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Title of thesis:

**RELIGIOUS IMAGERY OF MIDDLE YAYOI SETTLEMENTS:
AN ICONOLOGY OF ENGRAVED DRAWINGS
ON KINAI POTTERY AND RONZE BELLS**

TEXT

This thesis investigates pictorial engraving on pottery vessels and bronze bells of the Yayoi Period (500 BC – AD 250) in Japan. A particular focus is placed on the pottery pictures and their main phase of production at the end of Middle Yayoi – phase IV – (up to circa AD 1). The circumstances behind the shift of motifs from a predominance of animals to a preference for humans and human constructions such as houses and boats are the primary area of investigation.

Focussing on artefacts excavated from Nara Basin settlements, pictorial evidence is studied in revelation to the physical surroundings in which they were made. The interpretation, from the perspective of religio-sociological developments is connected to that of the settlements themselves. Through an analysis of statistics of temporal motif distribution I demonstrate that the change in pictorial motifs relates to the use of other ritual material in the shape of animal bones and crafted artefacts during Middle Yayoi, which viewed together are evidence of a transition from a basically nature-bound spiritual animism to a more politically manipulative shamanism. The possibility of the leader authority split between a secular and a sacrosanct individual is also explored.

In its examination of the general enclosing of settlement spaces during the Yayoi Period, this study explores the dissolution of a number of small moated settlements and their amalgamation into large settlements inside and beyond the Nara Basin at the transition between Early and Middle Yayoi. It is suggested that this development and the accompanying extended moat digging activity was a result of a strong factional competition between the Basin's settlement leaders from the end of Early Yayoi.

The main settlement for pictorial engraving, Karako Kagi, whose location was in the centre of the Basin, developed into the region's centre of craft production, tying up population groups to whom the settlement and the cultivated zone made up the familiar world. In phase IV burial mounds were moved away from the central Basin to the edge of the Basin or even more remote areas, and as bronze bell in the same phase were deposited in the same type of locations and fewer ritual artefacts and features are found inside Karako Kagi from phase IV than from earlier phases. A nature-culture dichotomy came to prevail during this phase that had not existed before, and that certain aspects of ritual life became associated with a sphere away from the settlement.

Religious Imagery of Middle Yayoi Settlements

An Iconology of Engraved Drawings on Kinai Pottery and Bronze Bells

Volume 1

PhD-thesis

September 2008

Revised, October 2009

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Abstract

This thesis investigates pictorial engraving on pottery vessels and bronze bells of the Yayoi Period (500 BC–AD 250) in Japan. A particular focus is placed on the pottery pictures and their main phase of production at the end of Middle Yayoi – phase IV – (up to circa AD 1). The circumstances behind the shift of motifs from a predominance of animals to a preference for humans and human constructions such as houses comprise the primary area of investigation.

Focussing on pictures from Karako Kagi and other Nara Basin settlements, these are studied in relation to the physical surroundings of their making. Their interpretation is connected to that of the settlements and tells of the area's religio-sociological developments. Through statistics of temporal motif distribution and comparisons to ethnographic evidence, I demonstrate that the iconographic changes relate to changes in ritual material in the shape of animal bones and crafted artefacts during Middle Yayoi; together telling of a transition from a basically nature-bound spiritual animism to a more politically manipulative shamanism.

Examining the general enclosing of settlement spaces during the Yayoi Period, it is explored how a number of small moated settlements dissolve and amalgamate into large settlements inside and beyond the Nara Basin at the transition between Early and Middle Yayoi. It is suggested that this was a result of a strong factional competition between the basin's settlement leaders from the end of Early Yayoi.

Karako Kagi, whose location was in the centre of the basin, developed into the regional centre of craft production; tying up population groups to the settlement and the cultivated zone. Part of the ritual sphere was moved away from the settlement, and a nature-culture dichotomy came to prevail that had not existed before, but which supported the leading tier's interests in a stronger focus on human ancestry and differentiated descent.

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Prologue

This thesis about picture engraving in the Yayoi Period of Japan (500 BC – AD 250) is written as a contribution to the analysis of social development in the period. It has a strong focus on Middle Yayoi and its latest phase, phase IV, and I consciously try to isolate and scrutinise this time frame of a few hundred years in an attempt to throw light on religious and thus social currents of the time. This urge to go into details with a very limited period of time rose when I worked out my MA-dissertation on bronze bells, and realised that – in spite of painstaking typologies and chronologies of Yayoi Period material – it was difficult to find social analyses making use of these details as most writings about bronze bells dealt with developments in styles of the objects, their pattern or their pictures. The most intriguing articles however, tracked the connection between bells in their find spots and their production localities – via mould finds – and theorised on overall distributions of bronze bells and weapons.

From the outset of my research with the picture engraved pottery, I have wanted to develop the theories of exchange networks in the Yayoi Period. This urge, however, had to be toned down when confronted with an even more pressing urge of presenting, as fully as possible, a material record belonging to a specific time period within the Yayoi Period within its physical settings and from there to theorise about that record's role in its contemporary society. In order to do that I have chosen the record at Karako Kagi in the Nara Basin, the largest record we have, and existing at the longest lasting site in the basin and the site that housed the most activities – including exchange – in the whole Eastern Seto region. In several parts of my thesis however, I touch on the issues of exchange and interrelation between areas, since I think there is a need to integrate at least peripherally these most important topics.

The Yayoi Period epitomises radical change. It extended over approximately a thousand years during which it took the western part of Japan from a basically hunter-gathering life style to germinating state formation. For that reason it easily comes to appear as a historical incident in itself holding the sprout of national identity for modern Japanese, and for the same reason it is one of the most difficult periods to approach for non-Japanese archaeologists. Compared to the preceding Jōmon Period that has brought about, if not a comprehensive, at least enough literature in western languages – authored by both western and Japanese archaeologists – to establish the era's existence in the consciousness of western archaeologists, relatively little has been written in languages other than Japanese about the Yayoi Period.

Each book or article written in a western language about the period however, helps to throw light on the wide range of contributions that its offers to world archaeology.

It is thus my hope that this thesis, in which I approach the Yayoi Period from an ethnographic angle, will, by treating and interpreting the data and the time frame of my own special interest, act both as an introduction for discussions for archaeologists who treat topics related to mine, and as a brick in the general perception among western archaeologists of Japanese prehistory. I use ethnographic analogies together with the material data to draw lines between subphases, and two of my five chapters (chapters 3 and 5) contain the model that I establish for the social development of Middle Yayoi in the Nara Basin.

The thesis progresses from a concrete presentation of data to a gradually more interpretative treatment of them and their context. It also incorporates a still wider geographical perspective from the Karako Kagi site in chapter 2 via the Nara Basin in chapter 3 to western Japan and the Asian Continent in chapter 4.

Chapter 1 establishes the focus on the Kinai area material under scrutiny, the engraved pictures of the Yayoi Period as well as their research history. It contains a number of tables presenting the distribution of pictorial motifs temporally and according to media. It also includes a discussion of the methodological approach to prehistoric art. Chapter 2 dedicates some space to deal with the habit of constructing moats around settlements seen in the Yayoi Period to demonstrate the elaboration of this conduct during Middle Yayoi and phase IV and particularly so at Karako Kagi. The infrastructure and the spatial organisation of this settlement is presented including finds of ritual artefacts and burials, and it forms the basis on which find spots of the picture engraved pottery as well as the significance of these is treated. Chapter 3 outlines the social landscape of the Nara Basin, its settlement clusters in one of which Karako Kagi made up the centre, and the possible religious implications of the distinction between the cultural and natural zones. A political development of factional competition in the basin is rendered probable based on the similar physical appearance and structure of the settlement clusters. Also, the importance of feasting and exchange is treated, and a presentation of some of Karako Kagi's exchange partners after its outset as a bronze production settlement in mid Middle Yayoi. All this leads up to a discussion of political power based on ideology and religion. Chapter 4 contains a comprehensive, though not exhaustive, presentation of the pictorial traditions of the four main centres of Kinai, northern Kyūshū, San'in and Kibi, and some attention is paid to the difference between the areas and between the various sub-areas within Kinai. Also, it presents the domestic and the imported heritage of the Yayoi Period art, thus it touches on art of the Jōmon Period as well as the roots

of Yayoi Period pictorial motifs in various regions of the Asian Continent. Chapter 5 treats the religious trends that are observable in the pictorial record of the Yayoi Period. It argues that shamanism forms the root of most religiosity, and that it is likely to have constituted the base of the religious atmosphere of the Yayoi Period, reflected in the focus during the phase on the horned and the winged animals; i.e. the deer and the bird. It goes on to argue that the overweight of animals in the earlier part of the period reflects that the shamanism at that time was of an animist theriomorphic nature; i.e. containing a relative egalitarianism between human and nature – and thus between people. Subsequently, the chapter proceeds to throw light on the political shamanism reflected in the later record's humans that are armed with weaponry or dressed in bird's attire, as well as in its depictions of buildings and boats, all of which is interpreted as motifs relating to the leading tier of society. The increased stratification is related to an increased preoccupation with ancestral lineages, connected to a sense of time and space that is typical for developed agriculturalists. The (re)construction of time and the organisation of space reflected in the moated settlements and the removal of part of the religious rituals away from the settlements tell of the conscious exploitation of these relations by the leading tier.

My two main topics are the growth and stabilisation of the settlement clusters in phase IV inside the Nara Basin and the question of why pictures were created on pottery in this phase and the time leading up to it. The foundation from which I have tried to throw light on these topics are partly isolation of Middle Yayoi – and preferable phase IV – settlements and partly comparing finds of Karako Kagi's picture engraved pottery with its physical development as a settlement. No maps existed prior to my research showing find spots of Karako Kagi's collected picture engraved pottery, and the material I present in chapter 2 of this distribution, I regard as a main contribution of the thesis to research into the field, since I point out the importance of the location of the pottery in relation to the settlement area. The statistics of distribution of engraved motifs in chapter 1 have been worked out for the obvious purpose of viewing relational importance of various motifs and of comparing bell and pottery motifs.

Building upon these foundations I have consulted theoretical literature on social and religious topics to throw light on the emergence of settlement dominance and the role played by ideology and religion within this dominance.

In recent years, religion in archaeology is much debated. We can no longer claim that cognitive archaeology does not gain attention, but it is true that its history of research does not have solid roots such as those of theories of ecology or settlement patterns that are firmly based in the processual tradition from the 1960s or earlier. Currently, religion in prehistory

takes up time at archaeological conferences and space on book shelves as a research field in its own right, sprung from many decades of research into prehistoric art, particularly European Palaeolithic cave paintings and Bronze Age rock carvings. Ethnographic research has been drawn into the study, and the indebtedness of archaeology to these 'long' traditions is enormous. Many discussions and conclusions have been conducted since the time of the earliest publications. Erroneous statements have been advanced and abolished, and since also recent researchers are subject to trends and modes of thought, our own conclusions of today are likewise to be adjusted or even dismissed in the future when more data has appeared and new methods and theories have been worked out, since cognitive archaeology is still a 'short' tradition.

It could be claimed that Yayoi Period engraved drawings on pottery and bells have nothing to do with religion, or that, if they have, their significance cannot be retrieved, and in the nature of our field we cannot repudiate such claims. However, as prehistoric archaeologists we are working with probabilities and the signals and hints that we can collect from our material data, and that is what comprises our evidence. Hence, when gathering evidence from several sets of material and upon recognising that this evidence reflects a pattern incorporating the existence of religion in the community that we are working with, there should be no hindrance of including religion as part of the meaning of our material. It has been recurrent in the theoretical literature that I have consulted for this work, that researchers of religion doubt the presence of religion where we cannot see it, and thus they doubt the applicability of material evidence to the presence of religion, whereas anthropologists and archaeologists – who include anthropological investigations in their own research – agree that religion exists in some shape in all societies, whether the religious sentiments are deeply felt, or people relate to their religion with pragmatism or even pretence.

It is thus plausible to speak of religion in connection with prehistoric material even if we cannot say what the religion consisted in: "Why just describe Stonehenge or Avebury as ritual frameworks associated to ideology only, when we sense that we are dealing with grandiose monuments of religious character. The fact that we do not know the songs sung at these places should not prevent us from understanding such sanctuaries as expressions of prehistoric religion" (Kaul 2004:21, *my translation*).

The aims here are twofold: Through discussing possible religious trends *to clarify the cognition* of the world view held by people in Middle Yayoi, during which phase we see the growth of settlements as well as their agglomeration, and in which the settlements encircled by moats reached their largest extension; and *to clarify possible religious changes* during the

phase. Both of these are closely tied to the type of society, and I will tie my conclusions on the religious atmosphere of Middle Yayoi to research on social circumstances in the phase. A special point of interest for me is the factor of the relation between iconography and political power.

My dissertation makes use of the picture engraved pottery as a tool to approach the religious currents in the Kinai region in Middle Yayoi. I have chosen the Kinai region since the bulk of pottery pictures stems from there, and the same is true for many of the picture carrying bells that preceded them. My point of departure is a presumption that belief sets changed during Middle Yayoi, a presumption arising from my observation of the flourishing of pictures in late Middle Yayoi and from changes in iconography that took place contemporaneously with the deposition of bronze bells away from the settlements. I attempt to throw light on this topic through comparisons between bell- and pottery images and between earlier and later pieces. Also, I include pictures that have been engraved on wood – or very rarely on stone – and I touch on the two- and three-dimensional art of the Jōmon Period. Finally, I wish to add nuances to my analysis by presenting the clay plaques engraved with human faces, and the various three-dimensional pieces of figurative art of the Yayoi Period, i.e. clay heads of humans as well as human figures and birds made from wood. I carry out these comparisons on a background of research into the social developments and currents during Early and Middle Yayoi, theoretical analyses of religion and art, and – to a minor extent – genetic relations of the iconography.

The many 'small creatures' dominating the bell composition together with the deer and the birds associate to such focus in traditional societies that have an animist religion. Creatures of the animal world are often attributed souls and are thought to be spirits or sometimes deities. Also the record on Yayoi Period bells has been interpreted as reflecting an animist view. The snake can be seen as an earthly deity, and the frog and the turtle as messengers between the water- and the earthen worlds. The frog croaks before rain comes, and is thus often believed to be a rain-magician. It calls out for the rain, and the turtle arrives "from the other side" bringing luck to people (Sahara and Harunari 1997:32, 60). I shall expand on this topic and on the change to culturally related pictures on pottery.

The focus on humans carrying weapons or bird costumes as well as the deer and the raised floor building relate to the same focus in agricultural societies with ceremonies of performance. The record has often been interpreted as showing shamanism, and spirits or deities of deer and birds such as these are described in the early chronicles. I shall discuss the validity of such historical analogy, and expand on the topic by discussing the evidence of a

politically conscious shamanism, in which the leaders manipulate the iconography and materialise their preferred ideology. For both the early and the late record, I compare the pictorial record to other types of material data.

It is my hope that the model of Nara Basin Middle Yayoi that I present here will inspire to further discussion and lead to new research and results.

Cross-references within this volume are indicated in brackets often by simple numbers referring to subchapters (e.g. 3.2.2.).

All Asian names are given in Japanese order, i.e. surname followed by personal name.

CD-database

The database on the accompanying CD should be considered an appendix. It contains pictures of all picture engraved pottery pieces to which I have had access while working out this thesis, and they are so far reduced in pixel-quality in order to make the database workable. My own photos count 371 items (although some of these are accompanied by pictures from published material) and cover amongst others the whole collection in the Karako Kagi museum, the rest are scanned pictures inserted in the database for the purpose of working out the thesis, but with the intention of replacing them during continued future work for publication. Each ID in the database holds references to picture files within my own photo collection (Indexes[1]), descriptions of their motifs, assessment of artefact type, date (as far as available), site code, sitename, size of artefact (as far as available), find context at site, year of discovery (as far as available), references to published material for scanned IDs, and location and time of photo for my own pictures.

All in all, the database holds 595 items, 556 of which show picture engraved pottery and the rest other clay items with pictorial engraving as well as some plastic clay items of relevance to the engravings. Future rework of the database consisting of insertion of the remaining photos will make it fit for publication and as such be of use to future research.

[1] Originally, two kinds of indexes existed, one of which were picture files with my own photos, another files consisting of collections of pictures partly scanned from published material and partly of my own photos. The latter however were lost when my computer broke down and erased all files in September 2008. The indexes Ki (Kinai), Na (Nara), Jp (Japan), KK (Karako Kagi) and SaTe (Sakurai and Tenri Museums), are temporarily non-existing, whereas the indexes Ao (Aoyakamijichi), TI (collection of pictures from Ishida Tomoko, Kyūshū University), Yakai (Yayoi ga kaita sekai, book title to be found in list of references) and the extensive KKn (Karako Kagi new) are intact.

Volume 2- catalogue

The additional volume contains my catalogue showing on its front page the insertion to a map of western Japan the numerical system that I have established for the geographical distribution of picture engraved pottery. Nara Prefecture being the central location contains site codes in the 1000s (1001 for Karako Kagi, 1002 for Shimizukaze etc.). Ōsaka contains site codes in the 2000s etc. The Prefectures of Shikoku carry codes from 30,000 and those of Kyūshū from 40,000.

Next follows an index of all sites whose engraved pottery is included in the catalogue/database. The index is shown in both *numerical* and *alphabetical* order. The catalogue is divided in two parts: The first part consists of the *plates* that relate mostly to the first chapter of the text volume. They show pictures of artefacts from materials other than clay; bronze, wood and stone. The find locations of these artefacts are unnumbered, as they do not form part of my database, and the artefacts have no ID-numbers. The second part consists of the picture engraved pottery itself as well as other artefacts made from clay, appearing in *numerical order according to their ID-numbers*. Since this is the only way to present the pottery in a systematic fashion, and because some IDs are referred to several times in the text-volume, the sequence of these pictures do not follow the progress of the text, and the reader will have to look up the pieces according to ID-numbers. Some IDs are included of Jōmon pottery, and the database includes some whole clay figurines from eastern Japan. These types of locations have no site-codes. References for pictures in the catalogue are listed at the end of the catalogue. Brackets in the text volume noting "(plate)" or "(ID)" refer to the catalogue.

Acknowledgements

There are many people who have helped me in the course of writing this thesis, and whom I want to thank. First of all I thank Fujita Saburō, who has given me countless pieces of information on Karako Kagi, generously sharing out the priceless information that he has collected during his many years of research at the site, and without whose help and interest in my project I would not have been able to date and place so many of the picture engraved pottery sherds. Before I visited the Karako Kagi Museum in autumn 2006 I told people that I needed to ask Fujita about the dates and the locations of the Karako Kagi sherds, and someone

said to me: "Yes, Fujita is probably the only one who really knows." Once at the museum, I was free to go through Fujita's own card index of excavation numbers and available dates, and when I came back in spring 2007, I spent three days at the museum taking photos of all the sherds, including the pieces that had to be removed from the exhibition.

Another expert whom I particularly want to thank is Fukasawa Yoshiki at Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute (Nabunken), who during my first visit to Nabunken provided me with a copy of his own scrap-book collection of pictures and newspaper articles about the picture engraved sherds, and in whose office I have spent many hours watching and listening to Fukasawa illustrating and telling about his ideas and theories related to the pottery.

I am grateful to Yamazaki Osamu at the Buried Cultural Properties Center in Shimane, who took me to the centre's storage building outside Matsue and showed me the entire collection of the Kamo Iwakura bronze bells, to Kitaura Hiroto at the Buried Cultural Properties Center in Tottori, who took me to the spot of the Aoyakamijichi site and showed me maps of its location in the Yayoi Period landscape, and who let me take photos of the whole record of picture engraved items of the site, and to Kimijima Toshiyuki at the Mukibanda Site Museum, who, on a Sunday afternoon, took me to the various areas of the site, showing me the spots where he had found picture engraved pottery, completing the trip by showing me the field where the Inaysho Sumita sherds were discovered.

I would also like to offer my thanks to Kanaseki Hiroshi at the Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture, who already at a very early stage of my research into the Yayoi Period spent time to answer my questions and who later took me on a trip around the Nara Basin, including my first visit to the Karako Kagi site, which illustrated to me the nature of the basin's topography. Also at the Yayoi Museum I thank Goda Yoshimi with whom I discussed the Yayoi iconography in spring 2007 and who illustrated to me some of the regional stylistic differences.

At Kyūshū University I thank Ishida Tomoko who, during my visit there in summer 2005, presented me with an index of picture engraved pottery from Kyūshū, just as I am grateful to all the people who have presented me with relevant articles and books, saving me a lot of trouble pursuing these materials myself. I also appreciate that I was allowed to take photographs of picture engraved pottery at the Archaeological Museum of Kashihara and at the Tenri University Sankokan Museum, and last but not least in Japan I want to direct special thanks to Matsui Akira and his staff at the Zooarchaeological Laboratory at Nabunken for receiving me time after time, for organising my stay at Nabunken's guesthouse, for being my friends and for making their laboratory my second home.

For the final shape of this thesis, I have endless thanks to my readers, to Helle Juel Jensen, my supervisor when I did my MA at the Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, Århus University, who read an early draft and gave me lots of advice and inspiration in terms of theoretical literature, to my colleague Anette Pedersen, who read a later draft and helped me rethink the order of my discourse, and to my two examiners, Gina Barnes, SOAS, and Barbara Seyock, Tuebingen University, whose many comments and suggestions during and after my viva in March 2009 helped me clarifying my argumentation. I also want to thank Lars Schødt Christensen for the drawings that he produced for the textvolume and for the many hours of work that he put into the catalogue, as well as I thank Line Schrenk for English language advice.

In England I want to offer my thanks to Simon Kaner for introducing me to a number of colleagues and for helping me out with application procedures in connection with my research, and I wish to thank the Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures in Norwich for letting me live and work at the institute while I attended lectures at SOAS. Finally, I thank my supervisor, John Carpenter at the Department of Art and Archaeology, SOAS for all his support, patience and understanding during my years of research.

My research has been supported by:

The SOAS Research Student Fellow Award
The AHRC Post Graduate Award
The Scandinavia-Japan Sasakawa Foundation
Augustinus Fonden
Japan Foundation Endowment Committee
Ingeniør Svend G. Fiedler og Hustrus Legat
Krista og Viggo Petersens Fond
Oticon Fonden
The Central Research Fund, University of London

1. The pictorial engraving of the Yayoi Period and its discovery

1.1. Introduction

The following is a study of the iconography of the Japanese prehistoric period of Middle Yayoi (ca. 380 BC – AD 20) as it developed and flourished in the Nara Basin and on the Kawachi Plain, which constitute the heart of the Kinai (機内) region (the Nara and Kyōto Basins including the southern part of the Biwa Lake as well as the costal plains surrounding the Ōsaka Bay; fig. 1.) Pottery sherds with pictures or fragments of these engraved with a sharp utensil before firing will be treated according to analytical methods and theories. The pottery sherds have for a large part been recovered from cultural layers, pits and moats in and around Yayoi period settlements. They will be collated with pictures on bronze bells (*dōtaku* 銅鐸) a tradition whose start preceded that of the pottery pictures by some hundred years, and seen in the wider context of contemporary figural representation in western Japan.

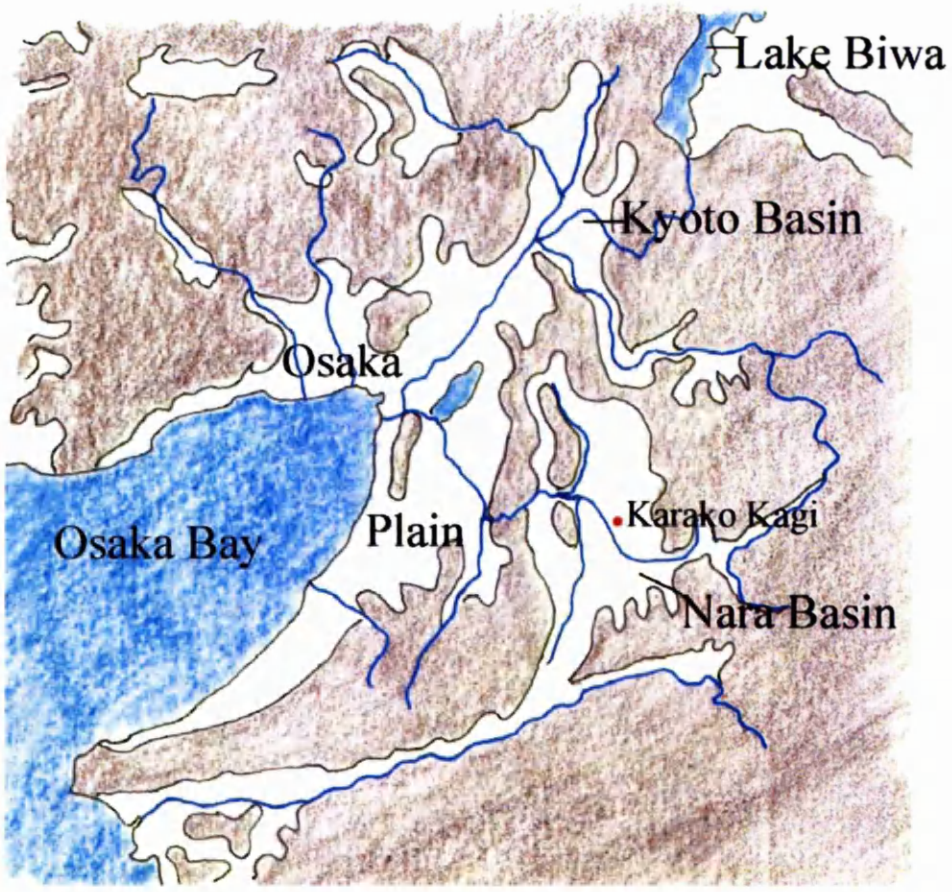

Figure 1: The Kinai area with Karako Kagi located in the Nara Basin.

(Map after Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1997:44)

The settlement site of Karako Kagi (唐古·鍵) in the centre of the Nara Basin has played a special part for picture engraved pottery, since several hundreds of sherds of this artefact type have been recovered here. Also found here are traces of numerous craft industries, which from late Middle Yayoi include that of bronze bell casting. Accordingly, Karako Kagi will also play a dominant part in my thesis as the prototype of picture-pottery locations.

Pictures on pottery were not acknowledged until the early 1920s unlike those engraved on the bronze bells, which have been recognised for several centuries. The bells, though previously often included in private collections of antiques and curios, are presently esteemed "national treasures" whereas the pottery – mostly fragmented – leads a more discrete existence. Visitors to museums will immediately be attracted to the mysterious, tarnished bronze bells of various sizes, whereas the pottery sherds with pictures are easily ignored. Exceptions to this rule are the Kashihara Archaeological Museum (橿原考古学研究所附属博物館) and the Karako Kagi Museum (唐古·鍵ムジアム), both located in the Nara Basin from where the bulk of the picture pottery stems. These museums display sufficiently large collections of the pottery in order for the visitor to gain an impression of their importance in the area.

The present thesis can only be a preliminary study in a field that is developing rapidly because of a steadily growing body of material. Only a decade ago, the pieces of Yayoi Period pottery with pictorial engravings were counted in a few hundreds, and analyses of the pottery iconography relied heavily on that worked out for the bronze bell pictures found on approximately 60 bells. At the time of writing this, however, more than 1000 pieces exist,[2] partly because the field has gained increased attention, which has brought previously overlooked engravings to light from collections in areas not hitherto expected to house them, and partly because more are found where archaeologists look for them. We now know that picture engraving was carried out in many areas of Japan (fig. 2), notably the regions of Nara-Ōsaka (Kinai 機内), Okayama (Kibi 吉備), the coast of Tottori and eastern Shimane Prefectures in San'in, and northern Kyūshū. Also western Shikoku (Ehime Prefecture) has given several pieces, and other areas are now acknowledged to hold find-spots (chapter 4). In contrast to this, the number of picture carrying bells has not increased since the find of the Kamo Iwakura (加茂岩倉) bell hoard in Shimane Prefecture in 1996 (4.3.3.).

[2] Fujita Saburō (藤田三郎), personal communication, 13th March 2007.

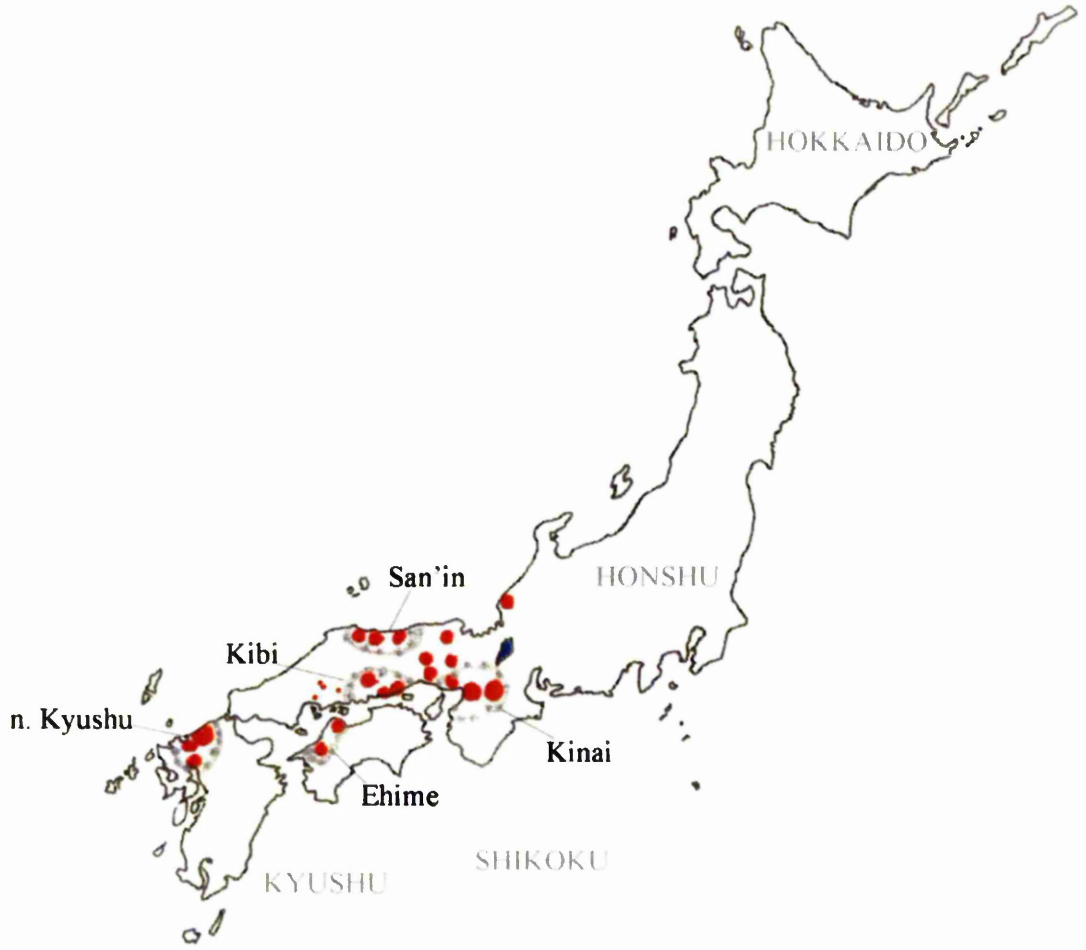

Figure 2: Areas of pictorially engraved pottery in the Japanese Archipelago.

