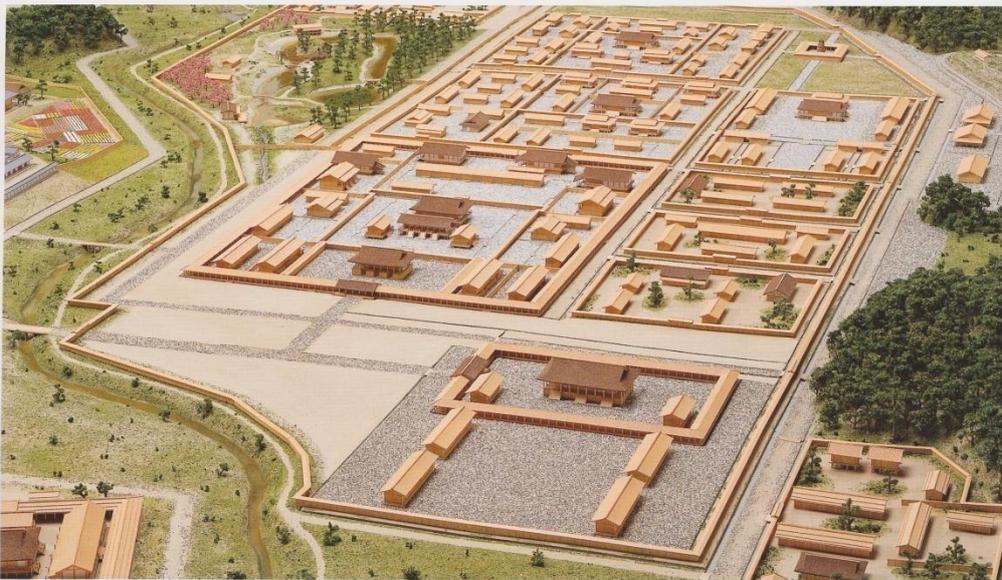


Fig. 6.21: Plan view of Kiyomihara Palace with Tachibanadera and Kawaradera in Asuka. (Source: Hisashi and Masashi 1985).



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Fig. 6.22: Model of Kiyomihara palace in Asuka. (Source: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara 2002).

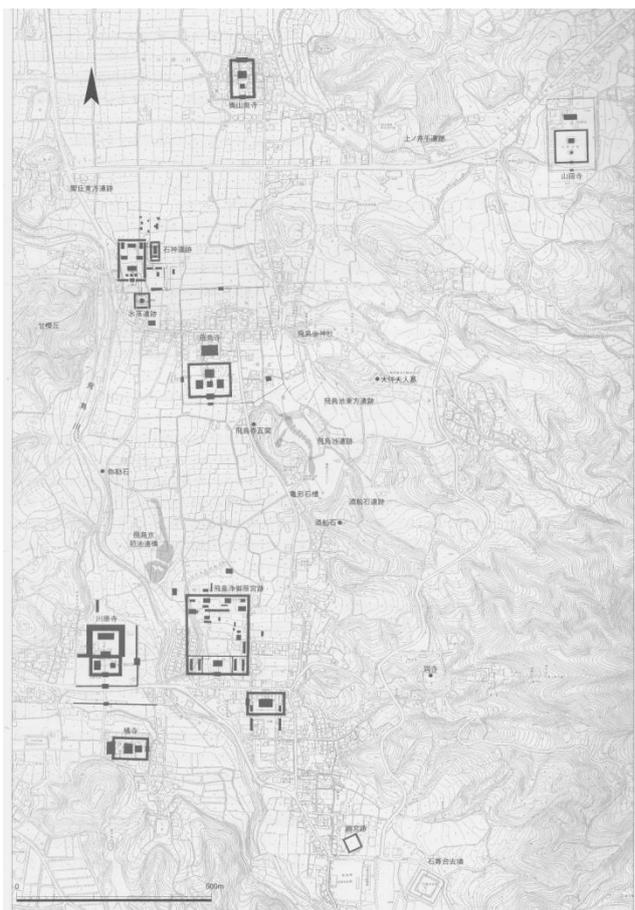


Fig. 6.23: Plan view of Asuka area showing Kiyomihara palace and associated temples. (Source: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara 2002).



Fig. 6.24: Plan of the entire Asuka area including Fujiwara. (Source: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara 2002).