(Map after Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 2006:6 (modified))

A number of tables are shown in this chapter to throw light on the statistics of motif distribution temporally and according to media. Much can be said about the differing appearance and this topic could easily take up an independent volume. I have kept the length of the discussion down in order not to exhaust the reader, but a certain minimum is necessary and crucial in order to give an outline of the shifting trends of the various motifs. It is thus important that the motifs of the raised floor house is almost absent on the bells, but has the second highest occurrence on the pottery.

1.2. Art and spiritual life in pre-sinological Yayoi Japan

Middle Yayoi is the last strictly prehistoric phase within the Japanese Archipelago. Bronze mirrors stemming from China and presumably transported via the Korean Peninsula are found from Middle Yayoi graves in northern Kyūshū, but there is no domestic artefact group, let alone iconography, that testifies to a close connection involving exchange of ideas between China and Kyūshū. Furthermore, in the Chinese historiography of the time frame corresponding to Middle Yayoi, no mentioning of any specific place in the Japanese Islands can be traced. In the Kinai area there are even less material traces of Chinese connections, and we may assume that any direct connection to China in Kinai was completely sporadic since it did not leave further impression on the culture there. Chinese commanderies in Lelang in northern Korea and Taifang in mid-west Korea were established in 108 BC, and initial contacts between northern Kyūshū and China, and eventually between Kinai and China, were maintained through these outposts. Still, essential to the distinction I make here, and by which I define and delimit my material, is the absence of direct influence from China in the records of iconography and ritual paraphernalia of the Kinai region. Thus, although originating in China, bronze bells produced in Japan in the Yayoi Period were not under influence from China. The appearance of the objects was moderated first during their use in the Korean Peninsula for several hundred years, and later during their filtration through western Japan and their established production in Kinai. On the other hand, when in Late Yayoi pictures of dragons appear on pottery vessels in the Kinai area, the Chinese influence had taken its start, even if the image may have been used in the beginning without recognition of its meaning in its donation area.

Traditionally, the bestowal of a golden seal to the Na-king in present day Fukuoka in AD 57 by the Chinese emperor (Tsunoda 1951a:2) is regarded as the beginning of Late Yayoi, and although I have put the date of AD 20 as the date of transition, the incident illustrates the changes it meant for the insular cultures to establish direct and gradually more regular connections with China. And just as we can view the seal of the Na-king as introducing Late Yayoi culture, we can view that given to Queen Himiko 200 years later, in AD 238, as terminating it (Tsunoda 1951b:14) (3.4.). In between these two incidents lies a social development in the Kinai area that incorporated the depiction of dragons and of signs (*kigō* 記号) on pottery, and which brought about the spread of these signs to a significantly larger area than that of the Middle Yayoi picture engravings; especially, they became widespread in Wakayama. The dragon constitutes one of the four symbols for the cardinal directions in

Chinese geomancy. The signs are, although partially derived from the naturalistic drawings of earlier phases, conceived by several archaeologists to have been the sprouts of a writing system, which, however, did not develop because of the introduction of the Chinese system (Arbousse-Bastide 2005:139). Ishino emphasises the fact that Kinai groups would have travelled to China or at least Lelang where they would have seen multistoried houses resembling the one engraved on a Karako Kagi pottery vessel (ID 74). He thus thinks that the leaders of the one hundred Late Yayoi countries mentioned in the Chinese Chronicles had secretaries who were able to write (Ishino 1996:129-130). Proponents of the theory thus conceive of a few scholars existing already by that time in the Kinai area, even if Late Yayoi society was still functionally illiterate. Chinese objects like mirrors and coins provided with characters stating the year of production started to be imported during Yayoi times. Still, there is no evidence of a writing system such as rows of signs on Late Yayoi vessels from Yayoi context to support a claim that literate personages existed in the social circles of the Late Yayoi leaders.

The engravings of Middle Yayoi still constituted a naturalistic iconography, although its degree of realism varied and changed during the phase, and it was still independent of Chinese influence.

1.3. Material

1.3.1. Assessment of material

The repertoire of Yayoi period images is one of animals, birds, insects, reptiles, humans and human constructions like buildings and boats. They are mainly to be found on the shoulders of jars (*tsubo* 壺), and on the sides of bronze bells (*dōtaku* 銅鐸). Also, in certain areas industries existed of clay plaques (*bundōkei doseihin* 分銅形土製品) engraved with human faces and bodies. A few cases exist of small figures near or at the tang of bronze swords (*dōken* 銅剣) and other exceptional finds have been made of bell-shaped clay objects (*dōtakukei doseihin* 銅鐸形土製品) engraved with pictures (IDs 555, 556, 558, 565; plate 35, 37.1, 37.2; IDs 139, 551). Apart from the two dimensional records we have records of three-dimensional figures of birds and humans carved in wood and shaped in clay.

Finds in waterlogged sites of wooden boards decorated with pictures hint that wood was originally widely employed for figural representation and may have made up a substantial

record, now lost through natural decomposition. This record may have included engraved pieces of bone and antler.

From phase II, production of bronze bells took place at large settlements in the Kinai area, and most bell pictures stem from this phase and phase III (1.3.3.-fig.6). At this time, pottery was only rarely engraved with pictures. By phase IV the situation was reversed; pottery engravings flourished, whereas picture holding bells from the heart area are absent. The few that we have are dislocated to the west.

Throughout phase IV most pottery pictures were carried out on jars with constricted necks (fig. 3), often with heights of 45-50 cm or more, and in some cases on jars with shorter necks but of equal dimensions. Pitchers of moderate size (typically 21-23 cm in height) were also used.

Figure 3: Jar, pitcher and bronze bell.

(Drawings: Lars Schødt Christensen)

In Late Yayoi there was an increased tendency to execute engravings on bowls and pedestals and on lids. The pedestal and the pedestalled bowl are typical for this phase. They originate in the wooden pedestalled bowl that we know from fortunate finds from waterlogged contexts that provide glimpses of the wealth of wooden implements that the Yayoi people produced for profane and ritual use. We have agricultural tools including wooden ladders for

raised floor storage houses; there are domestic utensils, among these long pestles and large-sized mortars and simple open bowls, and finally containers that may have been for either daily or special use – bowls on pedestals, deep bowls and round or square boxes with lids. Two of the most impressive records of wooden artefacts stem from Aoyakamijichi on the Japan Sea coast and Toro in Shizuoka City. The former is also outstanding for its collection of picture engraved wood.

The jar that is the typical vessel for pictorial engraving in phase IV has a constricted neck and a bulky body that appears globular since its widest diameter is located half way up the vessel body. The pitcher has a straight neck and slightly rounded lower body. Bronze bells with engravings have various appearances (1.3.3.-fig. 5).

The deer is the most dominant motif in the Yayoi Period, and is shared between bells and pottery, but generally on bells it is accompanied by other animals, reptiles or insects as well as by people who are hunting, fighting or threshing, whereas on pottery it is accompanied by houses, humans in attire, fish, or boats.

1.3.2. Chronology

The conventional chronology of the Yayoi Period was based on cross-dating, giving the following dates:

Early Yayoi 300-100 BC
Middle Yayoi 100 BC-AD 100
Late Yayoi AD 100-300

It has later been acknowledged that Late Yayoi ended ca. AD 250, and Middle Yayoi is thought to have ended at the latest by AD 56 when we hear about the Yayoi communities in the Chinese chronicles.

The absolute chronology has been heavily debated in later years, as natural scientific dating methods have been taken up recently and propose dates that are – particularly for the start of the Period (a topic not relevant for this work) – considerably earlier than the conventional dating. Especially the carbon 14 tests of soot sticking to pots at Yayoi settlements have given very early dates, but also dates with very broad deviation-margins. Thus, some samples taken at Karako Kagi give the dates:
775-500 BC for phase II-2 (wood from large house of exc. 74) with 86.9 % certainty, 165-30 BC for phase III-3 (burnt rice from exc. 22) with 86.1 % certainty and 195-45 BC for phase

IV-2 (pottery soot from exc. 13) with 95.5 % certainty (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education, 2004a:128-132). Most other dates of phase II samples concentrate in the 4th century BC (ibid:131), and held together with other carbon 14 results from western Japan the Karako Kagi dates have caused specialists at the National Museum of History in Sakura, Chiba to date Middle Yayoi from ca. 380 BC-ca. AD 20 (Fujio 2004:27) and divide it into sub phases as follows: II 380-280BC, III 280-125 BC, IV 125 BC-AD 20 (Yūsankaku publ. 2004, front page)

Dendrochronology is a more precise dating method, but so far, only few dates from the Kinai area exist, two from Hyōgō (Higashimuko 東武庫 and Mukoshō 武庫庄) that give the date 445 BC for Early Yayoi and 245 BC for Middle Yayoi (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture, 2003:10). Apart from that we have a date from some of the posts of a large building at Ikegami Sone, stemming from phase IV, giving the date 52 BC (Akiyama 1996:26; ibid 1999:39).

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation however to partake in the debate of the absolute chronology, and holding the dates given by the dendrochronology together with recent acknowledgements, I accept the dates suggested by the National Museum of History:

Initial Yayoi:		**1000 – 775 BC**
Early Yayoi	**(phase I):**	**775 – 380 BC**
Middle Yayoi	**(phases II:**	**380 – 280 BC**
	III:	**280 – 125 BC**
	IV):	**125 BC – AD 20**
Late Yayoi	**(phase(s) V (-VI):**	**AD 20 – 250**

(After Yūsankaku publ. 2004:front page)

These dates do not play any significant role in the thesis, however, as I have invested my efforts in distinguishing between phases II, III and IV of Middle Yayoi. Thus, throughout the thesis, I apply phase numbers rather than calendar years to the material and the phenomena that I discuss.

The chronology of bronze bells is based on typological studies based on their handle shapes (fig. 4), and this is still related to the typological studies of pottery phases, since they are only rarely found in any datable context.

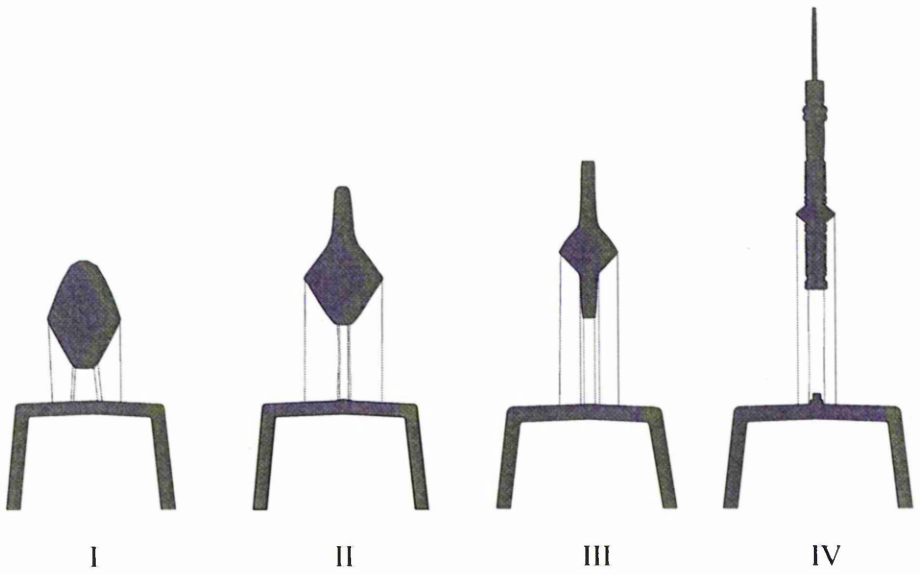

Figure 4: Handles of the four bell styles.

(Drawing: Lars Schødt Christensen)

The relation between bells and pottery phases is a piece of work that was initiated already in the late 19th century but was refined by Morimoto Rokuji (森本六爾) from 1929, and more recently by Sahara Makoto (佐原真). His chronology from 1996 relates the bells to the pottery phases according to the following scheme (table 1.1):

Table 1.1

Sahara's relative chronology of Yayoi period bronze bells

Bell style			Pottery Phase
Lozenge shaped handle (*Ryōkanchū shiki* 菱環鈕式)	I		I
Outer fringe handle (*Gaientsukichū shiki* 外縁付鈕式)	II	-1	II
		-2	
Flat handle (*Henpeichū shiki* 扁平鈕式)	III		III-IV
Relief line handle (*Tossenchū shiki* 突線鈕式)	IV	-1, 2	IV-V
		-3, 4, 5	V

(After Yasu Town Historical Museum 1998:2)

A slightly different relationship is suggested in the catalogue from Anjō Historical Museum from 2001 (table 1.2), which puts the major part of the bell pictures in a later temporal context than in Sahara's table. Particularly this means that style II bell pictures are here contemporary

with phase II *and III* pottery and the style III bell pictures are moved from phase III/IV to belonging only to phase IV. According to the new chronology, style IV-1 bells belong together with style III bells in pottery phase IV. During my research in which I have correlated the pictorial motifs with other material and features of the Nara Basin, I have repeatedly found patterns that accord with the new chronology.

Table 1.2

Relative chronology of bronze bells

(Anjō City Museum of History)

Bell Style			Pottery Phase
Lozenge shaped handle (*Ryōkanchū shiki* 菱環鈕式)	I		I
Outer fringe handle (*Gaientsukichū shiki* 外縁付鈕式)	II	-1	II-III
		-2	III
Flat handle (*Henpeichū shiki* 扁平鈕式)	III		IV
Relief line handle (*Tossenchū shiki* 突線鈕式)	IV	-1	
		-2, -3, -4, -5	V

Strictly speaking, picture representation on bronze bells never really prospered, since the approximately 10 % of bells that carry pictures constitute a total of 62 items.[3] Some of the bells of the most picture-abundant style, style II (in phases II and III), are even so called 'siblings', i.e. cast in the same mould. However, bells with images up to phase III outnumber contemporary pottery vessels with images. Two different traditions emerge during phase II, one of bells produced in Kinai representing a variety of figures centring on the deer and another on bells produced in northern Kyūshū (Fukuda style) consisting of a pair of large eye-openings and brows. The former develops and starts to transfer to the pottery vessels in phase III, whereas the eye-motif is taken over by the clay-plaques of the Kibi and San'in regions, as the Fukuda bell-style itself is abolished.[4]

Very few pieces of picture engraved pottery exist that can be dated safely to pottery phase I, and those of phase II also comprise a rather low number. Pieces from these early phases are

[3] To estimate the exact number of existing bronze bells and items with pictures is problematic, since a part of them are found as fragments (Sahara 2002:293). Harunari has estimated that the bronze bell group with pictures constituted a total of 62 items by 1998 (Harunari 1998:44).

[4] Some voices are raised that Fukuda bells actually belong in Late Yayoi (Morita 2004:198).

mainly from Kyūshū. Out of the 570 IDs registered in my database, only 171 are safely dated to a specific phase (4, 6, 11, 98, 52 items respectively for phases I-V), 34 are dated 'between' two phases (4, 22, 8 items respectively for phases II/III; III/IV; IV/V) = all together 205 pieces, whereas 50 are of unspecified Middle Yayoi phase. The latter 50 therefore cannot be included in estimating the phasal distribution of picture engraving of table 2. The remaining 315 ID-numbers are as yet undated since a number of excavation reports or accounts do not give exact information of the phase context of the picture engraved sherds.

From the 205 datable items, i.e. phase I, II, III, IV, V, VI (or sometimes III/IV, IV/V) or alternatively EY (I), eMY (II), mMY (III), lMY (IV), LY (V/VI), I have estimated the temporal distribution of the IDs by incorporating them into the pottery phases in the following way:

Phase I *(Phase I)*	= 4	= 2 %
Phase II *Phase II + ½ of (II-III)*	= 8	= 3.9 %
Phase III *(Phase III + ½ of (II-III) + ½ of (III-IV))*	= 24	= 12 %
Phase IV *(Phase IV + ½ of (III-IV) + ½ of (IV-V-))*	= 113	= 55.2 %
Phase V- *(Phase V- + ½ of (IV-V-))*	= 56	= 27.3 %
Total	205	100.3 %

Table 2 is an overview of these estimations related to the bell pictures according to Sahara and the Anjō Museum respectively.

The sharp phase divisions of the Anjō Museum between pottery styles III and IV makes a comfortable fit with my observations from the iconography over the transition of the depiction of humans, and a steep decrease at Karako Kagi of ritual depositions of animal bones. This division that places style III bells in phase IV furthermore accords with the increase in stylistic formality of the bells when the casting centres around the Ōsaka Plain started loosing their dominance – in phase IV – to the emergent centre of Karako Kagi. Style IV-1 bells, on the other hand, are backdated compared to Sahara's chronology, and this style belongs in phase IV together with style III.

Table 2

Bronze bells[5] and pottery carrying pictorial engravings

Bell Style	I-2	II-1	II-2	Fukuda	III	IV-1	IV-2	IV-3 Kinki	IV-3 San'en[6]
Harunari (1991)	1	11	10	7	4[7]	1		1	5
Kamo Iwakura Site (1998)			2		2 3				
Oksbjerg (2002)[8]		5	2			1			
Total	**1**	**16**	**14**	**7**	**6**	**5**		**1**	**5**
%	**1.8**	**29**	**25.5**	**12.7**	**11**	**9**		**1.8**	**9**

Pottery phase	*I*	*II*	*III – IV – V*	*V*
Vessels*	6	8	135	56
%	3	4	66	27

(Phase assessment after Sahara, Yasu Town Historical Museum 1998)

Pottery phase	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*
Vessels*	6	8	22	113	56
%	3	4	11	55	27

(Phase assessment after Anjō Historical Museum 2001)

* The 205 vessels used in this estimation comprise the items in my sample provided with phase dates.

[5] All sibling bells included.

[6] *San* and *en* are alternative readings of *mi* and *to* respectively, representing Mikawa (三河) and Tōtōmi (遠江), the provinces (Aichi and Shizuoka Prefectures) where these bells were produced.

[7] Five bells are included in Harunari's list, but the fifth, Uzumori, holds two wheelshaped figures.

[8] Style II-1 bells constitute Inomukai 1, Kamika 1 and its 4 sibling bells, T1988 (35), Kamika 2, Kōno, Tokyo Nat. Mus36667, Hyakueda-tsuki, Keino, Nakano-Midō = 13 items.
Regular style II-2 bells constitute Kehi 1, Kehi 2, Isoyama, Kehi 3, Kehi 4 and its 3 sibling bells, Tatsuuma 408, Onji-Kaitoyama, Iwakura 37, Enose = 12 items.
Fukuda style bells constitute Kamiashimori, Fukuda, Yasunagata 1, 2 (moulds), alleg. Izumo, Hoki, Akonoura = 7 items.
Style III bells constitute Kamika 4 and 5, Bunchō's bell, Kagawa bell, Iwakura 10 and 29 = 6 items.
Style IV-1 bells constitute Isonokami, Tatsuuma 406, Iwakura 18, 23, 35 = 5 items.
Style IV-3 bells constitute Akugaya (S), Shikichi (S), Kono (S) = 3 items.

1.3.3. Pictures on bronze bells

Three basic patterns appear on the body of bronze bells: horizontal band pattern (*ōtai-mon* 横帯紋), flowing water pattern (*ryūsui-mon* 流水紋) and crossed band pattern (*kesadasuki-mon* 袈裟襷紋) (fig. 5). Most pictorial figures are placed in relation to this pattern, although some figures are located on the handle or the lower 'blank' cuff, the only part of a bell that is not decorated with pattern.

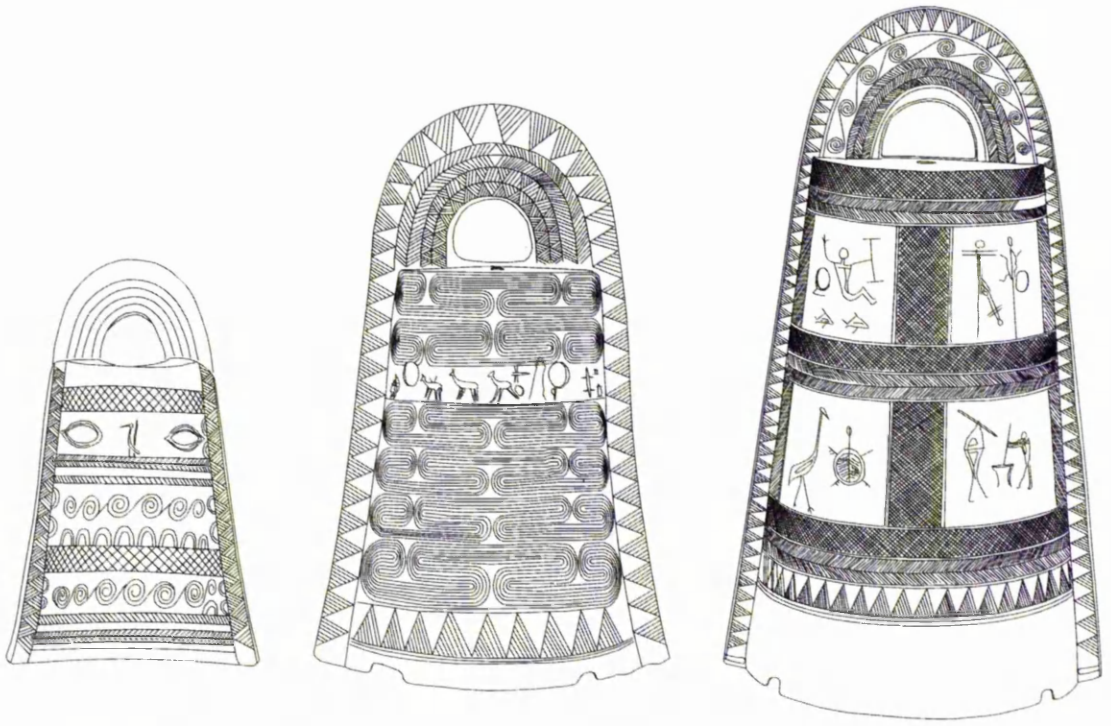

Figure 5: Locations of pictures on bells with horizontal bands, waterpattern and crossed band pattern.
(Drawings: Lars Schødt Christensen)

Only one type of horizontal bands patterned bells hold pictures: the Fukuda style bells produced in northern Kyūshū. Pictures on crossed band patterned bells appear in the rectangular panels between the bands, whereas the water pattern covers most of the surface of a bell, and engraved figures are arranged next to each other in a row on the strip of vacant space between the upper and lower sets of flows.

The earliest image carrying bells have not been found in the Kinai area, and bell production, like pictorial engraving, became related to the Kinai area only from the start of Middle Yayoi by phase II. The Inomukai 2 and the Jūrokuchō bells from Fukui and Gifu Prefectures respectively, both style I-2 from late Early Yayoi, are the earliest bells carrying pictures (plates 1; 2). They carry crossed band pattern with images. Inomukai 2 shows a dragonfly, a deer, a longnecked bird and a frog, a person threshing, a turtle, a pillared building and a mantis. The Jūrokuchō bell shows a deer and probably a mantis. It is interesting to note that these pioneer picture decorated items both carry crossed band pattern – at that time the only alternative to horizontal bands – whereas most style II bells – with or without pictures – are with water pattern. This shift happened as production of bells and pictures on them were transferred to the Kinai region where water pattern in different variations had been upheld since the Jōmon Period. However, by style III bells in later Middle Yayoi the water pattern was accompanied by the 'older' crossed bands pattern, pictures switched back to bells with this pattern, and finally in phase V with style IV-2 bells onwards the water pattern was abolished, and we only see bells with strictly formalised crossed bands pattern.

A slightly later bell from Inomukai also exists (Inomukai 1 of style II-1, plates 3.1; 3.2) which carries a unique and seemingly completely disorganised multitude of figures resembling the style normally employed on cuffs, handles and fins. It is the only bell on which boats are depicted; three boats, two of them with visible oars and one person in each at their rear. This motif was not to turn up again on bells, but appeared on the pottery from phase III onwards.

Furthermore, Inomukai 1 has motifs engraved in between the patterns encircling the picture field, and it carries others on its handle, top, fins and lower cuff. Represented on this item are deer, a long- and a shortnecked bird, dragonflies, turtles, frogs, waterbugs, newts and a snake as well as a variety of animal bodies or parts of these with one to four legs; all together with a bow, a pillared house, the boats mentioned above and humans. One motif consists of two people holding sticks apparently in a fight, another a person with an object in a raised arm, perhaps a bow (Harunari 2003:65-66).

Both of the Inomukai bells show a raised floor house, a motif which is afterwards absent until it reappears in late Middle Yayoi on a style III bell (the Kagawa bell, plate 9.8). Both Inomukai bells are the largest of their kind (ibid:64), perhaps indicating that rich communities existed in the area; however, the location(s) of their production is not known.

In contrast to this, a tradition was then started in the Kinai area of waterpatterned bells with panoramas of deer and other creatures including humans in a narrow belt between two

sections of flowing water that cover most of the surface of the bell. Bronze bell casting had taken place in the vicinity of Inomukai at Mikunichō Shimoya; the idea of applying images to bells now reached Kinai together with skills of bronze bell casting by the communication route along the eastern shore of Lake Biwa (4.3.1.-fig. 33).

At the Kaide site in Kyōto, a mould has been found that may have been of style I-2, and this place was one of the first in Kinai to take up bronze bell production, followed by Higashinara that was the leading settlement on the Santō Plain in the Yayoi Period (fig. 6). The plain is situated between the Ōsaka Bay and the Kyōto Basin. Three rivers supplied Higashinara and other sites in the area with water. The number of sites as well as the size of the sites increased from Middle Yayoi. Higashinara became one of the main centres in the new area for bell casting. In the earlier parts of Middle Yayoi at a time when Karako Kagi had not accelerated this industry, substantial evidence of casting at the place has been found here in the shape of fragments or larger parts of stone moulds for bells engraved with water pattern, and for halberds. The site that was the only place where halberds were cast (a Middle Yayoi phenomenon) played a major part in the development of the Kinai area.

Other casting locations are Kusu Arata (楠荒田) at the western edge of the Kōbe Plain, Kaide (鶏冠井) in the Kyōto Basin, Kamei (亀井) and Kitoragawa (鬼虎川) on the Kawachi Plain and from phase III Karako Kagi in the Nara Basin. These casting sites existed with regular distances between them of approximately 25 km except from the two sites in Kawachi that are located with only half this distance. At Kusu Arata, Kitoragawa, Kamei and Kaide, only stone moulds have been recovered, so apparently these places withdrew from production or fell behind in development when Higashinara and Karako Kagi took up casting by clay moulds. So, while Karako Kagi and the basin did not take part in bell production in phase II, apparently the basin constituted Higashinara's only competitor in terms of the newest products in phase IV.

In phase V, another casting centre arose at Niizawa in the southern part of the Nara Basin.

On the style II Kinai bells, the engraved figures are arranged next to each other in a row between the upper and lower sections of water flow, as seen on Kamika 1 and its four siblings (plates 4.1 – 4.7). These compositions are sequences of animals and people presented as friezes. Some of the bells however, have maintained the motif-scattering seen on Inomukai 1, as there are also some small animals between the teeth of the sawtooth pattern on the outer edge of Tomari, the latest sibling of Kamika 1, added when the sawtooth pattern of the handle had to be refreshed at the inside the mould (plate 4.2) (ibid:64).

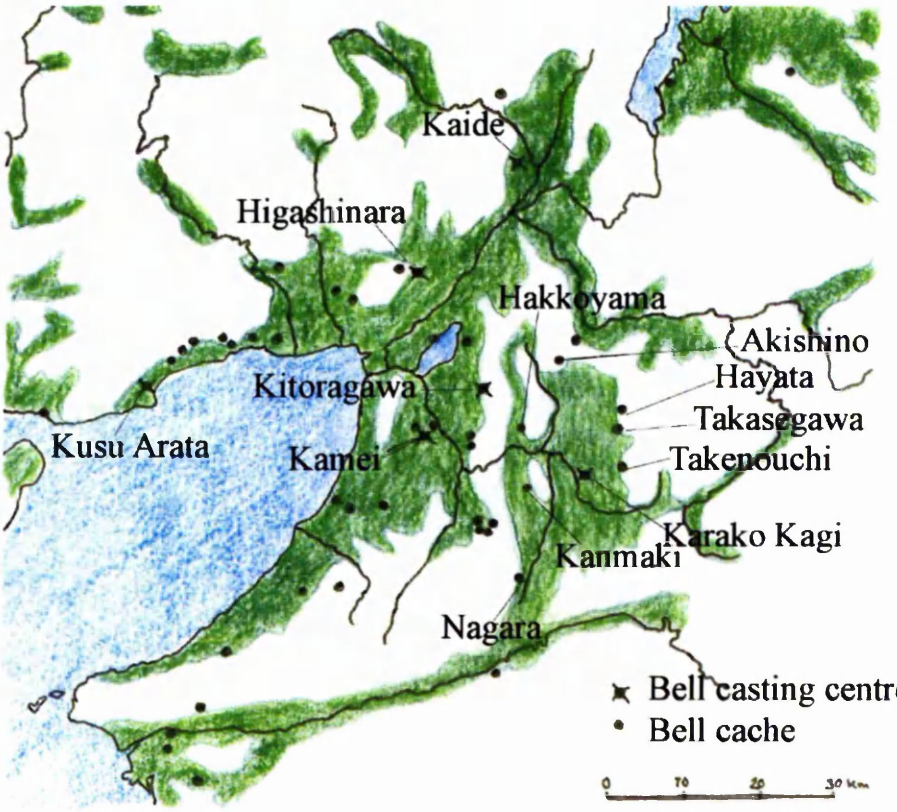

Figure 6: The Kinai area with indications of Middle Yayoi bronze bell casting centres and bronze bell deposits.
green: lowland

(Map after Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1997:44, modified)

The five style II-1 sibling bells show groups of deer together with hunters with bows and a person holding the antlers of a deer. It also shows the motif of two people in a fight with sticks, one of them with a shield in his other hand, (the shield, however, is drawn similarly to a bow). And now *two* people are threshing. Then there is the dragonfly, the newt, the turtle and the frog, and as unique motifs belonging to these five bells there is a crab and a four-legged animal with very long legs and hanging upside-down from the upper edge of the friese – the latter perhaps being a monkey (comment, Seyock, 20th March 2009). Other prints from the same phase are of deer only (plates 5.1 – 5.3). Characteristic for rows of deer – later also on pottery – is that they usually all head the same way. In one example (the Kamika 2/Kōno twins, plate 5.1; 5.2) the two sides of the bell are mirrored and the deer on both sides are heading towards the same rim. Thus, also part of the pictorial record was changed by the dislocation from Fukui/Gifu to Kinai; the role of the deer had become unmistakable, and the house and the boat were not included in the Kinai bell tradition.

A few bronze halberds excavated in the Seto area carry pictures that relate to the bell pictures. Contrary to most weapons, these Ōsaka Bay halberds carry pattern, a pattern that resembles that on bells [9] and although they are rare, pictures have been found on bronze weapons. One early example is a phase II sword that holds pictures of deer, a mantis, a heron and a frog (plate 35) (Sahara and Harunari 1995:228), in a simple style resembling that seen in the earliest known bell pictures on Inomukai 2 and that used for the five style II sibling bells in the subsequent phase. The Ōsaka Bay halberds appeared in Middle Yayoi, and are ritualised in shape with only an indication of a tang.[10]

Pictures on some style II-1 bells are in hollowed out relief (the five siblings, plate 4.7), whereas for others (Kōno) and generally from style II-2 onwards, only their outlines protrude from the surface of the bell wall: The new depiction may mark the transition to pottery phase III, during which the remainders of style II bells are produced. As of style II-2, pictures start to appear on crossed bands patterned bells again (plates 6; 7), and there is usually only one motif inside each panel, thus the bell body holds much fewer motifs than was the case for II-1 bells. At times, however, the lower cuff is used for panoramic rows of animals, since it offers the space for these that cannot be obtained on the bell body. Here, however, the animals are represented in a much more sketchy style than they are inside panels (plate 7.2).

The bell style called Fukuda[11] is normally categorised as style II-2, and these bells constitute the only group that carries horizontal bands. They carry one or both of two motifs: the longnecked bird and a pair of empty eye-sockets (plates 8.1 – 8.3).

In phase IV there are fewer Kinai style pictorial bells, and it is problematic to assess the casting area of those existing, since they are allegedly all found closer to the most western casting place in Kōbe, but are cast in clay moulds which have not been recovered from this place. These items are conspicuous because of the unique richness they possess of pictorial motif combination and the way these motifs seem to 'refer' to each other. None of them are sibling bells, they are clay mould products, and their pictures are executed individually for each bell. In spite of this there is a high degree of repetitiveness of motifs within the group combined with some degree of fixedness in location of the individual motives. They all carry crossed bands pattern and hold within their panels various motifs related to nature and human subsistence (plates 9.1 – 9.8). They occupy an intermediate position in the iconographic shift with their representation of reptiles and insects – which are void on the pottery – together with

[9] In both Hyōgo, Kagawa and Okayama there are swords and sword-shaped ritual objects with pattern.
[10] Also this type of weapon was, like most bronze weapons in later phases of the Yayoi Period, much too thin-bladed compared to its width to be efficient for actual use.
[11] Named after the find location (*Fukuda* 福田) of one of these bells in Hiroshima Prefecture.

several representations of humans on each bell – a phenomenon generally belonging to the pottery.

The pictures on bells with crossed bands pattern seem less 'crowded' than the ones on the water patterned bells, but they are also less dynamic, since the connection between single figures and small scenes are interrupted by the patterned bands. So, late Middle Yayoi represents a high degree of order in picture and pattern composition, which we see developed to the extreme by Late Yayoi, when pictures are no longer accepted on the bells. There are only five of these bells. Four of them are Kamika 5, Kamika 4, Bunchō's bell and the Kagawa bell,[12] and here whole series of pictures are depicted, partly of insects and small animals like dragonflies and spiders, turtles, snakes and frogs, and partly of humans preoccupied with acts of hunting, fishing and threshing. Together, the four bells that hold 34 panels with scenes represent the peak of organizing and ordering in the field of pictorial engraving (1.5.2.).

There is an overall continuity in the range of pictures over time, although some motifs have been added: the fish, the 'fisher', i.e. the man with a stick, and the snake. The restrictions of motif location, caused by the crossed bands, however, is more thorough, and even if the major part of the motifs are the same as in earlier phases, on style III bells they have come to split into many individual scenes. The two different ways of depicting deer on style II bells, in a hunting scene or as several animals in a row, are here adopted into two different locations of the bell-sides, i.e. the former way belongs in specifically located panels (plate 9.8) whereas the latter has been relegated to the bottom cuff (plate 10).

The only other type of picture engraved style III bell is the one found on four bells in the large Kamo Iwakura hoard in Shimane Prefecture. They carry human faces, dragonflies, a turtle and deer; all very different from the Kinai style[13] (plates 11.1 – 14). Only exceptionally do we see style III bells with water pattern.

The pictures on style II bells (early to mid Middle Yayoi) are still of a rather 'simple' style compared to those of style III bells (late Middle Yayoi), because of their composition. Rows of deer are on some of these bells the only pictures, or the panoramas present themselves like a mixture of creatures.

During Late Yayoi and bells from style IV-2 onwards, pictures disappear on the bells made in the Kinai region – Kinki style bells – but are seen in a few cases on bells produced in a new

[12] These bells have been known for long, thus their provenance is unknown. Bunchō's Bell is so called, because it once belonged to the artist Tani Bunchō (谷文晁) (1783-1840), who allegedly is responsible for its loss of two panels, and the Kagawa Bell is thought to have been found in Kagawa Prefecture during the Tokugawa Period (1600-1868).

[13] Three of these however, are termed transitional style III-2/IV-1 (Sahara 1998:28-29).

and alternative production place east of Kinai, in an area shared by present day's Shizuoka and Aichi Prefectures – San'en style bells. The images here are highly formalised, and the number of motifs employed for each bell has decreased to one or a few (plates 16 – 17), and finally bell pictures disappear also in the San'en area from bell style IV-4.

The pictures on cuffs and handles on bells from style III onwards are livelier than those inside panels (plate 15). Also a few style IV bells carry a frieze on their bottom cuffs in spite of the 'stiff' appearance of this bell style. Here, the 'dynamics' between the depicted figures, the deer, longnecked bird, boars and fish are freer. The living creatures are of varying sizes and are placed in various positions, reminiscent of the panoramas seen on style II bells with flowing water pattern. Stylistically, the animals on the lower cuffs differ from the ones in the panels of contemporary – or even the same – bells during styles III and IV. These animals seem to have been drawn in a more sketch-like manner, occasionally with upside-down depictions of some animals, perhaps as reminiscences of the frieze animals of the floating water patterned bells. Motifs on lower cuffs always consist of animals and insects (plates 5.4 – 5.5, 7.2, 10). Here we see no humans, boats or buildings.

As mentioned, pictures on bells from Late Yayoi, those of styles IV-2 – 5, are found only on San'en bells. Bells produced in Kinai, called Kinki bells, have no pictures, only highly formalised patterns. At this time, the great Middle Yayoi production centre of Higashinara was not engaged in bell casting any more. Only three locations have given evidence of production from this phase. Another location in the Nara Basin, Niizawa (新沢) in the south-western corridor (close to Uenoyama and Kazu (fig. 38, back of volume)) accompanied Karako Kagi, and Shimogatsuka (下ヶ塚) in Shiga east of Lake Biwa's southern part also took part in the casting (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1997:57).

Repairing of holes has sometimes been executed by covering the hole in the bell wall from the inside pouring on a new portion of molten bronze. Before this was done, in some cases small holes were drilled along the edge of the hole in order to join the additional bronze with the existing bronze wall. The missing pattern was then added with an engraving chisel. Printing failures are also seen, i.e. the bronze material is unbroken but too thin, and the pattern and figures of the mould have failed to get copied onto the bell. In such cases as well, the patterns were engraved with a chisel. However, whereas the repairs of the patterns were carried out scrupulously, figures that had become unclear or missing during the casting were not repaired (Yasu Town Historical Museum 1998:7; Sahara and Harunari 1995:28, 171).

1.3.4. Pictures on pottery

Images on bells are first and foremost depictions of animals in the shape of deer and various species of reptiles and insects. The latter are almost absent in pottery pictures. Turtles 'survive' the transition of figural depiction to pottery; they are represented by a few examples, but are outnumbered by fish. Birds are still in the record, but also here their role is inferior to deer (that tops the list of motifs with 45.5 % (table 4.2.1.)). Pictures on pottery are related to the cultural sphere in spite of the presence of deer, birds and fish and show selected aspects of human life. We still see the deer with an arrow in its back, but as the phases progress, particularly in phase IV, deer and birds are seen in combination with houses, next to or on top of them, and fish are seen together with deer and houses instead of as the prey of birds. The houses themselves are all raised floor houses – a few have been termed towers because of their multiple stores or extra tall pillars and long ladders – whereas the pithouse, which was the dwelling type at the time, is not depicted at all. Boats that have not been depicted on bells of style II, appear on the pottery of style III at the time when the trend of picture production enters the Nara Basin, i.e. when style II bells were still produced, and although the number of boats is not large, their execution style is fixed: a long tall horizontal figure with oars sticking out perpendicularly in both directions. And humans are depicted for very different aspects than hunting and threshing (although a few examples of the former and one of the latter exist). They are now shown as religious practitioners with their arms raised, some in military gear, some in bird costume, some without any of these attires, but almost all are provided with a feathered headgear in the shape of one or several curved strokes.

Birds are present on pottery in a moderate number, but most of them seem to be of various species different from herons and some appear quite similar to the wooden bird figures found on some settlement sites (IDs 66, 74, plates 30, 31) although some are longnecked and could be heron (IDs 85, 95) (1.5.2.).

The most frequent position for pictures on pottery is on the shoulder of jars with constricted necks which are usually thought of as liquid or food containers. On the shoulder, the engravings would be most visible. Some images are placed on the neck itself, however, and in rarer cases do we find pictures on the lower part of the jar-body or close to the rim, which would have made them much more difficult to observe. On even rarer occasions the motifs are placed upside-down or inside the rim (IDs 31, 91, 547).

Many of the jars that were used for engraving were 40-50 cm tall – such jars are typical for Karako Kagi – as would have been suitable for a container vessel used in the daily life of a settlement, while both larger and smaller items are seen. Pitchers, 25-30 cm, have been chosen for picture engraving in some cases, a choice related to specific sites – Shimizukaze holds a number of these. In some areas, different types of vessels were sometimes used for engraving – sites north and west of the Nara Basin hold bowls with engravings, and the Hiroshima-Okayama region pedestalled vessels.

The earliest naturalistic pictorial engravings on pottery were made at the transition between Early and Middle Yayoi in northern Kyūshū where a picture of two deer was engraved on a burial urn (*kamekan* 甕棺) at the cemetery of Yoshitake Takagi (吉武高木) (ID 138). The bulk of them, however, have been found in the Kinai area, a very large part of these in the Nara Basin, and they are substantially concentrated at one single location, namely the Karako Kagi Site in the centre of the basin. Based on the fact that only 11 % of this site has as yet been excavated and also many other lowland sites inside the basin are only fragmentarily investigated (because of the region's dense inhabitation and exploitation as farm land), we can expect a far higher number than the approximately 1000 presently recognised pieces to turn up in the future.

Earlier than the deer pictures in Kyūshū are the 'fishing hooks' from late Early Yayoi (ID 177), and these continue to be produced in pottery phase II – which phase together with phase III has left us 37 (or more) picture engraved bronze bells – now as 'pictures' rather than patterns (ID114), a motif that is not found in other regions, but whose stereotypical nature resembles that of the abstract signs appearing much later in Kinai. Two naturalistic depictions also exist from Fukuoka Prefecture, one representing two deer and a human (ID 221) and one with a row of pillared buildings (ID 228), both on burial urns and both executed as 'stick figures'. Figural engraving in northern Kyūshū was carried into phase III and later, transferred to domestic pottery vessels (chapter 4).

Also from phase III however, we have a panoramic representation from Inayoshi Sumita (ID 161) in Tottori Prefecture on the Japan Sea Side. The 'stick' style from northern Kyūshū recurs on a piece from Ōsaka (ID 215), and other pieces have turned up at Uryūdo and Nishinotsuji sites also in Ōsaka of deer drawn in a crude, undetailed style (IDs 147, 149, 552). Here, the lattice pattern that fills out the bodies of deer appears. Also in the Nara Basin, neighbour to the bell casting centres to its north and west, figures now started to appear on pottery in phase III, with depictions of deer, buildings and boats executed in a way that

resembled the contemporary stick figures on pottery from other regions more than it resembled the pictures on bronze bells. Thus, typically style III pottery images from the Nara Basin are drawn in a squarish style with straight lines (IDs 11, 78, 90), or deer have straight backs and curved wombs (IDs 9, 179, 225) and do not yet tie in to the Kinai tradition of bell pictures.

By the start of phase IV, however, pottery pictures definitely related to the bell pictures, the execution style had changed into softer curves (IDs 5, 61, 118, 142) and some of the motifs had been adopted from the bells and onto the pottery, so the range of pottery pictures was now wider, although not as wide as that on the bells. We now see a certain degree of influence from the bell producing centres perhaps on the initiative of the pottery picture producers inside the basin. But also, the house-motif became prevalent (IDs 65, 66, 74, 99, 107, 115). The naturalistic tradition flourished in phase IV, but waned with the turn of phase V (IDs 6, 91, 102, 113, 124) during which phase abstraction took over (IDs 92, 232).

In contrast to the bronze bells, the picture holding pottery does not carry pattern that enframes the motifs. Some jars of style III with bands of combpattern, and some stands and pedestalled vessels with bands of sawtooth and herringbone patterns have had pictures added on top of the pattern, but these are exceptions. Consequently, pottery images appear to have been placed more freely on the walls of the vessels. The only element on the pottery that may remind us of the framing of pictures on the bell walls is the horizontal line consisting of parallel oblique nail imprints that is placed just above the pictures or at the narrowest location of the vessel neck. The absence of any other pattern to delimit motif space on the vessels also means that there is no obvious end to rows of figures if they extend all the way around the shoulder or neck of a jar.

There is pattern within the compositions however. Bodies of deer and roofs of houses are often lattice patterned; a pattern that recurs inside the bands of the cross band patterned bells, or sometimes parallel line patterned, which pattern fills the hatches of the sawtooth pattern on bells. The parallel lined sawtooth pattern itself is also seen on the pottery, on stands and pedestals as decorative bands reaching all the way round, but on jars often sporadically distributed as a few juxtaposed but mutually detached triangles, interrupted by pictures of deer, or as an individual delimited pyramidal figure containing a number of triangles. The herringbone pattern that we see in the feather on the head of a few humans, and also as a seemingly abstract individual motif on the pottery, also recurs on the bells as the outermost pattern that holds everything else stretching all the way round from one fin to the other including the handle. The patterns – that had existed in the archipelago since the Jōmon

period (4.4.) – are seen on figures on pottery already from phase III, reflecting a beginning interest on the part of the pottery picture producers to imitate and seize the symbols used by the bell producers.

It is impossible to assess the degree to which motifs were used in combination on pottery due to its fragmented state. However, some complete or whole vessels have been recovered with only one motif on them, large or small, and some with a pair of the same motif, typically deer. Deer and fish are sometimes seen together on pottery (IDs 5, 485) but not on bells, if we think of individual panels, cuffs and handles as separate pictures. Deer are still sometimes shown with an arrow sticking up from their backs (IDs 126, 485, 504), but the accompanying hunter with a bow appears rarely on pottery (ID 560), and neither does the person who holds the deer's antler (ID 234) – but interestingly enough, the former is found again at the very end of the Yayoi Period (ID 548). In contrast, people on pottery are shown carrying halberd and shield (seen only on one bell, plate 15) or wearing bird's attire (not on bells). The picture of people with halberds and shields on the handle of the Isonokami bell is a hybrid between the two people fighting with sticks on style II bells and the single individuals with weapons on the pottery.

The relatively frequent combination of the deer immediately next to humans that we observed on the bells is thus rarer on the pottery (IDs 145, 234). Here, the deer is placed next to raised floor houses instead, particularly in phase IV (IDs 99, 118, 123, 480 and also the case on both 145 and 234). Furthermore, the pillared house itself, which only figured absolutely sporadically on the bells, appears frequently on pottery. A few valuable examples exist, mostly from the Nara Basin, of whole panoramas in a horizontal band all the way around the neck or shoulder of a vessel, from finds of many or all sherds from a vessel. However, incomplete finds are the rule, and we must assume that many more 'full-length' panoramas were produced than is represented in relative numbers in the archaeological record of today. Within these panoramas are depicted deer, pillared houses, people, boats, birds and fish. When more deer are depicted in the same picture, which is often the case, they usually all head the same way (IDs 5, 9, 75, 78, 108, 109, 132, 143, 145, 166, 185, 221, 234, 314) as on the bells; there are only few exceptions to this rule (IDs 127, 138). There seems to be a tendency of the deer heading away from the building when they are placed together (Fujita). (At Karako Kagi, the general rule seems to be that two deer are placed together (Fujita 1994a:35)), but this is not a consistent pattern (chapter 4). Another connection between houses and deer is that of lattice pattern that often fills the outline of the deer as well as of the house-roof.

Turtles are shown from above giving the view of their legs on both sides (ID 102), and some boats are depicted in the same way, also making the oars of both sides visible (IDs 11, 68, 106), but some are seen from the side (IDs 75, 100, 120) like the houses, deer, birds and fish, and a few are shown with mixed perspective (multi viewpoint, ID 117). Animals on pottery as on bells are shown in profile, whereas humans are depicted en face with their legs and bodies outlined, offering the full view of their raised arms with wings or weapons.
34 individual depictions of one or more humans appear on pottery in the sample for the thesis, as rowers in boats and as individual motifs. Some have eyes, nostrils and/or mouth (IDs 1, 7, 10, 15, 69, 96, 106, 121, 139), others none of these (IDs 41, 49, 58, 84, 95, 100, 111, 128, 140, 144, 145, 153, 170, 174, 215, 221, 234, 237, 239, 240, 485, 493, 533, 535, 548, 549.) One has clearly natural human facial features, but bird wings (ID 1). Four have bird resembling features (IDs 1, 111, 234, 170, 493), i.e. long neck and/or a beak instead of a human head and objects attached to their arms appearing like wings. Taken together, humans relating to birds including individuals with only a feather protruding from their heads comprise 11 individuals. Only one individual carrying shield and weapon is shown with facial features (ID 139).

On the Shimizukaze frieze the large man, holding the halberd in his right hand, is depicted in half-profile, walking towards his left, etc. (ID 485). Both men stand with their feet far apart and in a moving position. They hold the grip of the halberd in the right hand, the halberd pointing away from themselves, while the left hand raises the shield (Fukasawa 1998:48-49).

At the transition to phase V and Late Yayoi the naturalistic images on pottery started to yield in favour of 'dragons' – a leg-less creature consisting of whirls with a head at one end – and abstract signs, partly consisting of remains of the late Middle Yayoi pottery picture record, represented in a derived form. In contrast to the naturalistic images these motifs were mostly engraved on jars with long necks, the dragons on their shoulders, the signs on their necks.

In Chinese history the dragon was associated with rain and successful harvests,[14] but it became a figure related to imperial power. Also in Late Yayoi Japan, the dragon became an important symbol owing to influence from China, whereas the symbolic value of other

[14] The original symbolic value of the dragon stems from the belief that the dragon lived in deep water, and therefore protected the water resources necessary for the fields (Sahara and Harunari 1995:92). But also, the dragon is a creature that transcends the elements; it flies, swims and disappears into the ground (Wang Tao, SOAS 18th October 2004). It was prominent already in the Hongshan Culture (4700 – 2920 BC), but was also common in the preceding overlapping Yangshao Culture (5000 – 3000 BC) (Xiaoneng 1999:83-84). The motif was introduced to the archipelago during the 1st century BC on the back of imported Chinese TLV mirrors, where it was depicted together with the tiger, the phoenix, and the pair made up by the snake and the turtle, which four motifs symbolise the four directions in Chinese mythology. Only the dragon however, is seen depicted in the pottery record of Late Yayoi (Sahara and Harunari 1995:92).

animals, depicted during Middle Yayoi, had decreased and had turned into – symbolic reminiscences.

At the time of dissolving of the naturalistic pottery pictures, they were simply abandoned on bells, except from the dislocated San'en bells. Starting with the earliest style IV bells (style IV-1) which constitute the last bells of phase IV, pictures became more and more isolated with composition of motifs, which trend ended in the stiff motifs on the San'en bells of style IV-3 (plates 16 – 17). But even if the few pictures inside panels of Late Yayoi bells are depicted clearly and orderly without any kind of interaction between creatures, we have rows of deer and other animals on the cuffs that are exactly as sketchy and free styled as those on the cuffs on earlier bells, e.g. the early Middle Yayoi sibling bells. The spaces below or outside the pattern frame thus seem to have been open for or even meant for a much more disorganized and chaotic pictorial representation than the space confined by the pattern. Here, we see sketchy and randomly spaced animals, even sometimes upside-down (plates 7.2, 10).

Whereas the pattern on bells kept the iconography 'in order' within its frames, it is usually the pictures that hold the pattern on pottery, or – if pattern exists individually on the pottery – this is freely interrupted or overdrawn by the pictures (ID 132). This indicates that whereas the pattern dominates the pictures on bells – and this effect increased at the shift from style II to style III bells, it comes to be a subordinate aspect of the pottery compared to the pictures that here determines its place. As we shall see (3.5.3.) the former reflects a deliberate wish from the leaders of the emerging regional centre of Karako Kagi, whereas the latter may reflect a similarly deliberate wish on the part of the pottery engravers.

As is the case for bells (1.3.3.), also on pottery we see cases of erasure of pictures, sometimes left as that, and sometimes overdrawn with new motifs (IDs 75, 95, 174).

1.3.5. Limitations of material

This thesis treats almost only pictures that appear naturalistic or approximately so. Undoubtedly, abstract drawings, symbols and even patterns are loaded with meanings as well, but they appear to such a large extent both before and after the era of naturalistic depiction in Middle Yayoi and in so many different contexts that attempts to explain them would weaken my pursuit of the meaning of pictures and make my focus float. The triangles have been interpreted by Fujita to be symbols of the house, and the feather I see as a symbol of the feathered human. As for the lattice pattern, the parallel line pattern and the spiral, which were all inherited from the Jōmon Period, these have been treated and interpreted by Nelly

Naumann (4.4.), but this thesis does not try to solve the question of how much of their original meanings were maintained in the Yayoi Period pictures. I am convinced that the meanings of all these abstractions are too many-fold to be identified and explained within the prescribed limit of this volume.

Thus, patterns of both bells and pottery do not constitute parts of the material under scrutiny here unless their direct connection to the pictures can be made plausible and the same can be said about the X-marks that some bronze bells have been equipped with, added with a sharp instrument after the casting, and circulars signs on other bells, included in the casting. Signs are also excluded though many of them derive from the pictures for the reasons that they are abstract and that they belong in phase V.

A few picture holding bells and part of the pottery picture record have escaped my attention and table 3 because of restricted access to some collections. Inconspicuous items stemming from these collections are thus not included in the table, because photos of these pieces are unlikely to be published.

I have included all fully visible or distinguishable motifs that I have observed in museum storages and exhibitions or observed in published material. Pottery motifs that have been erased upon their making and substituted by other drawings are touched on in the text but not included in the statistics. Bell-motifs that have disappeared or whose nature has been completely obscured due to casting failure or neglect of mould maintenance in cases of multiple casting are not included. Imperfect motifs have been included if their nature is obvious. Many motifs are unclear because of fragmentation.

1.4. Motif distribution

Of the 205 vessels that can be dated, 61 are either with patterns or abstract pictures or the motifs are unidentifiable because of fragmentation, and the foundation for assessing a temporal *motif* distribution for pottery thus consists of a narrower part of my sample than that for the overall temporal distribution. The numbers appearing in table 3's pottery phase columns showing motifs as they appear in various phases of the Yayoi period are counted from the remaining 144 vessels that can both be dated and which hold identifiable motifs. In the bell columns, I have likewise listed numbers of motifs on the 41 bells whose pictures I have had the opportunity to observe. Most bells and several pottery vessels hold more than one motif, and each occurring motif has been counted in order to demonstrate the relative

Table 3

Temporal distribution of motifs on bronze bells[15] and pottery

Media / Motif	Style I bells	Style II bells			Style III bells	Style IV bells		*Phase I pottery*	*Phase II pottery*	*Phase III pottery*	***Phase IV pottery***	*Phase V-V+ pottery*
		II-1	II-2 R	II-2 F°°		IV-1	IV-3					
Deer	2	54	58	1	21	18	1		2 2	10 7	59 5	10
4-legg.animal		25	3		5	6						1
House	1	1			1				5	4 4	32 3	1
Human (1)		25										
Humans (2)		10										
Human only									1	1	4	
Hunter		10			2							4
Hum.hold.antler		4			3							
Person threshing	1	4			2							
2 pers. fighting		4				1						
3 pers. Fighting					1							
Hum. w feather									1	3		1
Warrior										1	5	
Hum raised arms									1		3	1
Hum. W stick					4							
'Birdperson'										1	2	1
'Fishperson'											1	1
Dragonfly	1	21	1		5	4						
Turtle	1	9			6						3 1	
Turtle?		1	1									
Frog	1	6			2							
Newt/lizard		6			4							
Pair of eyes				5								
Crab		4										
Boat		3							1	1	2	2
Halberd										1		
Bird		2									2 2	4
Bird w long neck	1	1	2	5	5	1	9				4	
Snake		1			1							
Waterbug		2										
Boar			12		1				1			
Mantis	2	2			5							
Fish		3	9		7				1	1	1 15	
Spider					4							
Sun										1		
Tree										1		
I-shaped obj.		1										
Stick					1							
Fishing hook				2					3			
Face*					1						1	3
Dragon												10

* faces on clay plaques excluded

°° R = regular, F = Fukuda

[15] Based on visible pictures on accessible artefacts and material

importance of the various motifs in various phases. The total number of motifs appearing in the table is thus higher than the number of bells and pottery vessels.

The total number of motifs on bells is lower than that for pottery, but they can all be dated to phases, and the multitude of motifs on bells have to be arranged into a rough statistic to show the distribution pattern. From table 4.1 we can see that the deer is the most consistent of

Table 4.1

Relative temporal and total distribution of bell motifs

Bell Style / Motif	I	II-1	%	II-2	%	III	%	IV-1	IV-3	Total	%
Deer	2	54	27	59	60	21	26	18	1	155	36
4-legged animal		25		3		5		6		39	9
House	1	1				1				3	½
Human (1)		25								25	6
Human (2)		10								10	2
Hunter		10				2				12	3
Hum. Hold. Ant		4				3				7	2
People threshing	1	4				2				7	2
2 People fighting		4						1		5	1
3 people fighting						1				1	½
Hum. w stick						4				4	½
Dragonfly	1	21		1		5		4		32	7
Turtle	1	9				6				16	4
Turtle?		1		1						2	½
Frog	1	6				2				9	2
Newt/lizard		6				4				10	2
Pair of eyes				5						5	1
Crab		4								4	½
Boat		3								3	½
Bird		2								2	½
Longnecked bird	1	1		7		5		1	9	24	6
Snake		1				1				2	½
Waterbug		2								2	½
Boar				12	12	1				13	3
Mantis	2	2				5				9	2
Fish		3		9		7				19	4
Spider						4				4	½
I-shaped object		1								1	½
Stick						1				1	½
Fishing hook				2						2	½
Face						1				1	½
Total	10	199		99		81		30	10	429	99

all bell motifs, constituting 36 % of the total record of motifs. This corresponds with Harunari's numbers from 1991, when deer counted 129 of the 364 pictorial items, i.e. 35 % (Harunari 1991:444-445). Next in numbers are humans with 71 depictions, i.e. 17 % against 15 % in 1991, and then dragonflies and longnecked birds – herons or cranes constituting 7 and 6 % of the record respectively, thus reversing the 1991 order that stated percentages of 5 and 7 % respectively. On the other hand the longnecked bird is found on bells from the beginning (Inomukai 2) till the end (Ōiwayama I-2[16]) (Sahara and Harunari 1995:74). Only 13 boar are depicted, i.e. 3 % – unless some of the unidentified four-legged animals were meant to be boar, and all but one are from style II bells. The share from 1991 is 6 %, a difference which may stem from different assessment of the four-legged animals.

The pottery picture content of table 3 gives an even more kaleidoscopic picture than that of the bell pictures. The general trends can only be observed with some difficulty, and since it does not include the undated pieces, numbers are low. Thus, for getting an impression of the overall significance of the various motifs on pottery during the Yayoi Period we will add the motifs from the 118 undated pieces to the 144 provided with dating. Table 4.2.1 is thus based

Table 4.2.1

Overall motif distribution on pottery

Motif	Dated	Undated	Total		% of 365
Deer	95	71	166		45.5
House	49	34	83		22.7
Human only	6	7	13		
Hum. w raised arms	5	2	7		
'Birdperson'	4	-	4		
'Fishperson'	2	-	2	44	12.1
Hum w feather only	5	-	5		
Hunter	4	1	5		
Warrior	6	1	7		
Person threshing	-	1	1		
Fish	18	6	24		6.6
Bird	8	7	15	20	5.6
Longnecked bird	4	1	5		
Boat	6	10	16		4.4
Face*	4	3	7		1.9
Turtle	4	1	5		1.4
(Dragon)	(10)	(1)	(11)		-
			365 motifs		100.2

* faces on clay plaques excluded

[16] Ōiwayama I and II are two large bell hoards from Late Yayoi found on a mountainslope in Yasu Town, Shiga.

on observations from 262 pieces. These estimations seem to suggest that the importance of the deer has grown further, since the main part of picture carrying bells were produced, and they now constitute almost half of all motifs, followed by the house that takes up almost one quarter. Third is the human figure in various roles comprising one eighth. The remaining eighth is shared by the fish, the bird, the boat, the face and the turtle. And there are a few motifs only occurring once, like the halberd at Karako Kagi.

In order to get an impression of the temporal trends of the pottery motifs, I have employed a principal 50-50 division of pieces dated to transitions between two phases. All motifs on the 144 dated items have thus been incorporated into temporal categories (table 4.2.2) according to the following scheme:

Phase I *(Phase I + ½ of (I-II)*

Phase II *Phase II + ½ of (I-II) + ½ of (II-III)*

Phase III *(Phase III + ½ of (II-III) + (III-IV)*

Phase IV *(Phase IV + ½ of (III-IV) + ½ of (IV-V-)*

Phase V- *(Phase V- + ½ of (IV-V-)*

Table 4.2.2

Relative temporal and total distribution of pottery motifs

Pottery phase / Motif	I	II	%	III	%	IV	%	V	%	Total	%
Deer	1	3	*27*	13	*50*	65	*45*	13	*36*	95	*43*
House		5	*45*	6	*23*	35	*24*	3	*8*	49	*22*
Human only		1	*9*			5				6	
Hum rais arms				1		3		1		5	
'Birdperson'						3		1		4	
'Fishperson'				5	*19*	1	18 *12*	1	8 *22*	2	32 *15*
Hum feath only				4				1		5	
Hunter								4		4	
Warrior						6				6	
Fish		1	*9*	1	*4*	16	*11*			18	*8*
Bird						3	7 *5*	5	*14*	8	12 *5*
Longneck Bird						4				4	
Boat/oars		1	*9*	1	*4*	2	*1*	2	*6*	6	*3*
Face*								4	*11*	4	*2*
Turtle						3	*2*	1	*3*	4	*2*
	1	11	*99*	26	*100*	146	*100*	36	*100*	220	*100*

* faces on clay plaques excluded

First, it is clear that the deer and the house constituted almost all motifs prior to phase IV, during which phase more different types of depictions of humans appear together with birds, a few turtles, and remarkably more fish.

We see now that the percentage of deer is slightly higher in phase III than in the main phase of pictorial engraving, i.e. phase IV. The percentage of the house is relatively unvaried from phase III to IV, but falls in phase V. The occurrence of humans is too low for estimating percentages, and we should pay more attention to the actual number which triples from phase III to IV and then decreases in phase V when it is substituted by human faces. The shift from full-shape humans to faces is reflected in the development of clay plaque ornamentation that moves from whole bodies to faces only (Mitsumoto Jun, Okayama University, personal communication, May 2005). Whereas most humans are depicted with feathers only in phase III, they are substituted by humans in gear or attire in phase IV, but these motifs dissolve in phase V. Interestingly, the hunter (left behind after style II bells (phase II and III) and not generally seen on pottery), is seen again in phase V. A point to be noted is that although fish are not represented in a very large number, this number is higher than those for both birds and boats in all phases and they concentrate particularly in phase IV. The turtle is the least frequently represented motif of all, since the number for boats is biased by the larger part of them not being provided with dates. However, the boat, although impressive examples exist, was not a very common motif in the Yayoi Period; its number is much lower than that of the house.

One of Harunari's estimations from 1991 is that of occurrence of motifs on number of vessels. Thus, 63 % of the bells and 46 % of the pottery vessels carry deer, whereas 44 % of the bells but only 7 % of the pottery vessels carry birds. Since phases are not distinguished in these estimations, it does not illustrate the pictorial development in details. It does, however, give a very concrete picture (table 4.3) of the iconographic shifts in the transfer of motifs from one media to the other.

Harunari clearly demonstrates that images on bells are first and foremost depictions of animals, and these are represented by many different species. Reptiles and insects comprise part of the motifs, but are almost absent among pottery pictures. On bells are deer, birds, humans, dragonflies, fish, mantises, lizards and frogs. On pottery are deer, buildings, humans,

birds, boats and fish. Natural phenomena like mountains and rivers are absent. Buildings are on only two bells but on 39 pottery vessels; boats are on one bell but on 9 pottery vessels. Deer, humans and birds appear on both media (Harunari 1991:459).

Three new motifs appear on the pottery, all of humans; a bird-anthropoid, an armed person with feather headgear and a person with raised arms. The raised floor building and the boat are seen on the earliest bells, but are absent later on. Both motifs reappear on the pottery. In order to reconfirm the occurrence of boats compared to that of buildings I counted the number of pottery vessels carrying these two types of motifs. In my sample, 51 pottery vessels carry buildings, whereas 14 vessels carry boats, corresponding to approximately the same

Table 4.3

Motifs on number of vessels

	Occurrence on number of bronze bells	%	Occurrence on number of pottery vessels	%
Deer	26	63.4	77	46.4
Boar	4	9.8	1	0.6
Dog	2	4.9	-	0
Bird	18	43.9	12	7.2
Fish	9	22	7	4.2
Frog	6	14.6	-	0
Turtle	9	22	-	0
Lizard	6	14.6	-	0
Snake	2	4.9	-	0
Mantis	7	17.1	-	0
Spider	3	7.3	-	0
Dragonfly	10	24.4	-	0
Crab	1	2.4	-	0
Dragon	-	0	14	8.4
Human	15	36.6	17	10.2
Human face	4	9.8	4	2.4
Unclear animal	4	9.8	4	2.4
Building	2	4.9	39	23.5
Boat	1	2.4	9	5.4
Total	41		166	

After Harunari 1991

relationship as in 1991, meaning that each vessel with boat(s) is countered with almost 4 vessels carrying building(s).

Interestingly, whereas the total number of individual deer has grown significantly during the shift from bells to pottery, the relative number of vessels that *carried* the deer was much

higher before the shift. This is due to the house motif which early on appeared in clusters such as has been the case for deer all the time (phase III, IDs 11, 226) and in phase IV many seemingly single motif depictions of houses were made similarly to such cases for deer. However, it would be incorrect to interpret this balance as a decrease in the occupation with deer, since a typical motif combination of phase IV is that of the deer and the house together (4.3.1., 5.7.).

1.5. Research history

1.5.1. The recognition of the pottery pictures

Bronze bells have been known and appreciated for several centuries, though for a long while as curiosities rather than as archaeological data. Pictures engraved on pottery emerged as an archaeological phenomenon in the early 1920s. Several volumes dealing with the pictures on the bronze bells had appeared, but no pottery had been noticed carrying images.

In 1923 Morimoto Rokuji visited a small exhibition in Takada in Nara of 'antiquarities' recovered locally by amateur archaeologist Iida Matsujirō (飯田松次郎), and discovered a piece of pottery engraved with the picture of two deer with antlers (and a third one's back, ID 108). He learned that the piece had been collected at Karako Pond – presently at Tawaramoto Town. Upon this, hitherto unnoticed pictures on pottery collected from Karako Pond on earlier occasions were recognised (Hashimoto 1996:152).

The same year Umehara Sueji (梅原末治) published an article on the Karako site in an anthropological journal, drawing attention to the picture pottery (Shitara 2006:20). Four years later Takahashi Kenji (高橋健自) published the first synthesis of prehistoric Japanese art, *Japan's Primitive Pictures* (*Nihon Genshi Kaiga* 日本原始絵画), which dealt with surface paintings, engravings, reliefs and plastic figures together, it distinguished prehistoric from early historic traditions, and, concurrently with the broader awareness of chronology in archaeology, also separated Jōmon from Yayoi period art. It was Takahashi who suggested that sherds from the Karako Site[17] with deer engraved on them were from Yayoi Period pottery, and that they were related to those on the bronze bells, although he reversed the order of pottery pictures and bell pictures. He suggested that the animals drawn on bells and pottery

[17] It was not until later that it was realised that the site included the area around Kagi Pond as well.

were totems, and that the drawings were meant as talismans. Takahashi's publication was the cue that started serious research into the topic (Shitara 2006:20).

In a publication from 1924, Morimoto had drawn attention to the fact that all the depicted deer were represented in profile, and that they all faced towards the left, the cause of the latter he concluded was that the makers were right-handed.[18] Morimoto furthermore theorised that each artisan had a particular sequence according to which lines were added, thus pictures with similar line-sequences would have been executed by the same person and probably in the same location (Hashimoto 1996:153-154). In 1929, he too stated that the pictures on the Karako pieces, which were still the only items known, were related to those on the bronze bells (Shitara 2006:21).

Kobayashi Yukio (古林行雄) conducted the first excavation at Karako Pond in 1937 and disclosed Yayoi pottery of style I through V after which he could establish a relative chronology of the whole Nara area. On this chronology he based the dating of the picture engraved pottery, of which 26 pieces were shown in his and Suenaga Masao's (末永雅雄) publication from 1943 "Research of Yamato Karako Yayoi Site" (jap. *Yamato Karako Yayoi-shiki Iseki no Kenkyū* 大和唐古弥生式遺跡の研究). The 33 pieces (comprising 27 motifs) of picture engraved pottery stemming from excavation field 1 depict humans, boats, deer and buildings. They all stem from the northern sandlayer left by the waterway, including the six motifs that were picked up by Iida (Fujita 2005). Since the general pottery record from this sand layer was all of styles III and IV, and since all the picture pottery sherds had been recovered in features that gave only style IV pottery, he stated that picture engraving was related to style IV pottery – jars – of this phase. He also pointed out the fact that deer was the most frequently represented animal in the pictures (Hashimoto 1996:156).

Later, when pottery of style V carrying signs had turned up at Nishinotsuji Site in Ōsaka, Kobayashi incorporated this in elaborating his Yayoi pottery chronology. Still, however, the material was far from extensive enough for any functional analysis or interpretation to be carried out (ibid:157).

In the 1960s when Japan was rising financially, archaeological sites all over the country were investigated in the process of development. And finds of picture engraved pottery were reported from many areas (ibid:157), resulting in a vast increase in its amount, and clarifying its distribution from Kyūshū to the southern part of Kantō. Two issues of the Journal of

[18] Right- or lefthandedness can be distinguished from the direction of lines left by the spatula as the surfaces of vessels were burnished. This can be compared to the sequence in which the lines of the drawing have been applied.

Archaeology (*Kōkogaku Zasshi* 考古学雑誌) from 1980 and 1981 contained compilations of articles on the pottery. Sahara assumed that it was mainly produced from phase III through V in the Kinki region with the Nara Basin as its nucleus, but that its distribution included Kawachi and Settsu provinces, and that it spread westwards until it reached Saga in Kyūshū. With the exception of Iseyama Site in Kanagawa, no picture engraved pottery was known at that time in eastern Japan. The nucleus of the sign engraved pottery was the southern part of Kinki, and it has its eastern limit in Aichi. The signs were executed on long-necked jars. Sahara noticed similarities between pictures from Kanagawa, Mie, Hiroshima and Saga Prefectures, and he suggested that they related to a common mythology. He also noticed the similar lattice pattern used to fill the contours of deer and house-roofs. He believed that the difference between bell and pottery iconography was due to use in different religious ceremonies, a point of view that this thesis disagrees with. Instead it suggests that pictures were gradually *transferred* from the bells to the pottery by way of social competition. Sahara pointed to the earlier appearance of pictures on bells than on pottery, and stated that pottery pictures appeared in Kinai in phase III with Karako Kagi as their nucleus, while pictures on bells were still produced. He assumed that pottery pictures had spread westwards from Karako Kagi, which we know now, is not correct.

Sahara noticed that as the abstraction of the pottery pictures advanced, signs became generalised. He believed that apart from the group of signs deriving from icons, i.e. the original group, another group consisted of signs that were created from the beginning as abstract. He was the first to suggest that the signs, had kanji not been adopted from the continent, would have developed into a script (Hashimoto 1996:161; Sahara 1980:102-117). Fujita Saburō had started to develop his theory on dualism as shown in the pictures and signs (1.5.2.) in the early 1980s (Fujita 1982; Hashimoto 1996:163).

In the autumn of 1986, the Kashihara Archaeological Museum in the Nara Basin celebrated the 50th excavation at Karako Kagi with an exhibition entitled "Pictures and Signs". By that time, picture engraved pottery had been exhumed from Karako Kagi's nearest neighbouring site, Shimizukaze in Tenri Town. As a parallel to the panorama that surrounded the shoulder of a large vessel from Karako Kagi with does and stags, a pillared house and humans with raised arms (ID 145), a vessel with a scene had now turned up at Shimizukaze of two armless humans and a 'mask-carrying' human with raised arms (ID 111) (Hashimoto 1996:162-163).

Since the exhibition at the Kashishara Museum much more material has appeared, among other things the Shimizukaze composition of a shot deer, four fish swimming in line and two humans carrying weaspons and feathered headgear together with a raised floor house (ID 485).

Consequently, Hashimoto and others have reanalysed the pictorial material and its expressions as well as its find-circumstances, and archaeologists have now started dealing with the meaning of pictures and signs in eastern Japan (Hashimoto 1996:162-163).

1.5.2. Earlier interpretations of the Yayoi Period pictures

Already in 1927 it had been suggested by Umehara Sueji that the pictures on the Kagawa bell and Bunchō's bell, at that time 18 pictures, were representations of the daily life and natural environment of people in the Yayoi period (Sahara and Harunari 1995:48). While Kobayashi was struggling to make sense of the limited number of pottery pictures, he published in 1959 an interpretation of the panel pictures of the scenes as visual tales of agriculture given to people after they had been hunters and fishermen in earlier times. These were times when humans and animals alike preyed on the natural surroundings; a survival of the fittest-world view, in which humans were at the top of the food chain. Thus the crops as well as the deer had been sent to humans from ancestral gods (ibid:48; Shitara 2006:21-22).

Kobayashi's analysis was quite an achievement, especially since the bell hoard (Sakuragaoka[19]) containing Kamika 4 and 5 – and thus sixteen of the thirty four scenes – was not unearthed until 5 years later, in 1964 (Kōbe Town Museum 1982:17). After its discovery the gender of the humans represented in the panel pictures were discussed and suggestions set forward, namely that the hunting and fishing persons – all depicted with round heads – must be male and the ones threshing – all with triangular heads – must be female, based on substantial ethnographical analogies (Shitara 2006:23; Sahara and Harunari 1995:70). Tsude Hiroshi (都出比呂志) thought that the panel pictures were meant to depict man's, particularly the human male's, triumph over nature, owing to his physical strength and his ability to surpass the earlier level of natural preying, and he saw a transcendence to the otherworldly in the scenes of the natural and the human world (Shitara 2006:23).

Harunari thinks the bell pictures are about agriculture and compares them with pictures of birds on Korean metal plaques (ibid:24). Inoue Yoichi has focused on the remarkable change in artistic depiction from boar in the Jōmon period (as small-sized three dimensional figures) to deer in the Yayoi period (10 boars on two bronze bells in contrast to more than 100 deer all in all). Whereas both animals served as important dietary items in Jōmon times, this seems to have been the case only for the boar (or pig) in the Yayoi Period. It seems, due to a drastic decrease in the number of deer bones at settlements already in Early Yayoi (2.7.2.), that the

[19] So called after its find spot on a hillslope outside Kōbe.

animal was not eaten nearly as much in the period as previously. Inoue – like other archaeologists – refers to the frequent mentioning of deer in relation to agriculture in classical literature, and he judges the role of the animal to have been religious, that the deer was looked upon as a deity of the rice field (Inoue 1990:27, 35).

Based on ancient documents the pictures were thought to be related to folklore. In 1991 Harunari elaborated on Okada Seishi's (岡田精司) comparison of the regeneration of the stags' antlers to that of crops on the basis of which Okada thought the deer had been an earthen deity. In 1996, there were 300 pieces of picture engraved pottery. Based on the pictures of deer, humans, birds and buildings, and using an ancient tale in Harima Fudoki's Sanyō-province, Harunari Hideji claimed the close connection between deer and rice growing. He pointed to the parallel yearly cycles of the stags losing and regrowing their antlers and of the harvest and growth of rice, and stated that the deer representations were about the myths and the agricultural ceremonies in the Yayoi period, and that the deer had been conceived as the rice spirit. He suggested that an animal was caught each year before the planting of the rice began, and on this occasion a ceremony involving bells was held. The deer was then released in the autumn before the harvest started, and the picture engraved pottery would stem from these ceremonies, which is why the deer on the vessels have antlers[20] (Harunari 1991:470).

In 1973, Sahara saw the bell pictures of hunters holding the antlers of deer in a mythological context; as representing a situation like the one described in *Bungo no Kuni Fudoki* (豊後国風土記) where the deer swears not to harm the ricefields. Harunari claimed that deer as a spiritual animal stemmed from the Korean Peninsula, drawing attention to the metal objects from Korea with two deer engraved on it (plate 50.1) (Shitara 2006:24).

Most researchers after Umehara have agreed that the 34 scenes relate to agriculture, and some that they are the embodiment of harvest-negotiations with deities. Some regard all the motifs on these bells as relating to life in paddy fields, various analyses consider the roles played by the individual depicted animals; deer and boar destroy the fields; dragonflies, mantises, frogs and newts keep away harmful insects, and turtles and fish symbolize fresh water. Several scholars have interpreted the motifs as seasonal depictions, ranging from summer-growth through autumn-harvest to life in all four seasons. Other archaeologists focus

[20] His theory that bells were used for spring rites and pottery for harvest rituals is based on his observation that most deer depicted on bells do not wear antlers whereas deer depicted on pottery often do. His calculations from 1991 showed that 32 of 54 deer on pottery wore antlers, while only 7 of 129 deer on bells did so (Harunari 1991:444-445; 452-453).

on the distinction between base-row motifs as representing human activities and the upper-row motifs as those of animals (a tendency only).

In the 1990s, Terasawa Kaoru (寺沢薫) explained the images as representations of symbolic religious acts, thus the human with the I-shaped stick as a shaman transferring fertility to the fields with a magical stick. The four-legged animals on Kamika 4 would be men appearing like these animals in a ritual in which they plant rice or collect medical plants. Terasawa has furthermore interpreted the picture on Kamika 4 of a woman holding a stick with which she (seemingly) chases away a snake devouring a frog by referring to the magical strength of sticks that can be found in ancient writings, and he has made the woman a shaman executing a Spring ritual by posting her stick at the edge of the field (ibid:23).

Sahara thought that the bells with the 34 scenes were so similar in composition – "grammar" – that they must have been related and that they came from the hands of the same artisan(s). Also, he linked them in a chronological sequence based on the "law" of degeneration of naturalism in art that the most realistic representations must be the oldest execution, whereas the most abstract, or imprecise in realistic details, must be the latest (Sahara 2002:300-326). Kobayashi's ideas of tales of agriculture and Sahara's chronological and stylistic analysis of the four style III bells have greatly influenced research of picture engraved pottery.

Harunari has used this method to place the production of the Isoyama Bell (style II-2) in Mie Prefecture before that of Kamika 4, based on the realism of the fourlegged animals on the former contra the more abstract representation on the Kamika 4 bell. He has furthermore made important contributions to the research by the idea that later pictures were often imitations of earlier, but generally not executed by direct copying but rather from the visual memory of the maker, which added to the distortion of some motifs, particularly if the nature of these were blurred on the original piece. He thus claims that the maker of the Kagawa bell had seen Kamika 1 and copied one of its humans with a bow, but reproduced it as a human with a stick for fishing (Shitara 2006:22), and that the 'three people in a fight' on the Kamika 5 bell is a mal-reproduction of the old motif of 'two people threshing' (ibid:23; Sahara and Harunari 1995:46).

Harunari furthermore notes that the arrangement of pictures in the panels of the Inomukai 2 anticipates that of the Kagawa and other style III bells (Ibid:58). This reasoning leads to the reappearance of the house motif on the Kagawa bell being due to its maker having seen the Inomukai 1 bell or a bell similar to it. All the motifs on Imunokai 1 – except from the boat – are seen within the 34 scenes from late Middle Yayoi, whereas the house is absent in the

intermediate phase. We are here dealing with a 'missing link' between phase I and phase III, and the only plausible explanation seems to be that the people who produced the pictures bells of style III had seen Inomukai 2 or a similar bell. It is likely that all images on the 4 style III bells with the 34 scenes were produced by the same person (ibid:30).

Traditionally in Japan, birds were believed to carry the spirit of the rice and the ancestors, and the idea that priests of the Yayoi period dressed as birds to obtain some of their sacred power is partly related to this thought. Relating to a frieze from Tottori Prefecture showing a long boat looking like boats in pictures from the Dong Son culture in Southeast Asia, there is a theory that the boats are carrying the spirits of the dead (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1992:26-27). Many Japanese scholars prefer the theory that birds were believed to carry the spirit of the rice and the ancestor, whereas in China the spirit of the dead is thought to have been related to the boat itself. The spirituality of rice is not included in the Chinese theory.

In 1984, Kanaseki Hiroshi stated that the panorama seen on the sherds from the large-sized Inayoshi Sumita vessel (ID 161) should be treated together just as it was usual when treating bell pictures. He interpreted the boat with feather-ornamented rowers as riding towards two sacred buildings dedicated to the souls of ancestors; thus the boat meets the spirit of the grains from the land of ancestral spirits situated on the other side of the sea, and then carries this spirit to the sacred buildings. This construction fitted into interpretations of material remains from Southeast Asia, China and Korea as well as into classical literature.

This was two years before the first excavation was carried out at Shimizukaze. The second took place in 1996, resulting in another panoramic series of pictures (a shot deer, fish and a fence, two armed men and a building, ID 485). Kuwabara Hisao (桑原久男) took up Kanaseki's method and interpreted it according to the chronicles' attribution of the deer's role as the symbol of nature, and saw it as an expression of the opposition between nature and man with the fence in between the two worlds (Shitara 2006:24-25).

In 1982, Fujita observed that the Yayoi people distinguished between right and left in a "dualistic world view" observable in panoramic pictures and signs; on the right we see the human/male world, and on the left is nature/ the female world (Fujita 1982:129-130), and Terasawa agrees, on statistical terms, on an opposition or "symmetry" in the pictorial material (on both bells and pottery) between an originally natural sphere and the human sphere (In Shitara 2006:25). Fujita points out, based on the picture of a woman with raised arms/wings and those of the humans with halberds and shields, that shamans of both genders must have played roles in rituals (ibid: 25) and thinks that, contrary to the Jōmon period, the concept of

the two genders as a pair becomes essential in the Yayoi period, a view that is in accordance with certain contexts of wooden human figurines (4.4.).

Sahara stated in 1980 that the signs stemmed from the increasing tendency in the Kinai region of depicting pictorial representations in an abstract fashion. They started in phase II, and by phase V they diffused from their heart land in the southern Nara Basin, southern Kawachi and Izumi westwards to Okayama and eastwards to Mie prefectures (Sahara 1980:104, 108-109), and "as they transformed from materialisation to abstraction they preceded regular letters by being media to transmit magic, tales of old and thoughts of man and they carried within them a character of original literacy" (Sahara 1980 in Shitara, 2006:25). A decade later, Harunari had made it clear that an overwhelming amount of the signs derive from depictions of deer and of buildings, and composite Late Yayoi signs depict the same as composite pictures: deer and houses or sometimes birds. Thus, the mythology and the rituals are both carried into Late Yayoi (Harunari 1991 in Shitara 2006:25).

Thus, the major part of energy for interpretations of the iconography has been spent on the 34 scenes on the four style III bells, whereas the earlier bells have received far less attention. The pottery pictures have been interpreted mainly from historical analogies with the exception of the probable presence of shamans in the Yayoi Period. In chapter 4, I outline the differences in the various iconographies.

1.6. Method

1.6.1. The legitimacy of cognitive archaeology

This dissertation works from the assumption that the pictures represented on the walls of Yayoi Period pottery and bells signify something religious. How important religion was at the time, how conscious people were about it and how isolated from or integrated in other life-spheres it was we do not know, but we can detect some indications from the complex of pictures and their context. Looking at the pictures from an art historical perspective, they seem highly religious or political (5.2.), but seen in the light of some ethnographic observations they could be the traces of any kind of activity from pure decoration to playing, pastime *or* religion (Ucko 1967 in Bredholt Christensen 1998:18). It has been emphasized that

not all traditional societies[21] are equally religious,[22] and that we have no reason to believe that this was different in prehistory (Damm 1998: 45-46, 53).

From comparative studies of religion we are warned against employing ethnographic field experience in the analysis of prehistoric material of supposedly 'religious' or 'ritual' significance. Jens Peter Schjødt argues in support of Christopher Hawkes who, in the 1950s, claimed that only in cases where a direct historical connection can be detected between a prehistoric and a modern society do we have hope of understanding the religion of the prehistoric society in question (Hawkes 1954:162). Schjødt has thus stated that only genetic comparisons involving a historic relationship with a culture or a society whose religion we are acquainted with are truly reliable, whereas typological comparisons are based on a categorisation of societies into types, resulting in vastly generalising analyses (Schjødt 1989:23).

However, it is evident that prehistoric archaeologists have to employ the typological method in most cases, since we would never be able to mount from a level of purely descriptive archaeology to one where we can discuss activities that took place in prehistory, if we do not assume a certain degree of uniformity between present and past. Still, it is crucial to take our point of departure in human cognition and action in order to avoid the pitfall of complying with the strongly evolutionistic and system-theoretic view innate in the method (Damm 1998:45).

Like the antiquated idea that social development is a universal process in which societies move from one social type to another according to predictable schemes, it is also a long gone practice to view types of religion in this light. Thus, John Lubbock's theory of a universal "evolution of the human cognition" in which our respective societies all climbed a six-rung ladder from atheism to fetischism, totemism, shamanism, anthropomorphism in order to end up in ethical monotheism (Lubbock 1870 in Insoll 2004:43) has been contradicted by all ethnographic researchers who have worked empirically with the field of religion.

There can be no such thing as a typology of religion, because its development is inseparably connected to individual cultural factors, such as ecology (Hayden 2003:5). Furthermore, religious categorisation is man-made and the categories cannot be employed in mutually excluding terms or in stern opposition to each other. Thus, Timothy Insoll demonstrates the

[21] A defining characteristic of a traditional society is, in my view, a sufficiently small size of the society in question in order for all its members to either know or have a clear idea of all other members; i.e. the kind of societies that existed in the Nara Basin at the beginning of Middle Yayoi.

[22] The degree of religiosity in societies varies (Nordbladh 1978 in Bredholt Christensen 1998:17-18), and also in allegedly religious societies there will be variations between individuals of religious conviction and awareness.

invalidity of the dichotomy between polytheism and monotheism, since religions labelled as shamanic, animist or ancestral, will often also include notions of a 'High or Sky God' (Insoll 2004:103). It will appear that dichotomies in religion in general are given higher priorities in stratified than in egalitarian societies (chapter 5).

From researchers of religion, earlier archaeological approaches to prehistoric art and religion are criticized for having consisted of essentialist ideas of cross-cultural analogies (P.V. Glob) – like the wheel cross being taken to represent the sun and to be a deity as it was in the Near Orient, or a man wearing horns being a shaman because a Siberian shaman looks like this, and in structuralist analyses of symbolic systems (Leroi-Gourhan) – like horses and bison symbolising the dualism of a pristine myth. Currently, relativist researchers believe that we must conceive of religion from a narrow definition (Ucko) and do not want to see religion in material data. They point out that pictures may have been made in entirely profane situations. Contrastingly, cognitive processual research takes on a very broad definition of religion (Hodder, C. Geertz). It pleads that we cannot distinguish between ideology, politics and religion, and it seeks an overall interpretation of "the mentality that controls the institutions, morals and acts that produced the symbols". In this understanding, pictures communicate together with the rest of the material culture (Hodder in Bredholt Christensen 1998:15-19). This present thesis has been written from the latter point of view, but it insists that Yayoi Period figurative and other material culture incorporates elements that qualify for a historical genetic comparison and thus a narrower concept of religion.

Whereas we can never prove that a picture or any other object has anything to do with religion, it is still possible to say something about religion in a prehistoric society by approaching our data from many different angles such as is stated by cognitive-processual theoreticians. The religions of these societies are thus not forever closed to us. Also, analogies can gain so much support from other investigations that their likelihood to be valid *in some shape* reach a tolerable level, and a tolerable level is in fact all that we can strive to achieve for almost all research within prehistoric archaeology that lie beyond the reach of natural scientific methodology. I thus find it quite prudent to interpret a picture of a horned man as a depiction of a shaman or someone acting in a shamanic context, since the significance of horns and horned animals has by now been substantially demonstrated to be related to shamanism.

Ethnographic records from traditional societies state that the definition of religion is often diffuse, as it is usually more or less integrated in the daily life. Its expression is rituals, prescribed acts, and they occur in the enactment of practical tasks as well as in arranged performances in front of an audience. Its definition is furthermore often inseparable from the political ideology predominant in the society (Bredholt Christensen 1998:19). Also, religion is invisible, and religion in prehistoric societies has left us only the material objects and features through which it was expressed.

It is postulated from several sides that we cannot really make any statements about prehistoric religions because we will always only be able to make observations about rituals and other activities that may have referred to religion – such as art production (Damm 1998:46; Schjødt 1998:73; Bredholt Christensen 1998:19). Also, rituals often vary according to their individual practitioners (Damm 1998:47) – or they can even be invented when needed (Bell 1997:223-242). They may look the same even though the religious ideas related to them have changed completely (Warmind 1998:96).

Here, we already have two problems: one is that not all *rituals* are overtly religious – which is the case with political rituals and rituals connected to feasting (Bell 1997:120-137). Another is that it is far from always obvious whether *material* is religious or not, and we need some identifying definition in line with Renfrew and Bahn's "Archaeological Indicators of Ritual" from 1991 (:359-360). A third problem is that a lot of religious rituals involve immaterial means or perishable objects, so we are struggling with at least three unknown quantities, when we try to understand the religion of a prehistoric society.

Although prehistoric religions must be approached by a relatively broad definition, the archaeologist Flemming Kaul still says that "we should examine whether it is possible – without direct or primary involvement of transcendence or of transempirical powers – to isolate special groups of objects or special groups of finds or features, pictorial expressions and art, which can be demonstrated in the archaeological material, as being of a predominantly religious character....By not employing the word 'religion' or by omitting attempts to identify the specifically religious in (a given) archaeological material, (archaeologists) renounce the possibility to investigate essential elements connected to the society of (that period), and they renounce as well the possibilities to debate and adjust a number of interpretations. Religion is present in all societies at all times, which we must try and accept and relate to" (Kaul 2004:20). The present thesis identifies processed animal bones, pottery sherds with pictures and beads in unusual context as special groups of objects. It

identifies burials, mounds, wells, moats and ditches as special groups of features, and it identifies bronze bells in highlying locations as special groups of finds.

Roy Rappaport puts his view into the following words: "No society known to anthropology or history is devoid of what reasonable observers would agree is religion, even those such as the former Soviet Union which have made deliberate attempts to extirpate it. Given the central place that religious considerations have occupied in the thoughts and actions of men and women in all times and places, and given the amount of energy, blood, time and wealth that have been spent building temples, supporting priests, sacrificing to gods and killing infidels, it is hard to imagine that religion, as bizarre as some of its manifestations may seem, is not in some way indispensable to the species" (Rappaport 1999:1-2).

"Geographically and temporally, 'truth' can change, and what is true in one place at one time is untrue in another place at another time. It is bound to be this eternal struggle or dialogue between truths and lies, between different worldviews, cosmologies, mythological and religious systems that have contributed to the dynamic and multifaceted picture that human cultures display in past and present. When the use of the word 'religion' in connection with prehistoric societies is dismissed by some researchers for methodological reasons, there is thus a risk present of removing absolutely essential elements of human nature in general from our research field and our perception of the past. As we must assume that religion has held significance also in prehistoric societies...it is hardly desirable to claim that we do not know whether supernatural powers were given special attention or significance...and that consequently we should not deal with religion as such..." (Kaul 2004:20).

Particularly, we have some possibilities of exploration when pictures exist from the society we are analysing. Figurative representation allows archaeologists to make statements about a society's religion (Renfrew 1994a:11; 1994b:51-53) or at least its ideology (Hodder 2006), and though we can never reconstruct the religion(s) that existed in the Nara Basin in Middle Yayoi, something can be said about religious trends and religious development because we have pictures from this and the preceding phases.

So, far from resigning ourselves with the thought that we cannot be sure what brought about the hundreds of deer and raised floor houses that were engraved on pottery together with armed men, turtles and longnecked birds, we should work from the assumption that such motifs carried deep significance, not least because some of them were executed on bells made of bronze, the most expensive material of the day. And the fact that some motifs are not present on the pottery tells us that the people who produced them did so according to certain standards. Individuals would exist who had the talent to engrave other motifs than the ones we

see, but other motifs were apparently not prescribed by the standards, and the motifs that are not very recurrent (like the "tree with two hanging objects" in the Inayoshi frieze, ID 161) may be a result of personal variation. Whether the craftsmen wanted to do other motifs and were not allowed to, or whether they did not think of producing other motifs because their thinking was in harmony with existing standards, we cannot say, but because some motifs are extraordinarily recurrent, we *can* say that the standards were there.

According to A. Geertz, people act on the basis of ideas of cosmology, theology and anthropology, and "acts imply a society with social roles and one or more places where the religious ideas are realised and communicated" (Kaul 2004:15). Human religious acts are therefore related to one or more of the following phenomena:

Sacred places	(temple, palace, church, marketplace, open or special places in nature etc.)
Sacred time	(the demarcated/defined time for religious acts – sacred days, ceremonial periods, leap years – calendars and time systems etc.)
Sacred persons	(cultic king, priest, shaman, prophet, oracle, visionary, mystic, teacher, magician, monk, nun, martyr, saint, medicine man /woman, temple servant, reformer)
Sacred objects	(dress, natural objects (stone, water, sand etc.), statue, staff, head gear etc.)
Sacred acts	(psychological sessions – visions, auditions, ecstatic obsessions etc. – physical training, prayer, sacrifices, ceremonies, rituals, magic, initiation ceremonies, education, mission, war)
Sacred communities	(family, cast, clan, nation, brother/sisterhood, order, sect)

(A. Geertz 1996 in Kaul 2004:15)

This classificatory system has been developed on the basis of a narrow definition of religion, which implies a relationship to transcendent forces. The definition means that – in connection with research of mental currents in past cultures – the word 'religion' may only be used in cases where we can prove indisputably the presence of a transcendent element, and so the word would be reserved for cultures from which we have written sources (Kaul 2004:17). Contrastingly, the broad definition talks of "symbolic complexes and acts that create special moods and motivations, and no direct reference to transcendent, transempirical or simply divine forces are seen" (ibid:17).

This, however, should not prevent us from making use of the narrow definition's categories of religio-phenomenology which contain several elements that are of neither literary nor oral

nature – "the 'silent sources' such as iconography and symbols, temples, special places in nature, priest, dress, statue, staff, head gear, ceremonies and rituals" which are often identified in a prehistoric archaeological material (ibid:16).

Middle Yayoi is a prehistoric phase, and consequently, we cannot conclude that the presence in the period of special places like Karako Kagi, large buildings, peculiar objects like comma-shaped beads placed and sealed inside a limonite nodule, models in clay and wood of birds and humans, bronze bells and clay models of these *or even* pictures of 'birdmen' and men with head gear and weapons constitute any proof that Yayoi religion referred to transcendent powers. Still, we have at least one type of artefacts which we know (from literary sources) refers to transcendence by way of genetic relationship; the scapulae of boar and deer carrying marks of scorching in the same manner as the Chinese turtle shells used for divination in the second millennium B.C. at the Shang court and later with the Chou (Chang, 1983:51). Unless we believe that the scorched scapulae were just thoughtless imitations of deeds observed on the continent, an idea that I think we can dismiss, we have as such evidence that the idea of transcendent forces existed in Yayoi communities. The bronze bells constitute another artefact type of such indications, since small sized predecessors of the Japanese bell type have been detected in southern Korean shaman burials, i.e. graves containing attires associated with shamans. It is known that during the later Samhan Period (Proto Three Kingdom Period, 100 BC - AD 300, Seyock 2004:235) in the Peninsula, priests existed in the area (ibid:48), and as far as we can judge from finds of scorched scapulae and other 'peculiar' artefacts there (ibid:78, 96), the nature of which I shall return to in chapter 4, these people were religious figures continued from the Bronze Age (dated 450 – 100 BC, Seyock 2004:235; see also Barnes 2001:29). The priests are identified as shamans. The pictures of 'birdmen' in the pictorial record on Yayoi pottery support the concept of a religion involving shamanic acts and ideas in the Period, which certainly presupposes transcendent forces. With these two types of artefacts; the bronze bells and the scapulae we can meet the requirements of a genetic and historic foundation for our analogy.

Also, Karako Kagi has a large variety of unique objects; many of these are of a peculiar nature, and as an integrated whole we can hardly conceive of them as anything but ritual artefacts. An artefact's ritual quality is difficult to define unless we know exactly *how* it was employed, and its inappropriate use for purposes related to the subsistence economy or survival is often the first hint to its ritual significance. And when a large number of such non-utilitarian objects are gathered in one place, and that place is furthermore of particular

appearance such as is the case at Karako Kagi, they meet the requirements of both Renfrew and A. Geertz, and we can venture to call them ritual.

1.6.2. Myths and historical analogies

As I have already argued, religion and myths change according to various conditions, amongst others those of ecological, economic and political denomination (Earle, Hayden, Warmind, Kaul). Manipulation of myths and religion has often caused both to change over time. Not all individuals in a given society hold the same degree of convinced religious belief, and this is true for egalitarian as well as for more stratified societies. It would be incorrect to propose that manipulative behaviour arises automatically from agnosticism, but it has often occurred that innovative individuals have been able to read into religion the meanings most suited for their own purposes, and to 'adopt' elements from available mythologies into their own personal views of the world.

Myths and religion have repeatedly been used as means to consolidate and legitimise political power, thus also in Japan by the compilation of the chronicle Kojiki (古事記) in 712 by the imperial household.[23] It is widely acknowledged now that the Kojiki was written in order to incorporate the mythologies from various regions within the archipelago into that of the Kinai area. Thus, deities and heroes of other powerful regions previously in political competition with the Yamato court came to jointly make up the glorious origin of the imperial lineage. This lineage was most likely comprised by the winning candidates among the powerful clans that were still fighting for the hegemony in the Nara Basin and the Yamato area in the sixth century (Barnes 1988:31).

It was in the same region, the Kinai area, that a lot of pictorially engraved pottery and bronze bells were made. The pottery was produced at least 700 years before the Kojiki and the Nihonshoki (日本書紀), 720, were compiled, and the cosmology seen on it had roots even further back, since bells with pictures existed already from Early Yayoi. On top of that, the mythology of the area was a collation of local and non-local traditions. So we should not look for specific information and apply the content of specific sequences of events found in the chronicles onto the religion of the Yayoi Period.

Mythological approaches to archaeological data are subject to great risk. Societies change, and particularly so in a region that transforms itself from consisting of traditional

[23] The compilation was initiated during the reign of Emperor Temmu (673-686), but was abandoned upon his death and not resumed until 711, followed by its presentation to Empress Gemmei in 712 (Philippi 1968:4-8).

communities to centralisation. Still, they should not be altogether dismissed; used carefully they can contribute with nuances to an interpretation of data, as long as the main body of this interpretative corpus consists of conclusions drawn from objective observations of the data itself and from the use of well-substantiated theories suitable for application to the data. In recent years, several archaeologists have trodden this path that has hitherto been regarded as rather inferior in its scientific character, and legitimised the use of myths and oral traditions (Insoll, Hedeager, Hayden, Harunari).

1.6.3. The conditions for art

According to the preceding paragraphs, this thesis will treat the pictures of the Yayoi Period from the assumption that at least some of the pictures referred to transcendence, that there was some notion of deities, spirits, divine creatures or just supernatural forces in the Middle Yayoi communities of the Nara Basin. It is held very clearly in mind throughout the volume that religion and ideology can be two very different phenomena and that ideology sometimes appears as an 'enemy' of true religiosity (chapter 5). And either can be integrated or disintegrated in the minds of people and in their daily lives.

Religions consist of systems of thoughts, but they are not static systems; rather, they change in response to the societies they are part of – just as they are motors in changing these societies. Essentially, all religions hold elements from the many different phases they have passed through. Pictures made in prehistoric societies were, just as is the case for current pictures, created on a social background, and so, iconography will change together with social changes, but not completely, unless the changes are so drastic that the iconography becomes completely obsolete.

The standards setting the agenda for bell- and pottery motifs changed in accordance with changes in the societies that they belonged to. "In any given period or era certain paradigmatic regulations exist that dictate the ingredients to be included in pictures" (Wamberg 2005:37). This quotation stems from a PhD-dissertation on landscape paintings, and although many Yayoi Period pictures depict single motifs rather than sceneries, recurrence is obvious, not only of motifs, but also of the lattice and parallel line patterns. From the Jōmon to the Yayoi Period there is a change of picture carrying media from pottery to bronze, as well as a change of representational content (from animals to animals and humans together). Then, during Middle Yayoi we see a reverse change in media back to the pottery, and again combined with a change of pictorial content in which humans gain much

more focus (although the deer recurs as the leading motif in both records). The second change of representation however, is much less overt, excluding the oldest and including new motifs, but *maintaining* the deer and thus its paradigmatic focus (3.5.3., 5.6. – 5.7.).

It is in the Yayoi Period that we first see the juxtaposition of motifs related to each other – although not in realistic proportion and perspective – the friezes of deer, birds, insects and humans are, although apparently simple in execution, examples of an iconography that is pioneering in its attempts to depict many figures at the same time, whereas the earlier Jōmon iconography focused on the shaping of one or a few figures. Perhaps because of the new focus on versatility, form received lower priority, and the natural depth perspective is all but void in the pictures. Whereas Jōmon figures are highly expressive in an emotional – sometimes sensual – way and in some respects more aesthetically pleasing than the Yayoi pictures, the pictures on style II bells express action; hunters hunt and other humans thresh. Jōmon figures are existential, whereas the earliest Yayoi figures are agents. The agency of the figures are still seen on style III bell pictures, where humans thresh, hunt, fish and fight, birds prey, dogs hunt, and boars root.

The absence of landscape representation in the Yayoi period friezes adds to the impression we gain from them of agency of the figures. With the absence of focus on depth, it is still not possible to include landscape element, since these are inextricably bound to spatial expression (Wamberg 2005:78). The agency however, is much less clear in the pottery pictures where humans and animals are depicted without interaction. Humans with arms or in costumes are depicted for their ornate, not for their act. They are performers, not agents in phase IV. There are many more of them and of their buildings, but although they are still accompanied by deer and birds on the pottery, all the insects and the whole essence of the natural world have gone.

Why did the cosmology change during the Yayoi Period? I have observed the differences between the early world of animals and small living creatures with humans in a – numerically – peripheral role and the later world of houses and people. By comparing the two records and setting them up against the physical background of the settlement systems of the Nara Basin in Early and Middle Yayoi, I have reached conclusions of an originally religiously based cosmology that is manipulated by political interests into an ideologically based cosmology, i.e. a cosmology that excludes previous motifs and includes new ones according to their matching qualities to political leaders' plans and strategies. And I intend through this dissertation to demonstrate how I have come to these conclusions.

I have chosen the Nara Basin although only pottery pictures are concentrated there. The bell pictures were produced in the areas north and west of the basin, but studies of these areas in

particular are not included in the volume. I shall investigate the *type* of religion that could have constituted the base for the pictures in early Middle Yayoi, and I will examine how political interests may have influenced the choice and the change of pictures in late Middle Yayoi. However, I am not going to make any statements on the *degree* of religiosity in any of the phases.

Great importance will be appointed to the dominance of animals and insects in the early pictorial record, as well as to the dominance of human related motifs in the later record. The time of division between these is the transition from phase III to IV, and I return to the difference between the two phases throughout the thesis. I have therefore explored on the topics of animals in traditional societies and interaction between people in their settlement when expanding and developing it. This process has convinced me that the overwhelming presence in the pictures of deer and the elaboration of their antlers combined with the hints to bird-related rituals, particularly in the later record, together reflect the fact that shamanism in some form was practised at Nara Basin settlements.

Summary 1. The pictorial engraving of the Yayoi Period and its discovery

The picture engraved Yayoi Period pottery of the Kinai area was recognised in the 1920s and came from that time to supplement the bronze bells with pictorial engraving. In recent years, the artefact type's presence in various other areas of the Japanese Archipelago has been realised just as has that of wood with pictorial engraving, which has been found at sites with waterlogged conditions. Whereas most pictures on bells were executed during particularly phase II and in phase III, the bulk of the pottery vessels with engravings were produced in phases III and particularly IV, before Chinese influence reached the Kinai area. Presently, some 60 bells exist that carry pictures whereas pottery pictures are represented by more than 1000 vessels. The main position of pictures on pottery vessels is on the neck of jars with constricted necks, and on bells between patterns according to the pattern type. Handles of bells are regularly used for pictorial depictions, particularly in early phases, and the bottom cuff of bells function during all phases as a location for stylistically and compositionally freer depictions.

The deer is the leading motif of Yayoi Period art, but it appears in shifting contexts. In the early age, the 'bell picture age' it is accompanied by insects and reptiles, hunters and threshers and sometimes birds, and in the late age, the 'pottery picture age', by humans in various attire as well as houses and boats.

The absolute dating of the Yayoi Period is still heavily debated, and the dissertation leans on approximations of published results. The bronze bells that are dated relatively between them are here incorporated into the pottery phases following suggestions from 2001 (1.3.2.-table 1.2) according to which all style II bells belong in phases II and III, and all style III and IV-1 bells belong in phase IV.

The Kyūshū products of Fukuda bells are as the only bells decorated with horizontal bands, and in the case of pictorial engraving they carry this between and below their eye motif. The pictures on Kinai bells are preceded by those on crossed bands patterned bells in the coastal area of Fukui and in Gifu Prefectures, whereas the Kinai bells, whose production is initiated in phase II carry their motifs between two sets of the flowing water pattern that was a characteristic trait of the Kawachi area. Later, by style III bells, just before the transference of the pictures to the pottery media, the motifs switched back to the crossed bands patterned bells; this time with great organisation of the decorative outlay.

Prior to phase IV, bronze casting centres existed in the Kyōto-Ōsaka-Kōbe area with Higashinara on the Santō Plain as the leading one. Stone moulds that were used in the early phases have been recovered there with engravings of water pattern and pictorial motifs. In phase IV, Karako Kagi had taken up bronze bell casting and became the only competitor to Higashinara. Only at these two places do we find clay moulds of phase IV, whereas in phase V also Niizawa in the southern Nara Basin and Shimogatsuka in Shiga participated.

The highly ordered location of pictures on style III crossed bands patterned bells is accompanied by a uniform appearance of the pattern itself on bodies as well as on handles and fins of bells. The combination of motifs has thus been impeded, and emphasis is on the pattern which develops into stiff formalism void of pictures on late style IV bells in phase V. The motifs are basically the same from style I through III bells, although more subsistence related motifs have been added, and the record is still dominated by deer, insects, birds and reptiles plus some depictions of humans interacting with nature.

Pottery pictures are also dominated by deer, but the second largest category here is that of the raised floor house. The combination of the two is frequent.

Humans in battle-gear or bird-attire – alternatively with a single feather protruding from their heads – are seen in several cases, all with raised arms, probably a ritual gesture. The hunter is rarely seen on pottery, although the motif of the deer with an arrow in its back occurs in some cases.

Whereas the birds that appear on bells all have long necks and legs, some pottery birds are close in appearance to the short necked, short legged type of the wooden carved birds known from the Yayoi Period.

Boats appear in the pictorial record of the pottery.

The earliest pottery engravings of naturalistic motifs stem from northern Kyūshū, where fishing hooks that decorated primary burial jars were executed from the transition between Early and Middle Yayoi. By mid-Middle Yayoi, traditions had been initiated in San'in, Kinai and Kibi, although the latter was stronger in engravings on clay plaques than in regular vessel engravings. By phase IV, bell pictures had been all but substituted by pottery vessel pictures and the latter had gained its strongest foothold in Kinai on the Kawachi Plain and in the Nara Basin.

Whereas patterns enframe pictures on bells, it is used as fill-out of pictures on pottery; thus, lattice pattern, parallel line pattern, triangular or saw tooth pattern and herringbone pattern are transferred to the new media together with their symbolic significance.

We have a small number of pictorial panoramas on pottery that show a row of motifs, which phenomenon was probably more common than the present relational number indicate, owing to the usual fragmentation of the pottery vessels. Deer in the same composition head the same way and are often related to buildings. The peak in percentage in occurrence of the deer is on phase III pottery, followed by phase IV when a few of its points have gone to fish-depictions that peak in this phase.

In Late Yayoi the naturalistic depictions on pottery were substituted by abstract depictions of the dragon – a Chinese motif – and abstract symbols or signs. Simultaneously, pictures disappeared from bells produced in Kinai – Kinki bells, and only sporadically do they appear in the new easterly casting district of San'en bells.

Earlier interpretations of Yayoi Period pictures have focused on the motifs' relation to paddy fields and the cycle of rice growing with that of the growing of deer antlers. Thus, the pictures have been taken to be ancestral worshipping or negotiation, and the deer to be the rice or the earth spirit. These interpretations are related to the use of deer scapulae for divination purposes compared to the general lack of deer bones at settlement sites. Also, they are related to entries in written chronicles of the early 8th century which in certain respects cannot be dismissed. It has also been suggested that the pictures depict symbolic religious acts or the rituals present in the agricultural societies of the Yayoi Period.

Although voices are raised against using any other method than the genetic historical when treating the religion of a text less society, the typological approach must be included in most cases when working with prehistory, and can be so successfully if the definition of religion is broad. The research of this dissertation concentrates on pinpointing, in Ian Hodder's words "the mentality controlling the institutions, morals and acts that produced the symbols", and it takes for granted that religion, ideology and politics will often become merged as has been proved from ethnographic research.

Still special groups of artefacts can often be isolated, and particularly pictures are suited for research into religious trends, by which method the religion under scrutiny can be defined somewhat more narrowly than if artefact groups are not distinguished and separated in the analysis. Such artefact groups can be isolated in Yayoi Period religion, and since they can be put in a genetic historical context, among other things of the Han shamans in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula, the analysis can be taken quite far without becoming speculative.

2. The uniqueness of activities at Karako Kagi

2.1. Introduction

Knowing the find spots of the picture engraved pottery and bells with and without pictures is essential for understanding the role that the artefacts played. Bell hoards have been found on isolated – usually high lying – spots outside the context of other material. In contrast to this, picture engraved pottery is recovered at settlements, inside the habitation areas from pits and cultural layers, sometimes from pit houses or wells or from the moats encircling some sites.

Inside the Nara Basin, the moat belt of multiply moated settlements held burials and wells and may have constituted important ritual space for the settlements. Two small clusters of moated precincts (*hōkeishūkōbo* 方形周溝墓),[24] the typical Kinai area high status burial, have been detected at Karako Kagi's moats as have jar burials.

The multiply moated settlements are among the largest Yayoi settlements and the most logistically well located for water-transportation. They also show the highest degree and variety of domestic productions as well as the highest degree of import, thus of interaction with other areas. These estimates include production and exchange of ritual objects. At smaller sites, which tend to be non-moated, the only activities carried out, except from primary food production, were those closely related to it such as production of some agricultural tools, and exchange of agricultural products for other commodities. These communities did not partake in the secondary production of specialised tools, nor of crafts and luxury goods, and these goods did normally not reach the smaller farming communities at all. At large places like Karako Kagi, large enterprises were undertaken, such as the production of ritual bronzes and a range of other crafts, and it was here that trade was carried out (Hirose 2004:204).

Picture engraved pottery is, as all other kinds of specialised artefacts, a phenomenon related to large moated settlements.

Karako Kagi however, did not partake in bronze casting from the beginning of Middle Yayoi, such as the centres in the Kawachi, Santō and Kyōto areas. Due to its location in the basin, its establishment was slightly delayed compared to that of the outer lying centres, and it was not a recipient of bronze from the beginning. Still, due to its temporal head start in the

[24] i.e. low square burial mounds containing 2-6 burials and with shallow moats along its sides, whose size increase steadily during Middle Yayoi (Fukasawa 2004:99).

basin, and its geographically advantageous location, it rose to compete with the centres outside the basin by the end of the sub-period.

The following chapter presents Karako Kagi in the context of moated settlements of the Yayoi Period (2.2 -2.4) and outlines the site's internal and interactional development over time (2.5). It also contains an essential presentation of the deposition at the site of picture engraved pottery and 'peculiar' artefacts, both of which are here treated as generally *ritual* (2.6 – 2.7). The chapter thus argues that in the early part of the Yayoi Period there was a tendency at Karako Kagi to place 'ritual artefacts' particularly in wells and pits, but also that – alongside the growth in construction of moats during Middle Yayoi – the moats got their share of the later ritual depositions.

To form a cosmological base for the development of iconography during Middle Yayoi, it is necessary to pay attention to the types and amounts of 'ritual artefacts' in the various phases, and as we shall see, the ritual life of the western Archipelago was until late Middle Yayoi marked by treatment of animal bones, whereas the handling of crafted objects, particularly exotic items and open pottery vessels, dominated ritual life from phase IV on. It appears during the analysis in this chapter that in artefact choice as well as in iconography the ritual focus changed from animals to humans – or from nature to culture.

2.2. Karako Kagi, a moated settlement

The Karako Kagi site, outstanding in its possession of picture engraved pottery, is located in the centre of the Nara Basin (fig. 38, back of volume), and it is one of a small number of multiply moated settlements that exist from the Yayoi Period, a group of sites within a much larger group consisting of settlements fully or partly enclosed by moats. Their functions seem to have varied; presumably originating in protection and sometimes drainage of a wet habitation area, but in many cases developing into primarily one of visual demarcation between the out- and inside. In the Yayoi Period "The land was no longer an inclusive, open body....[but] was now divided and became an exclusive and divisive 'means of production' " (Mizoguchi 2002:126). The settlement moats played part in this division, and they took on a gradually more cognitive significance. This is particularly clear at Karako Kagi, which holds a uniquely large number of moats arranged as concentric circles encompassing the habitation and workshop areas of the entire settlement, although much more will be known about this topic in the future when a larger area of the site has undergone excavation.

In the immediate vicinity of the settlement lay, in phase III, a handful of other sites with which it constituted a settlement group (chapter 3), namely the large site of Hozu Miyako and the various satellites of which many seemingly functioned as the group's cemeteries. Shimizukaze and Hagota, two of the closest satellites, continued as habitation sites in phase IV when the construction of moated precincts had terminated. Shimizukaze furthermore holds the second largest record of picture engraved pottery.

We still do not have a completely clear picture of the exact activities that were carried out in all parts of Karako Kagi. Also at present, the low lying location with its high fertility for rice growing causes a permanent employment of all its square meters for agriculture and habitation, and archaeological investigations, except from the very first, have to be executed in miniscule bits. During the first excavation – of Karako Pond – in 1936 (2.5.3.-fig. 14, 2.6.-fig. 16), more than a hundred storage pits stemming from various phases throughout the Yayoi period were unearthed at the bottom of the pond, containing pottery, stone artefacts and debris as well as unfinished wooden artefacts and bell mould fragments (Barnes 1988:216; Kyōto Imperial University Faculty of Letters 1942). But after that, more than 30 years passed before the next excavation took place in 1968, the third following in 1977. Since that time frequent investigations have been carried out, the 100th excavation being executed in 2004, and even if to date only 11 % of its area has been examined, by each examination new information is added to the site's versatility as a centre of production, import and ritual activities.

Karako Kagi shows not only the highest density of artefacts, but the site also had the highest level of activity in terms of digging of moats and other features. In all of western Japan where we find the moated settlements there is no other settlement that presents to us such a substantial system of demarcation and division of space.

2.3. The dual settlement system and its economic implications

By the start of Middle Yayoi (380 BC) the landscape of the western part of the Japanese Islands had seen profound changes, as the lowland areas – only occasionally used for habitation during Jōmon times, but suited as they were for the growing of rice – had become dominated by fields. A dual settlement system had appeared in the whole region consisting of large moated craft production centres and small scale farming hamlets.

When settlement moats first appeared in northern Kyūshū, a change in spatial organisation had taken place from later Jōmon times when large settlements held several segments of groups of pit houses. In Early Yayoi the individual segments of the community had appeared as separate settlements often enclosed by a moat each, although the agricultural lifestyle must have involved substantial efforts for maintenance and storage and would have forced people to cooperate in larger units. Each moat therefore did not enclose a whole community at this stage, but rather individual groups of which several made up the community (Mizoguchi 2002:136).

Thus, we have reason to assume that already at this early stage, settlement moats had other functions and connotations than mere protection of the inhabitants and their possessions.[25] We can furthermore suspect that this was the case already before the settlement moats were introduced into the archipelago, as we find examples in the Korean Peninsula of pit houses located outside as well as inside the circumference of settlement moats.[26] Also, many of the first moated settlements in northern Kyūshū were abandoned, or their moats were left to silt up at the end of Early Yayoi, when armed conflict appeared in the region (as seen from a number of human skeletons with injuries from battle). Mizoguchi Kōji states that the primary cause for the construction of the moats even at the earliest Yayoi settlements must have been that of demarcating the group's living space rather than the physical protection of the people and their resources (Mizoguchi 2002:136-7).

It was in the wake of the late Early Yayoi unrest that the dual settlement system appeared that came to characterize the developed Yayoi landscape, within which community segments conglomerated into large scale settlements established with moats around them. These agglomerations segregated and coexisted with small scale open (non-moated) settlements. The open settlements were established at previously unoccupied locations (ibid:136-7), and people there were primarily engaged in agriculture and did not take part in the production of varied crafts and elite goods.

Moats could thus have functioned as protectors given society's increased difference in wealth, but since many settlement-moats seem to have been fragmented in shape and probably

[25] One of the earliest sites is Itazuke in Fukuoka, where a moat separates the area occupied by storage pits from the rest of the site. Moats also served as a draining means in wet areas.

[26] The earliest identified moats at agricultural settlements in China date from appr. 6000 BC, and in the Korean Peninsula apparently they appeared already from ca 1000 BC. Watanabe sees the Geom-danri site, dated to the 5th cent. BC and located at the southern tip of the Peninsula as representing the model of moated settlements in Yayoi period Japan. At Geom-danri, the entire surface was laid open during excavation and the moat confirmed to encircle a group of 37 pithouses from several phases, whereas additional 56 houses had been erected at its outside. The moat was only interrupted by two entrances to the north and south (Watanabe 2004:245-246).

did not always enclose a settlement completely (Arbousse-Bastide 2005:30-35) their innate quality as separators between in- and outside spaces must thus have been the main concern in many cases. Demarcating visibly as they did the physical space to which a certain part of the population belonged, they became powerful symbols of status and social exclusion as well as they constituted a security instalment.

While settlement moats as a phenomenon had spread from northern Kyūshū to Kinki at the end of Initial Yayoi, and further during Early Yayoi over the whole of western Japan to Ise Bay, large settlements encircled by several moats appeared in this extended area in late Early Yayoi (Watanabe 2004:247). This dichotomy between privileged settlements with moats and those without them continued and developed further in Middle Yayoi, during which phase we see the expansion in size of some moated settlements (table 5) that placed them in sharp contrast to the small scale open farming hamlets.

An increase of moat digging during Middle Yayoi can be observed at Karako Kagi (2.5.1.) and at several sites in Kinai and beyond, and in phase IV we see a general complication of moat systems. Also, a great deal of the moated settlements (Hirose 2004:203) reached their largest extent in this phase. Ikegami Sone (池上曽根) on the Ōsaka Plain, encircled by one moat in the beginning of Middle Yayoi, was provided with a second one in the second half of Middle Yayoi. Also Harunotsuji (原の辻) on Iki Island and Asahi (朝日) in Aichi Prefecture underwent heavy development and eventually appeared with three and four moats respectively towards the end of phase III (Watanabe 2004:247-248).

More than 500 Yayoi settlements existed which were enclosed by one or more moats (ibid:246) with average measurements of three to four meters in width and about one meter in depth, although some moats had much larger dimensions and others were considerably more modest. The number of moated settlements is proportionate to general demographics, and in densely settled areas on the wide plains they cluster together in groups of up to 15. They do exist in higher lying spots and areas as well, and in some cases settlements may have been temporarily moved from lower to higher spots in times of unrest (Arbousse-Bastide 2005:135) and floods. Still, the lowlands with their high numbers of settlements in general also hold the highest rate of settlements with moats, and they host the largest examples, the ones that provide the most abundant records of artefacts and features. Natural borders define the territories that hold the clusters of moated settlements in their central regions, in the case of the Nara Basin treated here, the mountain ranges that encircle the basin and separate it from the plains and basins surrounding it on all sides.

Table 5

The largest measured Yayoi Period moated settlements

Site Name	Dating	Size (m²)	Location
Yoshinogari (Saga)	EY MY LY	339.903	Plateau
Karako Kagi (Nara)	EY MY LY	283.205	Lowland
Tsuboi Daifuku (Nara)		*270.000	Lowland
Ise (Shiga)	LY	*250.000	
*Harunotsuji (Nagasaki)		**250.000	Lowland
Kamo (Hyōgo)	MY LY	229.773	
Hiratsuka-kawazoe (Fukuoka)	LY	140.786	
Ō (Nara)	EY MY LY	124.015	Lowland
Kosobe · Shibatani (Ōsaka)	LY	101.556	Hilltop
Ikegami Sone (Ōsaka)	EY MY	80.174	Lowland
Kannonjiyama (Ōsaka)	LY	78.842	
Amidaji (Aichi)	MY LY	77.646	
Asahi (Aichi)	EY MY	***70.000	Lowland
Shimonogo (Shiga)	MY	65.996	
Arida (Fukuoka)	EY	44.194	
Gochonakabaru (Kumamoto)	LY	40.000	
Gontappara (Kanagawa)	MY	35.862	
Mitsuidera (Gunma)		29.797	
Gamo Uenoharu (Kumamoto)	LY	28.390	
Ōminami (Fukuoka)	MY LY	24.828	
Ōtsuka (Kanagawa)	MY	24.534	Hilltop
Chokojibara (Kanagawa)	MY	23.475	
Akabanedai (Tōkyō)	LY	22.294	
*Aoya-kamijichi (Tottori)	**** EY MY LY		Lowland

(Dating and size from Arbousse-Bastide 2005)

* Not included in Arbousse-Bastide's list
** Watanabe 2004:247 (Arbousse-Bastide only allows it 13.652 m2)
*** Watanabe 2004:248)
**** Kitaura 2004:142

Social stratification in the Kinai centre is a matter of debate since the artefactual evidence from graves is scarce compared to that of the northern Kyūshū area. However, the huge difference between farming settlements and settlements with a varied range of productions forms the basis of theories of exploitation of the former by the latter during the later parts of the Yayoi period. Thus, Tristan Arbousse-Bastide states that "The moated settlements of the Yayoi period can be viewed as central places controlling the smaller outlying production

hamlets in an almost feudal system" (ibid: 138), in Mizoguchi's words based on the differing "topography of identities" (2002:182) depending on people's belonging to a core settlement or one of its satellite villages (ibid:186). Whether this meant that the lives of *all* inhabitants inside the settlement moats led more privileged lives than those tolling in the fields is hard to say; however, this must have been true for at least some individuals here, namely those who initiated and installed the craft and elite good productions and the construction of the moats.

Specialised production at the moated settlements include axes found at Karako Kagi and Ikegami Sone with wooden handles processed inside the settlements after the cutting edges had been prepared at the place of stone mining. Products that were not kept at the site where they were made were traded to other moated settlements in- or outside the territorial settlement system. Some goods would have been exchanged on a daily basis, and the large settlements were engaged in local exchange in the shape of redistribution of foods and merchandise to the farming communities located in their respective territories. So the existence and reproduction of the Yayoi communities depended on the labour divided production and the collection and redistribution of products from all three spheres carried out by leaders of the moated settlements. Natural resources necessary to produce essential wooden and stone tools were not accessible from many of these settlement, squeezed in as they were between streams and rivers inside the Nara Basin, the Ōsaka Plain and other lowlands. There were no stone-quarries or large trees in the lowlands, and the small settlements did not have the necessary surplus to acquire raw materials from further away, neither did they possess the skills to work them (Hirose 2004:203). Also, the procurement of metals as well as the knowledge of its processing was far from the reach at these small settlements. The non-local exchange involved only the moated settlements, and was comprised of objects and raw materials obtainable only in areas foreign to their destinations. Jadeite beads from the Japan Sea Coast reached moated settlements several hundred kilometres away from their place of production, as did bronze and in Late Yayoi iron from even further distances on the Asian continent. Both categories of material entered the network of trading, within which a large body of other items circulated between the moated settlements.

There are no non local goods at the small hamlets, and no accumulation of artefacts. In general, the life spans of these farming settlements seem to have been no longer than those of their pit houses, and the living quarters of the farmsteads were thus moved every couple of decades whenever the need to rebuild dwellings arose. Each of these sites contains a couple or a handful of houses, meaning that populations would have consisted of 50 individuals or less.

In comparison, the life of a moated settlement spanned 200-300 years or more, and it was probably inhabited by several hundreds of people, a number that has in some cases been estimated to even one thousand individuals[27] (ibid:203).

The leaders of the large settlements would bring together people related to craft production, trade and ritual life. Here, their own residence would be established together with sacred places, workshops and markets, and the moat would be constructed as a surrounding demarcation. The sacred places were crucial at these sites for the ideological integration of people, who had different commitments and different normative values. The moated settlements were "the accumulation of political, economic and religious centralised functions, in which the carriers of these functions lived" (ibid: 205).

Contrary to the small settlements, where we hardly find any pottery from other areas, the moated settlements were – in Hirose's words – "trade centres" (a term whose implications however, I shall discuss later (2.5.3)), places filled with people engaged in producing the various crafts and characterised by a number of constantly coming and going individuals bringing with them the products of remote and closer neighbouring areas.[28] Hirose names large moated settlements "towns" because of their character as central places containing the important trade, production and ritual life – i.e. places housing the sanctuary as well as the political power of an area – where people from the smaller settlements, the "villages", would sometimes go, and where there would be a constant traffic of people from neighbouring moated settlements and from outside the region (ibid:205-206).

Possibly, each cluster of moated settlements held a hierarchical order between them, defined by their relative location inside the internal surroundings of the territories. The largest and most prosperous of the moated settlements are always found to have been located at junctions or mouths of rivers, where they, apart from having easy access to fishing – fish bones are abundant at these sites – were able to control the traffic of the waterways (Arbousse-Bastide 2005:132-133). Belonging to this group are Yoshinogari in Saga Prefecture, Ikegami Sone on the southern Ōsaka Plain (fig. 7) and Karako Kagi in the Nara Basin.

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[27] These estimations, however, have been carried out on the basis of numbers of postholes at Ikegami Sone (Hirose 2004:203). The reliability of this method is questionable and complicated in cases of long-lasting habitation etc.

[28] Any of these population groups – whether engaged in craft production or in trading – would have included a varying number of newcomers or temporary visitors from the continent, notably the Korean Peninsula.

Figure 7: Ikegami Sone between rivers and in front of its outlying satellites.

(Picture from Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1991:62-63)

The model of Ikegami Sone and its surrounding landscape shows the settlement's location in the heart of the open plain, stretching across two rivers and having immediate access to the open sea. This type of location involving control of the waterways was an essential quality of the highest ranking moated settlements; it gave rise to their growth and helped them maintain continuous authority over the small hamlets dispersed in the neighbouring landscape. Like Ikegami Sone, Karako Kagi was located in immediate proximity to waterways, even if it was further away from the open sea. It was set next to an important junction of the tributaries of the Yamato River, and it was established as the first Yayoi settlement inside the basin (Kanaseki Hiroshi, personal communication, May 2005; Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 2000:9).

As we saw earlier, the criteria for constructing moats or not are not very clear for the beginning of the Yayoi period. During Middle Yayoi however, moats became related to grandiosity in size and in social importance. Proportionate to their status, a number of specialised industries were carried out inside their boundaries, thus many kinds of utensils as well as elite and prestigious objects were manufactured. There were productions of stone tools and weapons – knapped as well as ground, wood working of agricultural and domestic objects – cut, carved and lathed, processing of bone into objects, pottery production as well as the

casting of bronze implements and glass accessories and the forging of iron, although the latter is not nearly as prevalent in Kinai as in other areas, particularly Western Seto. Also, at some locations salt production took place, particularly the moated settlements in Kibi excelled in this.

By the beginning of Middle Yayoi, the moated settlement of Karako Kagi was already slightly ahead in terms of status inside the Nara Basin, whereas in the broader perspective of the entire Kinai region, Higashinara north of the basin was on top of the hierarchy, as it processed most of the bronzes, and was the only centre to cast the Ōsaka Bay halberds.

2.4. The cognitive significance of moats in Middle Yayoi

Whereas some settlement moats contain evidence of fighting in the shape of weaponry, others lack this material. In some of the latter cases, contents of the moats include elaborately manufactured pottery, often unbroken, and peculiar and enigmatic objects. Moreover, the filling sequences of these features testify that there were stages of intentional depositions.

In some cases the settlement moats served to protect the people inside them from hostile attacks that could occur either as parts of fighting and competition between neighbouring settlements for control of arable land or for the access to resources (Arbousse-Bastide 2005:135) in times of famine when draughts or floods had resulted in the loss of crops.[29]

More often however, the predominant content of settlement moats is pottery. And in spite of the fact that in the basin, most material is actually found in moats and ditches due to frequent floods, at Karako Kagi we see systematic depositions of oracle bones and perforated lower jaws of boar and deer from phases II and III. From phase IV we have the first sporadic finds of craft-related depositions like beads, a knife, wooden pedestalled bowls and pottery pedestalled vessels whose foot parts have apparently been removed and deposited in isolation from the rest of the vessels. Also, there are whole arrowheads, mostly chipped stone arrowheads without signs of use, and we see large assemblages of pottery depositions from Late Yayoi (phase V). The trend of placing things that were not waste in moats and wells is evident in Late Yayoi at several Nara Basin settlements, particularly in the shape of

[29] At both Yoshinogari in Saga and Asahi in Aichi rows of wooden poles have been hammered into the bottom of the moats probably in order to obstruct invasion. Several arrowheads were imbedded in skeletons both at Takashi-Jinja, Saga and at Katsube, Ōsaka. Furthermore, inside the bank of a moat – 8 m wide and 0.8 m deep – at Aoyakamijichi in Tottori, a great number of human skeletons were found showing signs of regular slaughtering (Fukasawa 2002:107), and in that of Karakami in Iki, a human skull has been recovered, both of which may indicate that violent acts took place near the moats of these settlements.

assemblages of whole pottery vessels. At Karako Kagi, the trend was predominant already by phase III, as many depositions in wells of whole pottery vessels, oracle bones and perforated pig jaws stem from that time. In Late Yayoi depositions of 5-10 whole vessels in wells had become common, and its record of whole vessels in moats is impressive. The material mentioned here will be further discussed later (2.7.).

As was the case in Early Yayoi, also during the rest of the Yayoi Period there seems to have been no relationship between moat digging and armed conflict at the overwhelming majority of lowland sites. The construction and maintenance of moats there do not coincide temporally with peak times of warfare such as these appear by evidence of battle weapons in the chronological record of the Yayoi Period. Also, there are very few examples of moats with particularly high concentrations of used weapons (Matsugi 2004b: 242). Whereas many stone knives and axes have been found in broken condition, at Karako Kagi the arrowheads, of which several hundreds exist from the site, are generally intact. Both types of artefacts have been recovered from phase IV moats and pits. Several moats known to have been in use during times of unrest do not bear traces of fighting, and moats were left unattended at settlements whose existence during these times is certain.

The two moats that encircled Ikegami Sone on the Ōsaka Plain were repeatedly left without maintenance for decades, during which interval they silted up with earth, sand and dumped rubbish. At regular intervals, the moats were re-cut, but by each digging they shrank until they were less than one meter wide and about 10 cm deep (Hirose 2004:203). The trait of placing pit houses outside the moats of settlements that we see in the Korean Peninsula is retrieved at the Middle Yayoi moated settlement of Tawayama in Shimane Prefecture that was equipped with dramatically deep moats, which I shall return to below.

The question of regular habitation at Karako Kagi in late Middle Yayoi (phase IV) is hard to access. Recently, two pit houses from the phase have turned up at Karako Kagi (exc. 65 and 98), but so far they make up the only evidence of habitation during the phase. This may be due to the heavy exploitation of the area in modern times. However, it is possible that during phase IV, the place was one of a category of moated settlements whose primary function was not habitation.

Since the moated settlements are mainly represented by ditches and pits (Arbousse-Bastide 2005:5, 119), they bear some resemblance to the European Neolithic causewayed enclosures whose cultic nature was recognised in the 1960s (Niels Andersen, personal communication). Observations were made also here of interior areas lacking signs of habitation, and of rows of separated ditches – with lay-outs and dimensions altogether unsuited for defence, and this

persuaded archaeologists to look for other interpretations. It was realised that filling of the ditches had been intentional rather than natural. Furthermore, the presence in the ditches of deliberately deposited objects like skulls and other parts of human skeletons together with whole pottery vessels, elaborate and unbroken ground stone axes and traces of fire led to the categorisation of causewayed enclosures as sacred places. Their significance as regional centres was perceived from their co-existence with clusters of long barrows or megalithic burials (Renfrew 1973:549-550).

The causewayed enclosures appear on the step to the middle Neolithic and signify the emergence of chiefdom, (ibid: 544-547), and conclusions were reached of the enclosures as communal gathering centres at which important rituals took place, rituals that could well have included exchange as well as funeral rites (Andersen 1997:305-309). Niels Andersen suggests that the communal rites took place outside the enclosure at the ditches, and that the interior with its sparse traces of features, "appears to have been reserved for special activities", thus maybe only a selected part of the population was allowed in the interior part (ibid: 305). It was demonstrated that the ditches had been filled and re-cut repeatedly, that depositions of artefacts as well as the keeping of fires had taken place in the temporal intervals when they were open.

At Karako Kagi and other moated settlements in the Nara Basin, no artefacts or features have been discovered outside the outermost moat. But in the San'in area houses have been detected in such locations, and the moated settlements may have been predominantly for housing ritual activities. Excavations from 1997 to 1999 at Tawayama site in Shimane prefecture gave rise to the theory that a specific category of ritual moated settlements appeared during the second half of Middle Yayoi. Tawayama is situated on a steep hill in Matsue City south-east of the Shinji Lake. Activities had taken place here since the end of Early Yayoi, but in late Middle Yayoi it had been encircled by three concentric moats perhaps after the construction of two pillared buildings at the interior of the site. The moats were 3 to 7 meters wide and 1 to 1.8 meters deep, and in the intervals between them earthen walls were made. Furthermore, the buildings inside the moats were surrounded by fences that could have obstructed the view from the outside (Watanabe 2004:249). Only one pit house has been identified inside the moats, at the peak of the hill, and this stems from Early Yayoi, whereas more than 20 pit houses from Middle Yayoi are situated at the foot of the hill, all outside the dramatically deep moats. Similarly, six moated sites have been discovered along the Hino River, at which evidence of dwellings in their interior is absent (Matsugi 2004b:242; Mizoguchi 2002:128, 242).

Thus, some moated settlements, admittedly particularly in San'in, contain only storage pits, raised floor houses, and no dwellings in their interior space, signalling that the moats' visual function with its cognitive implications was their most significant.

2.5. Karako Kagi from early to late Middle Yayoi

From the preceding observations and discussions of western Japan's moated Yayoi settlements in general, I shall now focus on the specific case of Karako Kagi. Before we can begin to discuss the cosmological elements working in the conceptual world of the people inhabiting Karako Kagi towards the end of Middle Yayoi, we must assess the palpable, physical cosmology of the settlement inside and around which these people lived their lives. The changes that happened in terms of new features and objects – particularly the shift from phases III to IV – will during the remainder of the thesis be treated as reflections of changes in the cognitive atmosphere at the site and in the basin.

2.5.1. Establishment of Karako Kagi and its three stages

Karako Kagi was founded during early Early Yayoi as the earliest known agricultural settlement in the Nara Basin. Preceding it slightly are settlements established on the Ōsaka Plain by the first agricultural groups that reached the eastern end of the Inland Sea. Some occupation of the basin's lowland had taken place in the Jōmon Period, but most Jōmon groups preferred the higher lying forested areas at the foot and slopes of the mountain ranges in the periphery of the basin, and the lowland areas offered plenty of space for exploitation by incoming settlers. Karako Kagi's favourable position at the bank of the Hase River, and its situation only 48 meters above sea level was a perfect choice for a wet-rice settlement when the pioneer farmers entered the basin by the Yamato River.

Stage 1 (phases I-II): During Early Yayoi (775 – 380 BC) and well into Middle Yayoi, i.e. approximately including phase II (380 – 280 BC) the site consisted of a complex of three individual settlements (each measuring 150-300 m2) established around a natural depression (fig. 8) (Fujita 2004:207; Watanabe 2004:248). Each settlement was inhabited by a group of people living in 5-6 pithouses as assessed by Ishino (1996:123) and even after the conglomeration the groups kept a physical distance between them.

The first moats were dug during the later part of Early Yayoi (phase I), one surrounding each of the three settlements and 2 to 3 meters wide. By this time the three settlements had grown into unequal sizes of 10.000, 20.000 and 45.000 m2.

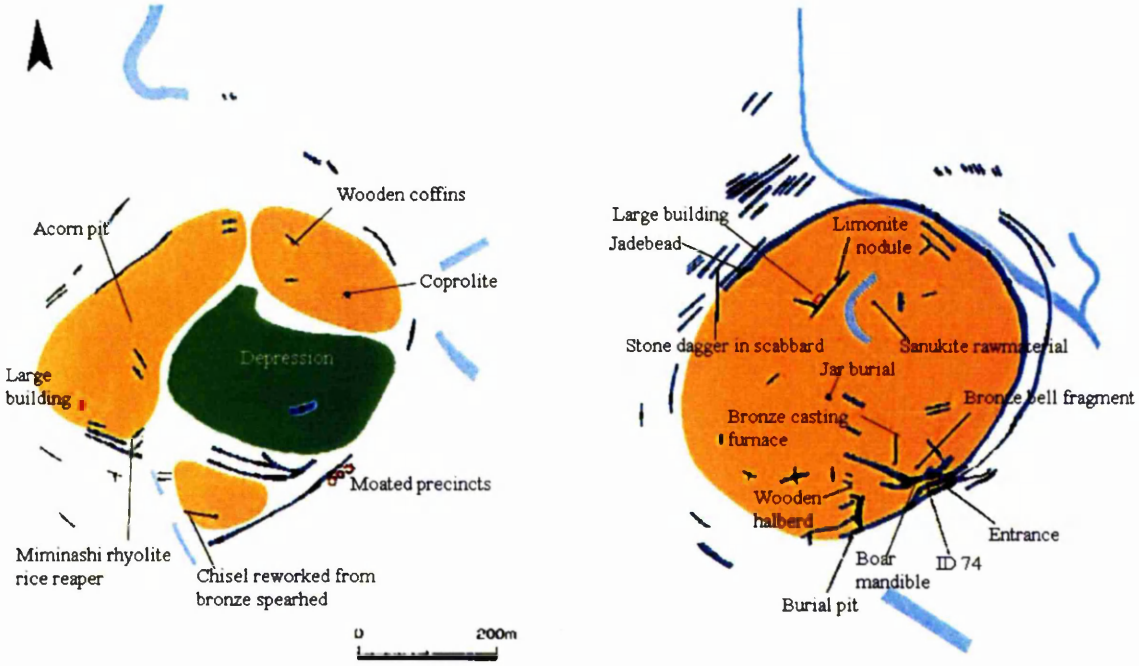


Figure 8: Karako Kagi at the end of Early Yayoi/beginning of Middle Yayoi (Phases I –II – left) and in later Middle Yayoi (Phases III – IV – right).
Dark blue colour indicates confirmed moat-courses, light blue confirmed waterways.

(Map after Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 2004b:12; 1999:7)

Stage 2 (phases III-IV): At some point of time during Middle Yayoi, approximately at the transgression between phases II and III (280 BC), the moats around these original three settlements were intentionally filled up, and replaced by one single moat enclosing all three settlements. The new moat was of much larger dimensions than the preceding ones with a width of 7 to 10 meters and a depth of 2 meters, and it enclosed an area of 12,6 ha (Fujita 2004:207; Watanabe 2004:248).

After the completion of the first large moat, which was to remain the largest, two activities started at Karako Kagi; the digging of additional moats at its exterior, until there was a 'belt' (150-200 meters wide) of concentric circles around the settlement, and the digging of ditches inside the enclosure that by the end of Middle Yayoi (phase IV) had created a complicated system of partitions.

Towards the end of Middle Yayoi (AD 20), Karako Kagi was flooded, and the moats and the depression were filled with sedimentation, destroying large parts of the site.

Stage 3 (phase(s) V(-VI)): Soon after the catastrophe however, a new stage of moat maintaining was initiated in the beginning of Late Yayoi. All the moats from Middle Yayoi were now redug, although at smaller dimensions (fig. 9) (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:15).

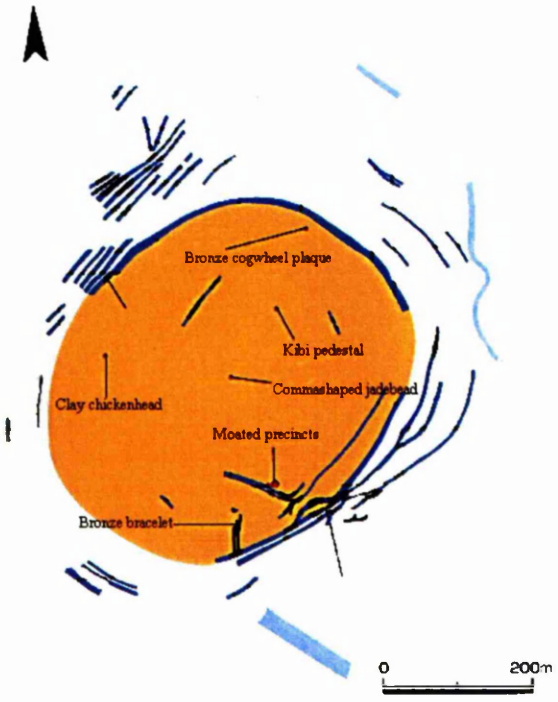


Figure 9: Karako Kagi in Late Yayoi (Phase V) after the recutting and extension of its moat system.
(Map after Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 2004b:13; 1999:8)

A second – intentional – filling of the moats took place at the transition between Late Yayoi and Early Kofun, and the settlement continued to exist without moats during the Early Kofun period (Fujita 2004:207).

2.5.2. Ditches, buildings and burials at Karako Kagi

During phase III, the inside of Karako Kagi was divided into many rectangles by partitioning ditches, and Watanabe thinks that the number of buildings between the ditches increased from that time and until Late Yayoi (Watanabe 2004:249). Proofs of such buildings are not clear at Karako Kagi however, since most of the features found in the partitions are postholes in

unclear arrangement, storage pits and wells. Thus, the function of most partitions cannot be distinguished or differentiated.

The habitation situation during stages 2 and 3 at Karako Kagi is, as mentioned, diffuse, and so far, we have very little evidence of living quarters after the construction of the large moat. One pit house stemming from the phase IV/V transition was found in the south-eastern part of the site (exc. 65, 2.5.3.2.-fig. 14, 2.6.-fig. 16 – *all excavation no.s appear in this figure*). There were traces of fire near it as well as bronze casting related artefacts. Since its location is right at the spot where bronze casting took place in phase V the building may have been an early bronze workshop. A genuine phase IV pit house was detected in July 2004 (exc. 98, figs. 14, 16) in the centre of the site. In its centre was a layer of burnt charcoal containing phase IV pottery (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 2004a:10). This building is in the main area of stone working at the site (exc. 53), and may in some way have been related to this activity.

Larger buildings suitable for housing a larger segment of the populations for feast or other communal gatherings have been detected, and such constructions seem to have been present as a rule at the large moated settlements. The earliest of these houses at Karako Kagi stems from before the agglomeration and was located at the southern end of the western settlement (fig. 8 left). Postholes were recovered of a building that measured 13.4 × 7 m (≈ 94 m2) and stemmed from the beginning of Middle Yayoi (Pits related to the feature contained phase II-2 pottery, and some postholes pottery of phase II-3) (around 300 BC).[30] The traces of the building were cut by the large moat from phase III-1). This discovery was made in 1999 (exc. 74, fig.16).

In 2003 traces of a second large building were found measuring 13.2 × 6 m (≈ 80 m2)[31] in the north-western quarter of the large settlement (exc. 93, figs. 14, 16). It stems from a slightly later stage, namely the middle of Middle Yayoi, dated by fragments of phase III-1 pottery in its postholes (Karako Kagi Archaeological Museum 2005:4-5). This building thus dates to the time of constructing the large moat after the moats of the small settlements had been filled, and since it seems still to have been in use in phase III-2 (ibid:5) it must have belonged to the conglomerated site. The western segment had been the largest of the early settlements, and may have been the only one with that kind of structure. It is therefore quite possible that the large house was rebuilt when it became the assembly place for a larger population group. Notably, it is still inside the 'territory' of the earlier western settlement (but closer to the north-western edge). Its eastern and southern walls run close to a partitioning

[30] Each posthole stemmed from posts with diameters of approximately 60 cm (Fujita 2004:207).
[31] With postholes from posts between 45 and 83 cm in diameter.

ditch that was constructed sometime from mid to late Yayoi, and the reorganisation of the settlement could have been the incitement for its change of location. Had it been an internal replacement inside the western segment, it would likely have been rebuilt at the spot of its predecessor. The partitioning ditch that passes the building cuts close to one of its corner postholes but does not disturb it, so the house was probably there when the ditch was dug. It is in this ditch that the phase IV limonite nodule containing two jadeite beads was recovered (2.7.3.). On the other hand one of its postholes is cut by a phase IV well, although this seems not to have disturbed the post itself (ibid:4), so the building may have been removed or fallen out of use during this phase.

The presence of such large structures characterises the largest of the moated Yayoi settlements, the ones we may regard as central in their territory. Thus, we find these buildings at Ikegami Sone (133 m2), Ise (Shiga Prefecture, 88 m2) and at Yoshinogari, and 40 other Yayoi period settlements holding such structures are known (Hirose 2004: 204). The one at Ikegami Sone stems from phase IV (Miyamoto 2004:217), when it was erected at the centre of the site simultaneously with the construction of partitioning ditches (Watanabe 2004:247) resembling those at Karako Kagi. As at Karako Kagi, the building was constructed after the settlement was enclosed by the inner moat.

At Ikegami Sone the orientation of the large building includes a wider part of the structures and features surrounding it; at Yoshinogari the large house inside an A-shaped enclosure – but not the enclosure itself – was oriented north-south, and its central axis was in line with that of a burial jar path and further with that of a mound at the northern end of the site (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1997:99). Hence, it is assumed that these buildings were related to ritual activities.[32] The later Karako Kagi building's connection to other traces of ritual activity (2.7.3.) brings further evidence to this pattern.

At Karako Kagi, also the burials constitute an important group of features in the total picture of the site's physical appearance and the way it changed. From Early Yayoi stem two burials in wooden coffins in the northern segment (exc. 23) (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 1988:16-17). From the time of the transition between phases II and III three moated precincts have been recovered in the south-eastern part of the moat belt of Karako Kagi (exc. 91) (ibid 2003a:13; 2004b:12). They are placed adjacently next to the natural depression where no settlement was located at the time. When the large moat was later established, its course passed closely by them, excluding them from the interior, and the entrance to the settlement

[32] The buildings however, do not share geographical orientation. Whereas the one at Yoshinogari is oriented north-south, Ikegami Sone's is east-west and Karako Kagi's from exc. 93 has an oblique orientation.

was placed immediately to their west (figs. 14, 16), such as it is inferred from the finds of postholes inside the moats, assumed to stem from poles holding a bridge.

A pit burial stemming from Middle Yayoi was located in the southern edge of the site, just outside the large moat (ibid 1994:5). Remains of three Middle Yayoi jar burials have been found in one of the ditches that cut through the centre of the settlement (exc.50) (ibid 1994:5), three phase IV jar burials in the site's north-eastern part (exc. 59), and one from the IV/V transition in the area south of the southern pit house (exc. 65). I shall return to the burials when I demonstrate that their locations seem to be connected to the picture engraved pottery (2.7.).

Two moated precincts from Late Yayoi were constructed next to each other *inside* the settlement immediately next to – north of – the ditch that segregated the southern area from the rest of the settlement (fig. 9). Since the earlier moated precincts are placed right outside the settlement moats, the location of these late precincts could indicate that they belonged to the segregated area in relation to which the main settlement would be part of 'the outside'. A regular cemetery is seemingly absent, but can be found at a range of the satellite sites in Karako Kagi's vicinity (3.2.3.).

2.5.3. Production and import at Karako Kagi

Another category of elements that forms part of our picture of changes in the physical as well as in the cognitive cosmology is constituted by industrial objects, both the ones that were produced at Karako Kagi and the ones that were imported. It is generally agreed upon that bronze bells played a role in religious rituals, and that both bells and accessories were related to high status. But it is not usually discussed how one inducement to produce pottery and artefacts of stone, wood and antler can be the intention to use them in a religious ritual and /or deposition, neither that a motive to import other regions' pottery or exotic beads could be exactly the same. This is why we must also look at the seemingly profane production before and during phase IV and at the import at Karako Kagi, and consider the materials' role before we turn to the role of the picture engraved pottery and the more immediately identifiable religious artefacts.

Below, I shall deal with the expanding exchange radius of Karako Kagi through the Yayoi Period. I shall argue that exchange can be maintained and extended for ritual purposes. And I shall demonstrate why, in the case of Karako Kagi, we should consider its segregated area to the southwest (figs. 14, 16), showing concentrations of import from the time it was

established (phase IV) and on, as a ritual area by arguing that exchange and ritual life were deeply entangled in the phase.

2.5.3.1. Early Yayoi industries at Karako Kagi and beyond - the background of Middle Yayoi exchange.

Hirose distinguishes between three spheres of secondary production during the Yayoi period: special crafts at the moated settlements, mass produced objects at special workshops, e.g. the stone quarries, and minor productions at the small agricultural settlements, of which there were – also in the later phases of the Yayoi Period – an overwhelmingly large number compared to much fewer large settlements (Hirose 2004:205).

In Kinai, the earliest heartland in the Kyōto and Santō areas stayed in the lead from the beginning of the Yayoi Period until the time when the former agricultural settlement of Karako Kagi in the basin proved too strong an opponent in the competition for bronze, and the earlier producers gradually lost the bell production and also their exchange partners. This happened in phase IV.

A shortcoming of Hirose's analysis of the moated settlements and their relationship with the non-moated settlements is that he does not distinguish between the various phases of the Yayoi Period. The phenomena he talks about mostly belong in Late Yayoi, whereas others emerged at different points of time and developed into the shapes that Hirose observes in Late Yayoi context. In order to get a more accurate picture of the development in the Yayoi Period, we have to be much more specific about phases and put more effort into distinctions of them.

Karako Kagi and the major part of the basin were not engaged in exchange beyond the local level in Early Yayoi. It was isolated from the Kawachi Plain by the Ikoma Mountain range, and apart from the basin's north-western edge where there were passages to the Kyōto Basin and the Santō Plain, the Nara Basin had been uninfluenced by the new life style in Initial Yayoi.[33] After the establishment of Karako Kagi in the beginning of Early Yayoi, the development of the basin was marked by immigration and the founding of new settlements, and focus was on the settling process and the taking up of new fields rather than on exchange with settlements outside the basin. Thus, for most of Early Yayoi the major part of the population in the basin was probably rather indifferent to the societies on the large plains.

[33] The three earliest sites with moated precincts in Kinai are from Initial Yayoi. These are Higashimuko in Hyōgo, Higashinara in Ōsaka, and Saki in the north-western basin.

Only at Karako Kagi, where people had been settled for the longest time, production of stone and wooden tools was larger than for immediate needs,[34] and with its strategic location it may have started a small scale exchange of these products with marine products and other goods from the sites outside the basin (fig. 10).

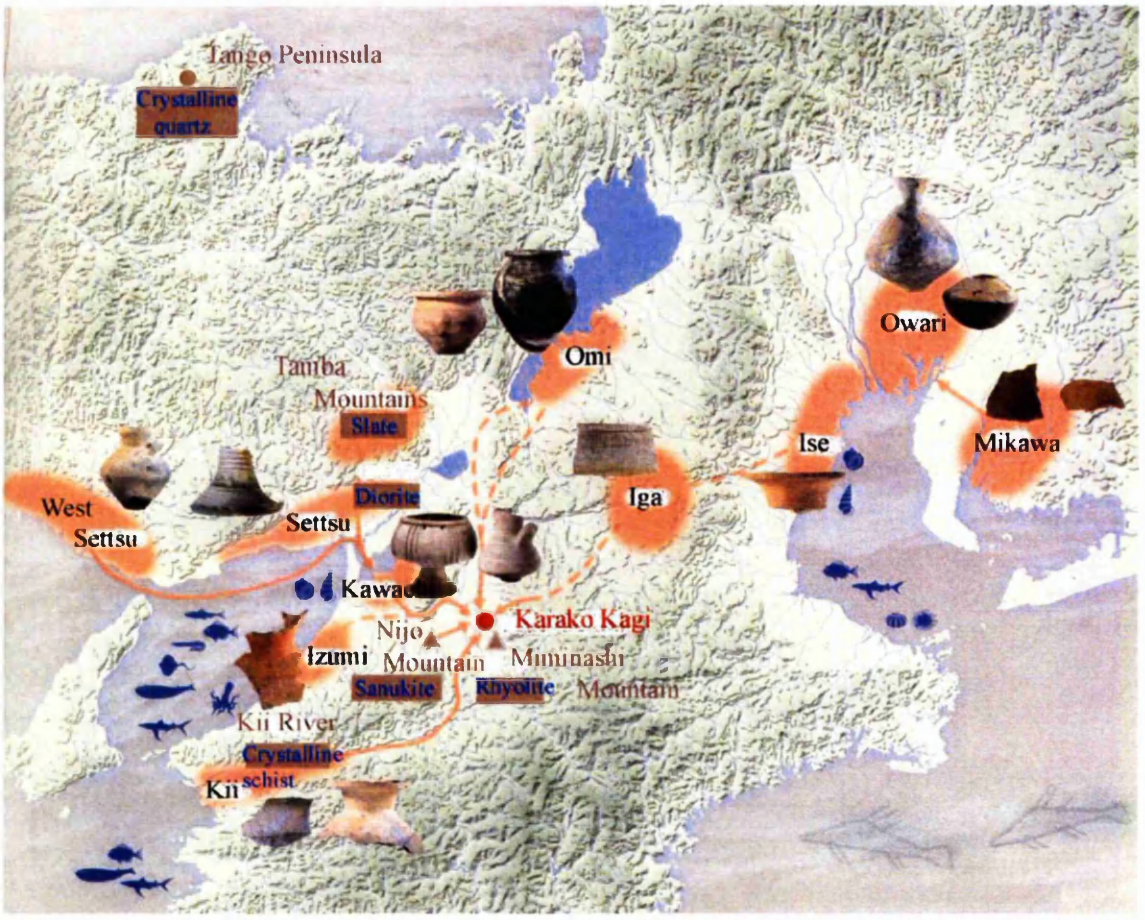


Figure 10: The exchange network that brought raw material and marine resources to Karako Kagi in phases II and III.

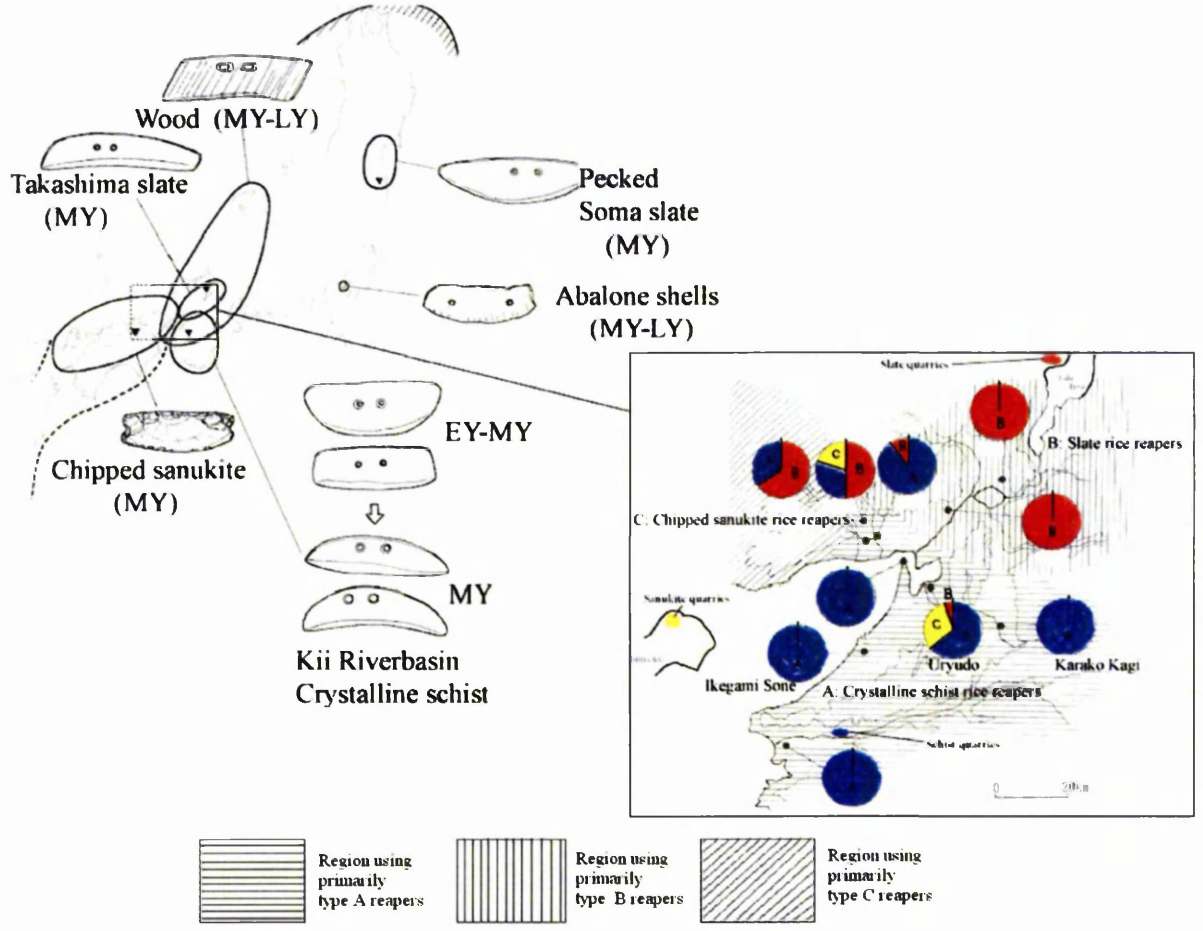
(Map after Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 2004b:39)

A very common material for rice reapers (jap. *ishibōchō* 石庖丁) in the basin was rhyolite, and Karako Kagi seems to have processed most of them. They have been found at the site in all stages of manufacturing together with the raw material itself (Fujita 2004:207). Tsuboi Daifuku was the closest situated site to the Miminashi as well as the Unebi Mountain (1 and 4 km respectively), where the raw material was fetched, and groups of quarrymen were likely

[34] Large amounts of semiproducts and completed tools have been found.

based there. The Miminashi quarry comprises one of the sources to which presumably only large "industrial", i.e. moated, settlements had access (Hirose 2004:205).

Slabs of rhyolite raw material have been discovered at Tsuboi Daifuku. Further processing went on at Karako Kagi where large quantities of raw material in handy sizes, semi products and completed rice reapers have been found. The latter became the centre for local harvesting tools, and as it enjoyed the advantage of being located at the traffic junction, it is likely that people there took on the role as organisers of the distribution in the entire Kinai region of not only their own rhyolite rice reapers but also part of those made from crystalline schist and stemming from the Kii River Valley south of the Nara Basin (figs. 10, 11, 12). As shown in fig. 12, the schist items comprised considerable parts of reapers also at the sites on the plain



Figures 11 & 12: Rice reapers and their material in the Kinai area and beyond.

(Maps after Tōkyō University 1992:124 (left); 125 (right - modified))

north of the Ōsaka Bay, which area borders the region where primarily sanukite reapers are found. Contrary to reasonable expectations, sanukite items comprise a very low share of the reapers recovered in the northern Ōsaka Plain.

Karako Kagi rice reapers may thus have become a well-known commodity in the Ōsaka Bay Region and could well have constituted the foundation on which Karako Kagi built its development during the earlier part of the Yayoi Period. This would have led to the prosperity that in the long run enabled Karako Kagi to break into the trading network of the bronze material, and start acquiring the metal and compete with the other casting centres on the plains around the bay. The new industry at Karako Kagi again enabled it to start trading with the bead production centres at the Japan Sea Coast, thus enhancing its position during phase IV, as stable contacts with these had been established. One example of such contact is Hiyoshigaoka (日吉ヶ丘) in the Tangō peninsula where a flourishing production of glass beads took place (fig. 13).

Lots of glass beads were produced in the Tangō Peninsula. At Hiyoshigaoka there is a phase IV elite grave with ochre, and many cylindrical beads were recovered (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 2002:20). Also phase IV picture engraved pottery, a ground stone dagger and iron tools exist from the same site (ibid:61).

Beads of various materials constituted the hallmark of production at the Japan Sea Coast, and sites from Shimane Prefecture in the west to Ishikawa Prefecture in the east exported these items in large numbers to wealthy sites in other regions where they were in great demand. The earliest bead producing Yayoi sites known are Nagase Takahama (長瀬高浜) and Nishikawatsu (西川津) (4.3.3.-fig. 34) in Tottori and Shimane Prefectures respectively, both from mid Early Yayoi. These two places are at the same time the earliest in San'in to have started agriculture, and their bead-production seems to have developed similarly to that at sites in the Peninsula. Picture engraved pottery has not been recovered here, rather a clay head of a human has been found at Nishikawatsu (ID 575). At Yōkaichijikata (八日市地方) (4.3.1.-fig. 33) in Ishikawa Prefecture, we have substantial evidence of production of ground beads from jade, agate, rock crystal, and iron-quartz. Nodules of the raw material were found as well as semi products together with processing tools including grinding stones (ibid 1998:38-45).

Returning to Hiyoshigaoka, a style IV-1 bell (processed in late phase IV) was found at Sudai Jinja Urayama (須代神社裏山) in its immediate vicinity, a bell that could theoretically have been produced at Karako Kagi and exchanged for some of the beautiful blue glass beads

of the Tangō region. This bell is the earliest in the area. A splendid style IV-5 Kinki bell measuring 109 cm. was deposited in another spot, Hionijo (比丘尼城), close to the site, and a bit further away – at Niogazaki (匂ヶ崎) – a hoard with one Kinki and one San'en bells was found.

Figure 13: An area with new trading partners of Karako Kagi in phase IV: The Tango Peninsula. with its most prosperous bead production centres of which most were established in late Middle Yayoi (black) and bell caches (red).

(Map after Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 2002:62, 66)

At Hiyoshigaoka itself a clay bell was recovered as well as two pieces of engraved pottery, one with the rump and back part of a deer, and one with a more abstract design in the shape of an eye (IDs 57, 89). These pieces are from phase IV (ibid 2002:61-63) and contemporary with the Sudai Jinja bell, and the local area where Hiyoshigaoka is situated is visible in the archaeological record from mid Middle Yayoi through Late Yayoi (ibid:66), making it likely that the sites were established at the opportunity of exchanging with the bronze procuring and processing sites on the south (Pacific Sea) coast.

Just as Nishikawatsu in Shimane and Nagase Takahama in Tottori Prefectures were the first settlements in their respective areas to be established and start agriculture and soon after bead production, Karako Kagi in the Nara Basin also gained advantage of being the earliest established agricultural settlement and was soon after ready to start a comprehensive secondary production. In all three cases this secondary production was initiated in mid Early Yayoi.

I shall later (5.9.) treat the possibility of a special ritual connection between Karako Kagi and some areas of the San'in region, areas whose ritual significance I see – just as that of Karako Kagi – as related to their early engagement in trade.

2.5.3.2. Middle Yayoi industries at Karako Kagi

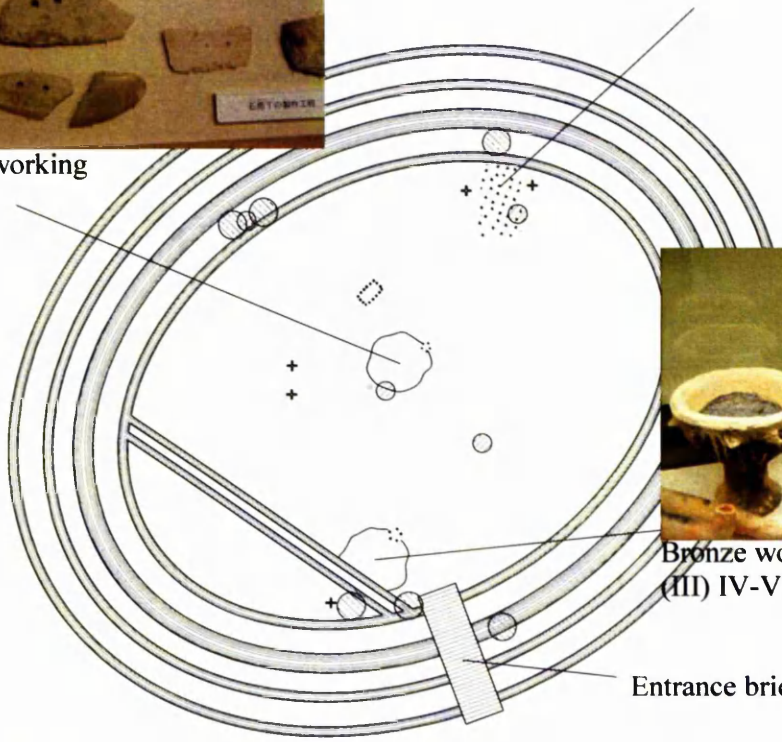
If none of the groups present at Karako Kagi in the later phases were engaged in primary production, as suggested by Hirose, we should think that the agricultural tools produced here were meant for export only. There is still the possibility that Karako Kagi was not a normal habitation place after the reformation of the site by the large moat in the beginning of Middle Yayoi, since pithouses are very few. Gina Barnes suggested already in 1988 the possibility that Karako Kagi had functioned mainly as a production site, and as long as we have no rice fields from Middle and Late Yayoi we cannot ignore this possibility. Pit houses from exc. 65 and 98 that are both from phase IV (figs. 14, 16) are situated close to the areas of bronze casting (south) and stone (centre) working respectively, but traces of other pit houses could have been disrupted by modern agricultural activities, and habitation at the site is a matter that must be discussed to wider extents in the course of time and new investigations.

However, as we shall see (2.7.), several examples exist at Karako Kagi demonstrating that by phase IV people have started using rice reapers in ritual depositions. It will also appear that large amounts of the chipped arrowheads produced at the site have been deposited in unused condition. It is therefore a very fruitful exercise to look at the whole complex of industries at Karako Kagi with the acknowledgement in mind that production can exist for the sake of religion, and that export of one's products as well as import of foreign products can serve the same purpose.

During the approximately 300 years from the construction of the large moat (280 BC, II-2/III-1) till the end of phase IV in AD 20, and as still more moats and partitioning ditches were dug, various craft productions were taken up and accelerated at Karako Kagi. Stone working went on in the central and northern part of the site (exc. 1 and 53, figs. 14, 16), leaving tools and debris of sanukite as well as rhyolite. Wood working took place at areas in the southern (and perhaps western) regions, and agricultural tools as well as domestic utensils and tools were manufactured here. Also stone spinning wheels, loom parts and needles made from deer antler or wood have been found at the site. Needles were used for sewing, and for the making of mats and basketry. Antler was furthermore processed into accessories and other decorative objects of unclear, perhaps ritual, significance. Already from Early Yayoi we have antler stems decorated with patterns (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1998:36),

Storage and waste area: Debris of wood, stone and bell moulds. Semiproducts and finished objects of stone and wood.

Stone working area.



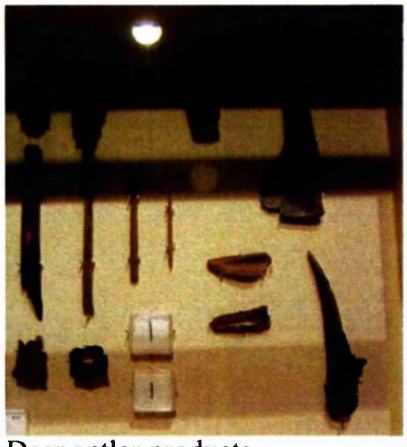
Bronze working area, phases (III) IV-V.

Entrance bridge.

○ Phase III imported pottery.
+ Well with phase III imported pottery
◇ Phase III-1 large building.
◯ Phase IV imported pottery.
⁘ Phase IV pithouse.
∴ Storage and waste pits.

Mat making

Weaving



Deer antler products

Figure 14: Production at Karako Kagi

(Drawing: Lars Schødt Christensen)

and in phase III a certain interest in producing miniature clay bells (2.7.2.-fig. 21) seems to have prevailed.

In phase IV, Karako Kagi imported beads from various areas at the Japan Sea Coast. They were made from jadeite, glass, crystalline quartz and jasper, and stemmed among other places from the Itoi River area in Niigata, the Tangō Peninsula and the Izumo area (ibid:60, 76, 82).[35]

A definite spot for pottery production or picture engraving has as yet not been identified at the site. Harunari suggests that a training centre for pottery engraving may have existed there, based on the fact that clay lumps were found all over the site, and that this would provide an explanation for the remarkable resemblance between pictures from geographically widely separated places like Aichi and Ishikawa prefectures (ID 49 from Asahi and IDs 84, 237 from Yōkaichijikata) (Sahara and Harunari 1997:73). There are however, considerable differences between pictures from different regions, e.g. only in the basin do we see the combination of many different motifs on the same vessel (chapter 4).

Nowhere else has as large a range of craft and tool industries from the Yayoi Period been discovered as at Karako Kagi, nor as substantial evidence of bronze bell casting. The latter is particularly remarkable, as the site did not take part in bronze casting until some time during phase III, and there was no substantial industry at the site until at the end of phase IV. From the casting area situated in the southeast (exc. 3, 61 and particularly 65) (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 2004b:30), pits and oven remains in soil affected by fire have been recovered in great numbers, accompanied by tuyeres, crucibles and slag as well as large bivalve moulds and frames, or fragments of these, in which the large objects were cast. Unlike large crucibles found in China, crucibles from Karako Kagi and other casting sites in Japan are too small to have contained all the molten bronze for the larger bells; several crucibles must therefore have been in use for casting such items (fig. 14).

The exact time for the start of bronze casting at Karako Kagi is not clear. A bellows was detected in a small phase III pit, SK-115, in exc. 61 (2.7.3.-fig. 30). From the same field several outer frames for clay moulds were found (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 1997a:44-49), and the same is true for the field of exc. 3. In the latter field and in that of exc. 65 also small *stone* mould fragments have been found (perhaps belonging to the same item)

[35] Accessories as import had first appeared in northern Kyūshū. Cylindrical beads from jasper and comma shaped beads from jade were present at the cemetery of Yoshitake Takagi site in Fukuoka in late Early and early Middle Yayoi. Several of the graves contained beads from necklaces. In early Middle Yayoi beads from the processing sites at the Japan Sea Coast travelled to northern Kyūshū. From Fukui (and Hyōgo Prefectures) examples exist from Middle Yayoi of very large numbers of beads in one necklace (ibid).

(ibid 1978:10; 1998:8), so indications are that casting started in late phase III, but it does not seem to have been a large industry at this stage (ibid 1997a:56). From the moats in exc. 3 large amounts of casting related artefacts were recovered in a layer whose oldest pottery was of phase IV (ibid 1978:6), but included phase V pottery as well (Kuno 1980:91-93). There is as such a possibility that the clay bells found at the site, of which the largest number stems from phase III (together they cover phases III-1 to IV (exc. 13, 19, 23, 44), as well as wooden halberds from the same phase, were produced as substitutions of the bronze correspondents, but on the other hand there are other indications that the use of alternative material had ritual significance (see 2.7.1.). So, which significance we should apply to these objects is uncertain.

At the beginning of Late Yayoi casting went on at Karako Kagi at a large scale, which demonstrates the strong foothold this activity must have gained at the site within a relatively short time, since a large part of the settlement had been destroyed by the flood at the end of Middle Yayoi. We find sediments of this incident in the moats and in the natural depression that covered the central and eastern parts of the site and where a lot of activities had previously taken place. But rather than being evacuated when a large part of the area became momentarily inundated, and the place suffered severe damage, the settlement had only decreased in size for a while (Fujita 2004:207), and production was upheld.

2.5.3.3. The new locations in phase IV of imported pottery

The south-western part of the site where a lot of the casting went on according to local experts (Kashihara Archaeological Institute 2005:15) was segregated from the rest of the settlement by two parallel ditches (fig. 14); this could have constituted a forum for communal and other gatherings, but it would not have constituted a profane market square in late Middle Yayoi since, although pottery imported from other areas and regions is related to this spot at the time in question, there are also concentrations in other parts of the site, and furthermore at least one funeral was executed in the enclosure during phase IV (SX-101 in exc. 61, 2.7.3.-fig. 30).

In fig. 14 I have indicated locations where imported pottery has been recovered as dotted circles – medium and large sized for phases III and IV respectively. It appears, not unexpectedly, that the import of phase III, probably prior to the construction of the parallel ditches, shows no relation to the south-western part of the site. However, we can observe that phase IV imported pottery is concentrated in two places of which one is in and around the newly segregated area, the other being the moat belt of the site's north-western corner.

Import of pottery produced at settlements west of the Ikoma Mountain and on the Kawachi Plain started early, and these vessels constitute the main part of the imported pottery from

western Japan at Karako Kagi as well as at other sites in the basin (table 6). In the earlier parts of Middle Yayoi, busy exchange went on also with the areas east of the basin at Ise Bay (fig. 10), which contact however, was toned down in late Middle Yayoi, when attention was directed westwards towards Kibi and other areas in the mid Inland region (Fujita 2004:208). The latter places have provided the second largest record of imported pottery in the basin starting in phase IV, but before that the areas of Settsu and its neighbour Harima delivered pottery to the basin along with Ikoma and Kawachi. The Kii region has also made contributions throughout Middle and Late Yayoi, although to a much smaller extent (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:136-138).

We see that import of pottery from the western region peaked in phase III (42 of the 127 vessels in table 6 are dated safely to this phase (against 22 from phase IV)). We also see that *in this phase,* it was substantially used for depositions at moated precincts in the basin (13 of the 42 vessels), however, at Karako Kagi it was deposited in wells or elsewhere. Both the well- and the moated precinct depositions started at the beginning of phase III, peaked in phases III-3/4 and decreased drastically in phase IV (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:148), when the construction of the precincts ceased in the central basin (3.2.3). Well depositions seem to have been altogether absent from phase IV-2 which was the peak of pottery picture production. Generally in phase IV, and particularly in phase IV-2, imported pottery ended up in moats.

It was during phase IV that Settsu and Harima pottery was substituted with mid-Inland Sea products, an import which started in phase IV-2 when the picture engraved pottery peaked, and it appears that the new import is more concentrated than that of earlier phases. It ended up in moats at the north-west (exc. 19), and at the south (exc. 40, 61, 65) of the site, which corresponds conspicuously with the concentrations of pictorially engraved pottery (2.7.).

The association of Kibi and other Inland Sea vessels to the south-western segregation was anticipated by vessels from the Kii region, which, although in small numbers, show a tendency to go into the southern part of the site during all of the phases II through V (exc. 33, 44, 47, 77), i.e. also before the construction of the parallel ditches. This observation may mean that the original southern segment in particular was related to the Kii region, and it opens up the possibility that the various parts of the site were also after the agglomeration traditionally related to different foreign neighbour-regions. In any case, the Inland Sea pottery has a clear concentration around the segregated area. So, this area received import at a time when fewer well depositions and almost no moated precinct depositions took place, which I

Table 6

Imported pottery from western regions in the Nara Basin

Site	Number	
Karako Kagi 唐古・鍵	63*	KK-HM cluster
Shimizukaze 清水風	2 IV-2 in waterway	
Kaichi 海知	5 I/II	
Byōdōbō Iwamuro 平等坊・岩室	4	BI-cluster
Senzai 前栽	(5 mps)	
Ō 多	5 II-IV	Ō-Nakazoshi cluster
Yabeminami 矢部南	2 III at mp	
Nakazoshi 中曽司	2 IV-1 in wells	
Nishisoga 西曽我	1 IV-1	
Tsujihashi 土橋	2 IV at mp	
Tsuboi Daifuku 坪井・大福	4 III	TD-Shiba cluster
Ōsumi 大隅	2 IV at mp	
Shiba 芝	3, 2 of the III at mp	
Shibu 四分	9 II/III, 2 of the III in wells	Shibu cluster
Kamotsuba 鴨都波	10 II-IV	Kamotsuba cluster
Wakita 脇田	2 III at mp	
Nishisato[36] 西里	4 III at mp	
Nishitanaka 西田中	1 III at mp	
Nishibatake 西畑	1 III at mp	
Nagatera 長寺	1 III	
Kazuchō 一町	1 III	
Hara 原	1 III at mp	
Shibatsuji 芝辻	1 V	Heijōkyō cluster
Sanjō 三条	1 VI	

Based on Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture, 2003a: 136-138

* Karako Kagi import:

Phase I-2:	**2**
II:	**9**; some in pits
III:	**21**; 8 in wells
IV-1:	**1**; in well
IV-2:	**7**
IV:	**5**
V-1:	**13**; 3 in wells
V-2:	**1**; in well
VI-2:	**1**; in well

[36] Nishisato is an isolated phase III moated precinct site near the Ikaruga Terrace with pottery, a large stone rice reaper, stone arrowheads and semi-products of sanukite. The Fujinoki Kofun is situated here beneath which was found a phase III-4 jar burial. The burial jar is a comb-patterned jar with a height of 45 cm and with a collar at the rim. This type of jar was also found placed on one of the moated precincts at Yabeminami, one of Ō's satellite sites (and it may have been meant for collecting the bones and later the ashes. The one at Yabeminami was not used for this purpose yet, whereas the one under Fujinoki had served this purpose and had been buried with its content of stone artefacts (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:8, 136)).

would suggest signifies transference of ritual activity from wells and precincts to this area.

Of all the sites mentioned, Karako Kagi imported already before phase IV from most different regions, i.e. the three areas of Kawachi, Kii, and Settsu/Harima, but it also holds pottery of unclear derivation. Tsuboi Daifuku was next in terms of the number of trading partners, and has pottery from Kawachi, Yamashiro and the Inland Sea area. Ō received pottery from Kawachi and Kii and some of unclear origin that was placed at Yabeminami (satellite of Ō (table 6)). Shiba, Shibu, Kaichi and Kamotsuba received from two areas each, whereas the remaining importers or satellites only received from one area. Conspicuously, the large Byōdōbō Iwamuro belongs in this category (ibid:150), which however, may be based in the fact that it had no accompanying settlement in its vicinity.

From phase IV, Karako Kagi was in the absolute lead in terms of trading partners, it imported from all regions except from Yamashiro, and its satellite of Shimizukaze, whose character had now shifted from moated precinct site to settlement site, ranked second with contact to two areas, Kawachi and the Inland Sea area. All other settlements, even Tsuboi Daifuku had now only contact with one area each, but the area differed from one settlement to another (ibid:150). Karako Kagi heavily exploited its possibilities to control trade and to make claims on incoming goods, resulting in its trade rate being the highest in the whole Eastern Seto region, and the variety range of this import the widest found at any Yayoi period settlement (Fujita 2004: 208). The fact that the various settlements in the basin had separate trading partners signals that alliances criss-crossed the western part of Honshū, which could hardly have taken place without political leaders at the settlements to organise trade and nurture the relationship with their respective alliance 'twin'. The leader or leaders at Karako Kagi however, must have been of extraordinary status and power, since the leaders of the neighbouring moated settlements allowed them the privilege of trading with their 'own' respective allied. The political climate in the basin in Middle Yayoi will be treated in more detail in chapter 3.

We have seen that the segregated area in the southern part of Karako Kagi attracted the imported pottery vessels in phase IV-2, and the area may have grown into being the place for long distance trade in Late Yayoi (fig. 15). However, more investigations of the area are needed before we can confirm this.

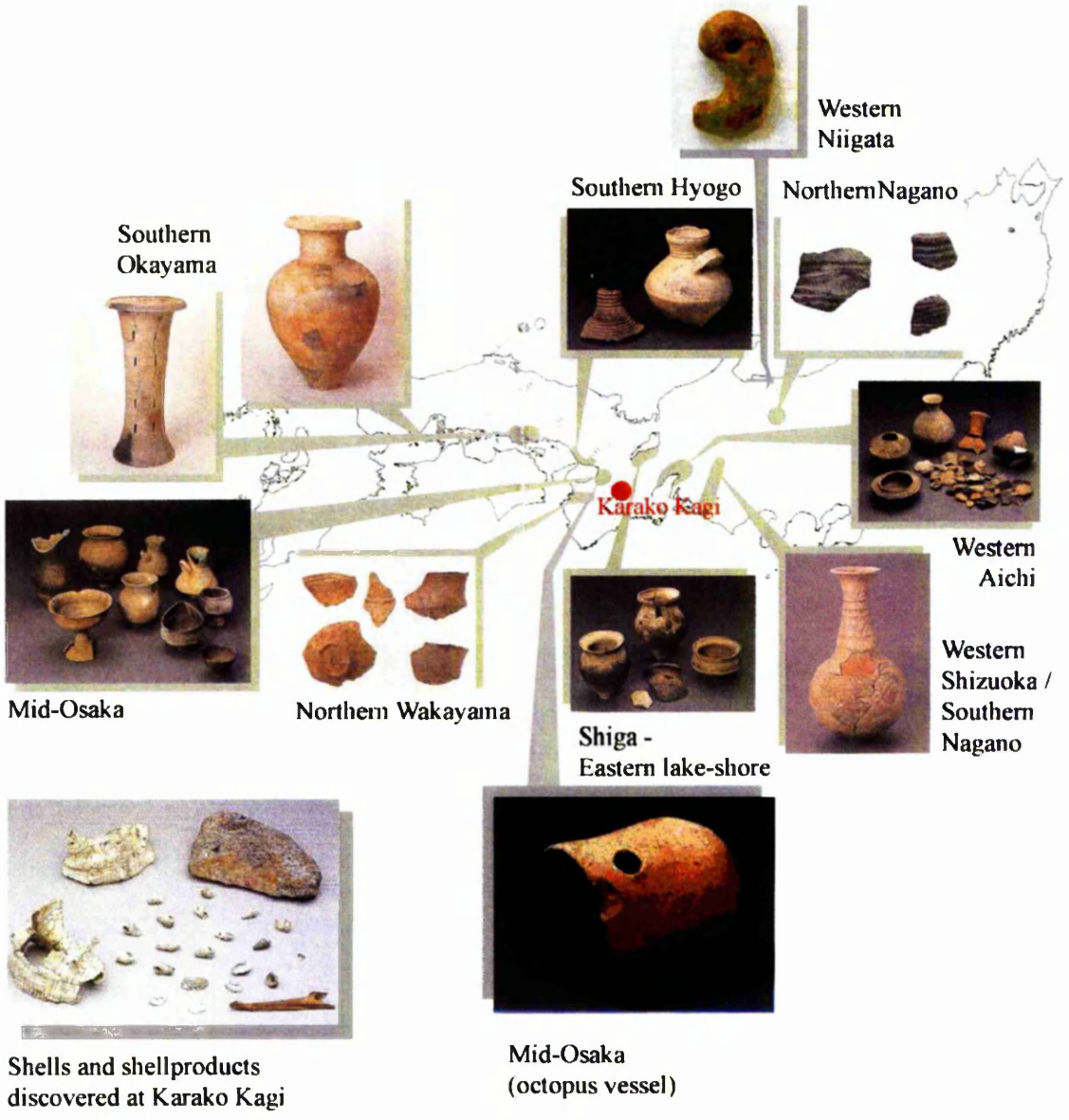


Figure 15: The trading range of Karako Kagi in Phases IV-V.

(Map after Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 1998a:11-12; 2000:9-10, modified)

In late Late Yayoi, Byōdōbō Iwamuro developed a segregated area by an 8 m. wide ditch in its north-western part, which similarly to Karako Kagi's segregated area held imported pottery vessels from Ōmi, Tōkai, northern Kinki and other places (Kashihara Archaeological Institute 2005:15). As we have just seen, however, such assemblages are not necessarily unambiguous signs that profane trade was the main function of a given place. Furthermore, a similar

multitude of imported objects is also found at the causewayed enclosures in Europe, and we should expect the elaborate foreign material to have been removed if the sites had been merely centres of trade and redistribution (Drewett in Thomas 1991:33), a reasoning that seems appropriate for the Japanese case as well.

The parallel ditches at Karako Kagi have given rise to the idea that inside this area elite residences existed, since the segregation phenomenon has been observed at other moated settlements (Fujita 2004:207; Watanabe 2004:249). Some archaeologists are of the opinion that elite residences had appeared already by phase IV (Hirose 2004:205). However, segregated areas with elite residences have been positively demonstrated only from *late Late Yayoi*,[37] and their appearance marks the beginning of the dissolution of the moated settlements as a settlement type (Watanabe 2004:250). In contrast to this, the parallel ditches segregating the south-western part of Karako Kagi were constructed and maintained from the later part of Middle Yayoi on, at the same time as we see depositions of imported pottery move to the place, depositions that substituted those in wells and at moated precincts, indicating that they were of ritual nature.

Transfer of goods in geographically far reaching exchange systems will often be carried out within bounded areas surrounded by multiple prohibitions and prescriptions, because foreign items are dangerous and the agents involved in obtaining them are otherwise at risk of being polluted (Servet in Thomas 1991:35-36). Following from this, the exchange act itself is likely to involve ritual acts inside an appropriately cleansed area, a sacred area, but on the other hand the exchanged objects will be highly suited for religious rituals. I suggest that it was in such an atmosphere that imported pottery in phases II and III was brought to and deposited in wells and on moated precincts; and in phase IV to the south-western segregated area or to the area of the north-western moat-belt and deposited inside or between the moats, in both cases after being ritually handed over.

In Late Yayoi, Karako Kagi held contacts with the jade-bead producing sites in the delta of the Itoi River in south-western Niigata Prefecture. This area, which is the only area with jadeite deposits in the archipelago known to have been exploited (Naumann 2000:54; Habu 2004:224), had been largely unproductive since the close of the Jōmon Period, but resumed production and trade in Late Yayoi when many new quarries were opened (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1998:74).

[37] Such elite residences appear each with large pillared buildings, storage houses and an open space inside a rectangular area constructed inside the settlement or adjacent to it.

2.6. The find spots of the picture engraved pottery

Together with the 'peculiar' artefacts (2.7.) the deposition of Karako Kagi's picture engraved pottery will form the final and focal elements of the picture drawn in this thesis of the concrete and immediately present cosmology at Karako Kagi.

Picture engraved pottery has been found also at non moated settlements. However, in the Kinai region at least, there seems to be a strong correspondence between moated settlements and picture engraved pottery, which correspondence however, is partly related to the general high status of the moated settlements.

I have thoroughly examined the possibility of the picture engraved pottery having been deposited directly in the moats. Many engraved sherds have been found in the area near Karako Kagi's southern entrance (exc. field 47, marked blue in fig. 16), and a "rite of passage" deposition scenario seemed a possibility, such as has been traced at European Neolithic causewayed enclosures[38] which the moated settlements resembles in other ways. However, too many floods have occurred at Karako Kagi, and too many phase IV moat-pieces have been redug in early Late Yayoi to draw any sensible conclusions from my many efforts to make this idea plausible. On the whole, many sites included so many ditches – one of these being Karako Kagi – that most archaeological finds stem from such features, rather than from the cultural layer.

But looking at engraved vessels on the site generally, fragments belonging to the same vessel have ended up in the same spot, although sometimes in different features. I therefore believe that the movement of pottery by the floods has not been grave enough to dislocate the engraved pottery entirely from the places where it was left.

The sherds that were excavated during Karako Kagi's first excavation from Karako Pond (exc. 1, fig. 16) stem from a sand layer in its northern part through which a waterway ran, the same waterway that ran through Shimizukaze 600 m north of Karako Kagi (chapter 3). Other pieces have been found in wells and pits, and many stem from moats and ditches. An example of an excavation field holding picture engraved pottery is excavation 3 west of the entrance at the southern edge of the settlement, one of the lowest lying places of the site. Six ditches and moats of varying size and several wells were laid open here. The southernmost moat SD-01 was assumed to constitute the southern border of the site. Just north of this was SD-02 – "the large moat" – with a width of 4 meters and a depth of 2 meters.

[38] At the causewayed enclosures finds are particularly concentrated at *the end of ditches* closest to the causeways.

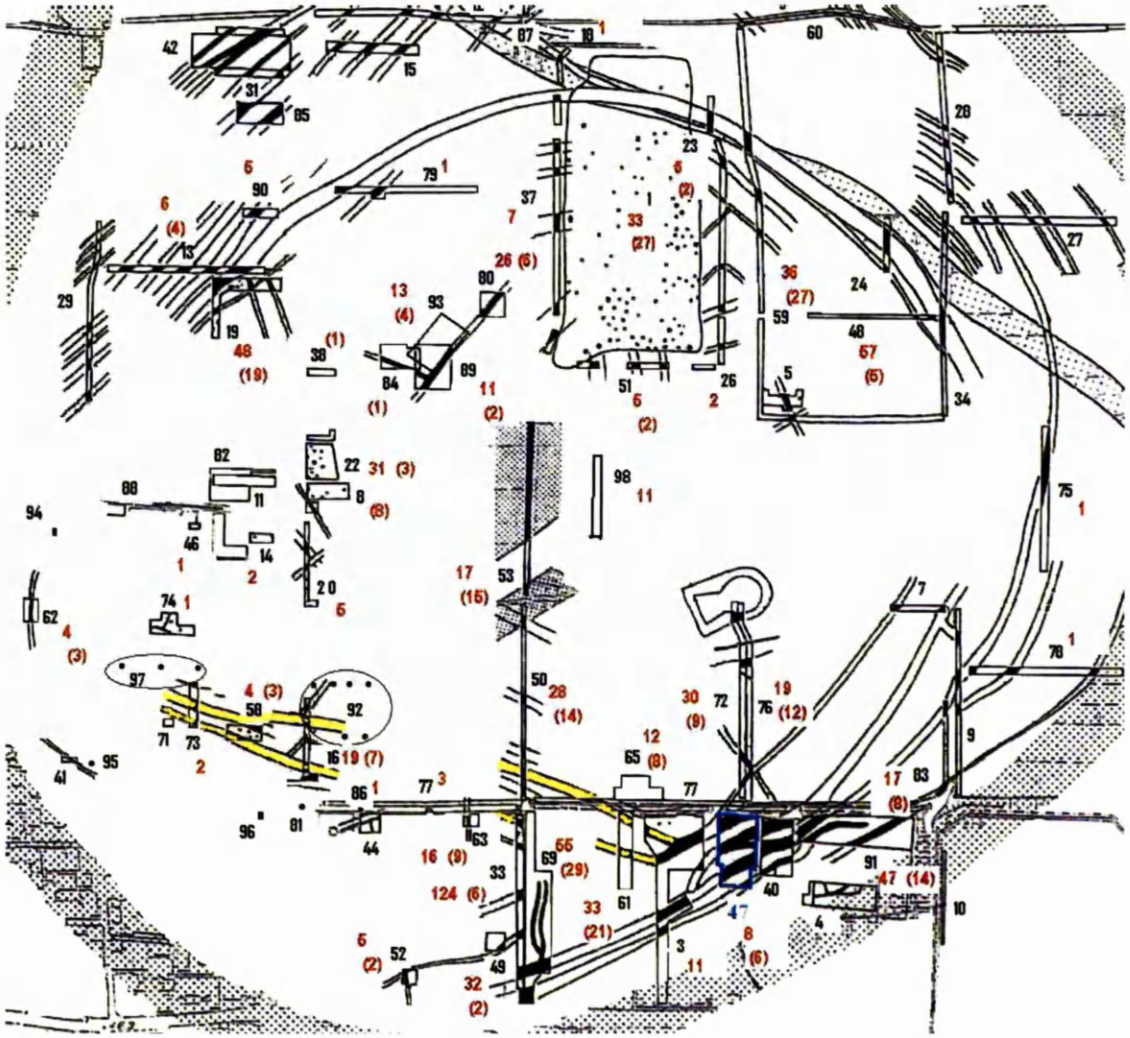


Figure 16: Numerical distribution of picture engraved pottery.

Excavation no.s in black, numbers of engraved sherds in red, and numbers of engraved vessels in red with brackets. In the moats of field 47 postholes were recovered, assumed to stem from poles holding an entrance bridge. The alledged segregated area lies south-west of the moats marked with yellow.

Red numbers based on Fujita 2005.
(Original map from reproductions in recent excavation reports (modified)).

This part of the large moat was a continuation from the Early Yayoi southern settlement moat, since a bit of Early Yayoi pottery was found in its bottom. In the layer from phase IV, redigging and extension were traced, and a lot of both pottery and wooden tools from the phase was found here.[39] The northern moat of the field, SD-04, and the smaller moats that branch out to the north-west, SD-05 and SD-06 – the segregation ditches (marked yellow in fig. 16) – were thought to have been dug at the same time in Middle Yayoi. A well (pit 6) was

[39] This record constitutes a large part of Middle Yayoi wood from the place.

located just 'inside' SD-05, and contained two water vessels. In pit 5 (next to pit 6) was, together with wooden artefacts, scorched rice and plant remains, a large quantity of complete jars, and particularly an assemblage of phase V artefacts were found. Apart from the large quantities of pottery and wooden implements (agricultural and domestic) found in exc. 3, the excavators recovered artefacts of stone, bronze and glass as well as the objects related to bronze bell casting from phases IV and V (2.5.3.2.).

The picture engraved pottery from excavation 3 (11 pieces all together, e.g. IDs 63, 64, 186) was mostly from phase IV jars, and was distributed in all the moats. In order to clarify the association of picture engraved pottery to specific parts of the site, and thus to particular features and /or objects, I shall review below the find spots of the picture engraved pottery at Karako Kagi, such as these have been accessible from excavation reports. An obstacle to inclusion of the full record into the statistics has been the absence of reports from some excavations. At the present stage (after completion of exc. 100 in 2004) Karako Kagi has presented us with 808 sherds from 326 picture engraved pottery vessels, and their distribution is presented with red figures in fig. 16.

We must first assess whether the distribution density is homogenous or concentrated in different parts of Karako Kagi, for which purpose I have divided it into four quarters (fig 17) with the centre of the Middle Yayoi circle constituted by the large moat as the centre of this division and estimated the average density in the four quarters. Since it is very rarely occurring that recognised sherds from the same vessel have ended up in mutually distant locations, I have only estimated the number of vessels (IDs).

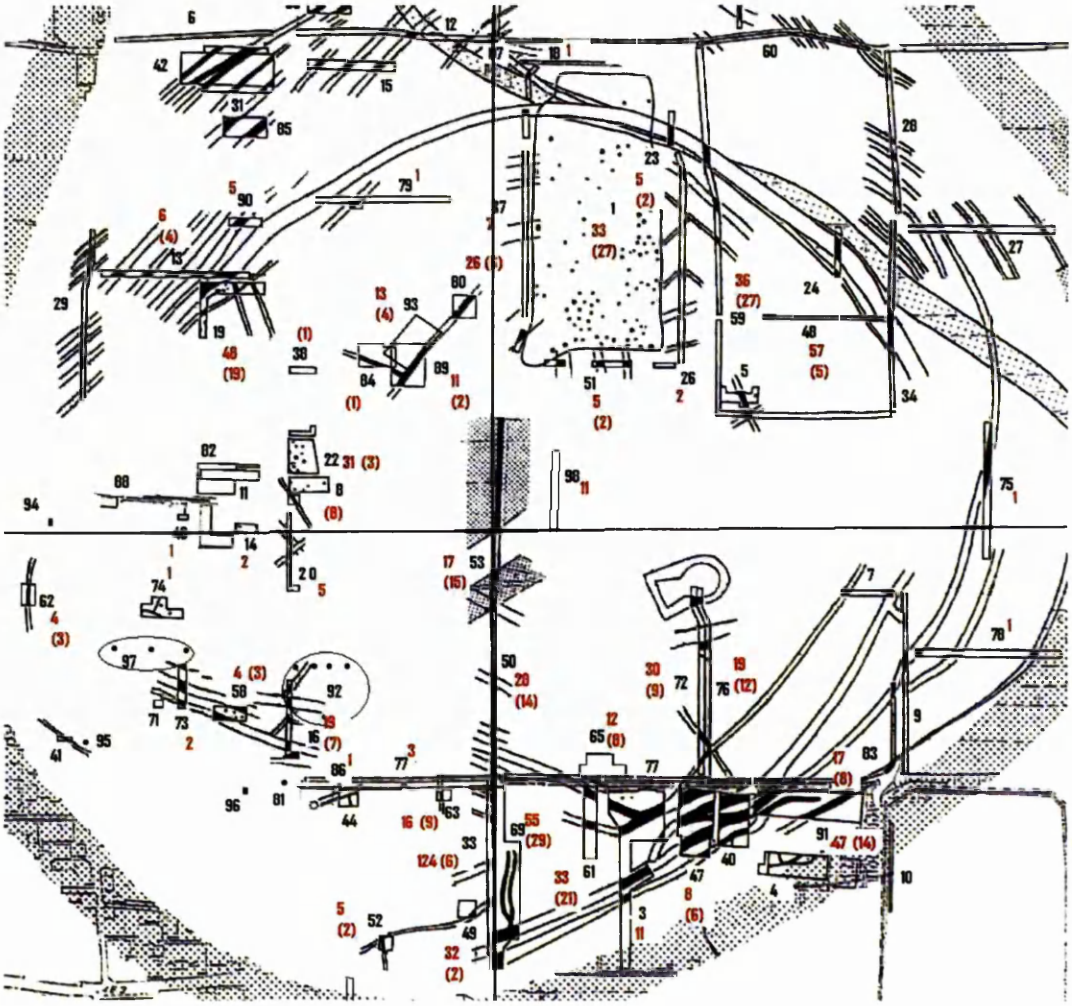


Figure 17: Picture engraved pottery sherds located in the four quarters of Karako Kagi.

The 326 picture engraved vessels distribute the following way in the four quarters:[40]

North-west	41	13 %
North-east	85	26 %
South-west	76	23 %
South-east	123	38 %
Unclear location	2	

[40] **North-western quarter**: Exc. no. 13, 19, 38, 79, 80, 84, 89, 90, 93. Number of vessels: (4+19+0+1+6+0+2+5+4) = 41. **North-eastern quarter**: Exc. no. 1, 18, 23, 26, 37, 48, 51, 59, 98. Number of vessels: (27+1+2+ 2+ 7+ 5+ 2+ 27+11) = 84. **South-western quarter**: Exc. no. 8, 14, 16, 20, 22, 33, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 58, 62, 63, 73, 74, 86. Number of vessels: (0+2+7+5+3+6+1+2+14+2+15+3+3+9+2+1+1) = 76. **South-eastern quarter**: Exc. no. 3, 47, 61, 65, 69, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 83, 91. Number of vessels: (11+6+21+8+29+9+1+12+3+1+8+14) = 123.

This shows that by far the largest number is in the south-eastern section around the entrance to the settlement. However, we have to consider that the total number of excavated square meters in the different sections varies considerably. We will therefore look at the average density in relation to excavated area when including all excavations at the interior of the site, i.e. excavations inside or crossing the large moat. The figures in table 7 show that the density of picture engraved pottery sherds at Karako Kagi seems to be highest in the south-western quarter and lowest in the north-eastern. The density is 7 times higher in SW than in NE. It is also more than twice as high as in south-east where the entrance is situated, and the south-eastern part is only 1.5 times higher than the north-western.

Table 7

Average number of picture engraved vessels[41]

	Square meters	Vessels	Average pr 1000 m2
NW-quarter[42]	3384	41	12
NE-quarter	14123	85	6
SW-quarter	1787	76	42
SE-quarter	6681	123	18

Northern half	17507	126	7
Southern half	8468	199	23
Eastern half	20804	208	9
Western half	5171	117	22

When comparing the density in the various *halves* of the site, it occurs that the southern and western halves have high densities, more than twice as high as the eastern and finally the northern. This means that although the picture engraved pottery is particularly concentrated numerically in the southern parts of the site, close to the entrance, it is probably rather related to the enclosed space of the south-western part.

There is no doubt that there is a high concentration of picture engraved sherds in the part of Karako Kagi around and *presumably* – future excavations are to show – also inside the area

[41] Exc. 99 consisted of a large number of minor fields distributed both in- and outside SW-part. These fields have been left out of this measurement.

[42] NW-quarter: (exc. 8; *11;* 13 ; 14; 19; 22; 38; 46; 79; 80; *82;* 84; *88;* 89; 93).
NE-quarter: (exc. 1; *5;* 23; *24;* 26; *34;* 37; 48; 51; 53; 59; 98).
SW-quarter: (exc. 16; 20; 33; *44;* 49; 52; 58; 63; *71;* 73; 74; *81;* 86; *92; 96; 97*).
SE-quarter: (exc. 3; *7; 40;* 47; 50; 61; 65; 69;72; 76; 77; 91).

segregated from the rest of the site by ditches of more substantial dimensions than the general partitioning ditches. The area is as yet largely uninvestigated, but from the excavation fields that do relate to it, generally in or at its eastern end – i.e. exc. 63, 33, 69, 61, 3, 47, 65 and perhaps 50, 72 and 76, we see a substantial record of the sherds. The area's extension overlaps the central axis into the south-eastern part of the site, and its eastern edge is located immediately west of the entrance (exc. 40, 47).

The segregated area must thus have been the arena for rituals involving the picture engraved pottery as well as for rituals involving the imported pottery vessels that started to be concentrated in the southern part of the site from this phase. The bridge in the vicinity of the area could have been meant for a particular segment of the population (and did another entrance exist at another location?) or it may have been an entrance used at special occasions. Anyway, access to the segregated area would have been easy after entering by the bridge to its east.

2.7. Changing contents of the ritual depositions at Karako Kagi

2.7.1. The conspicuous Late Yayoi depositions

At Karako Kagi the Middle Yayoi moats were 'erased' by natural formations, and it may seem that the renewed digging of the moats in early Late Yayoi was merely a matter of maintenance of a permanent order. However, it appears that moat construction and refilling was synchronically timed in the Nara Basin, and that moat maintaining was periodic. It also appears that the moats attracted still more substantial depositions of ritual material. To shed light on the significance of picture engraved pottery and 'peculiar' – here accepted as ritual – objects in wells, pits and moats, we shall start by observing the substantial presence in the latter of unbroken pottery deposited in Late Yayoi at other sites in the basin.

At Byōdōbō Iwamuro a system of settlement moats had been laid out in concentric circles around the settlement just as they were at Karako Kagi and, like at Karako Kagi, the moats that had surrounded it during Middle Yayoi had been filled at the time of transition between Middle and Late Yayoi, only to be replaced by at least three new ones.[43] So, whereas serious destructions had taken place at Karako Kagi during the flood, at Byōdōbō the moats were filled intentionally. Also at Shibu and Tsuboi Daifuku in the south-eastern part of the basin

[43] At Karako Kagi, the same moats were recut in early Late Yayoi, whereas at Byōdōbō the Late Yayoi moats had a slightly different direction, thus cross-cutting the earlier ones.

digging, filling and recutting of moats took place contemporaneously with these activities at Karako Kagi, and I believe that we must assume that they went on according to a general idea shared by those who initiated the work at the various sites.

Later, at the end of Late Yayoi, a second filling of the moats can be observed at Byōdōbō Iwamuro, like at Karako Kagi, and there, the bottom of two of the moats had been covered with whole pottery vessels before they were deliberately filled (fig. 18). This second filling of moats can also be observed at Shibu; and at Tsuboi Daifuku the moat was simply not maintained from this point on. Based on the unweathered surface of the pottery vessels at Byōdōbō, we can assume that sealing of the moats took place within a relatively short interval after deposition (Kashihara Archaeological Institute 2005:12-17).

Figure 18: Byōdōbō Iwamuro's outer moat: Pottery from the transition between the Yayoi and the Kofun Periods.

Also at Shibu and Tsuboi Daifuku, the moats had been filled with pottery from late Late Yayoi before they had been filled up and left to silting respectively (ibid:17). The proof of late Late Yayoi pottery in the moats of Karako Kagi is substantial, although fewer vessels have survived in whole condition than at Byōdōbō Iwamuro.

Thus, pottery was a commonly employed type of ritul artefact by the end of the Yayoi Period. The deposited vessels were beautiful jars as well as pedestalled dishes and bowls, and there were many of them at the large settlements. The very number of these objects were likely meant to be overwhelming, and the skilfully made pottery vessels were accompanied by other objects whose presence did not only presuppose skills but also the procurement of raw material, whose access was restricted; bronze bells and beads from glass, jade and jasper. In short, what were employed in Late Yayoi rituals were crafted objects materialising the widest possible expenditure of time and effort.

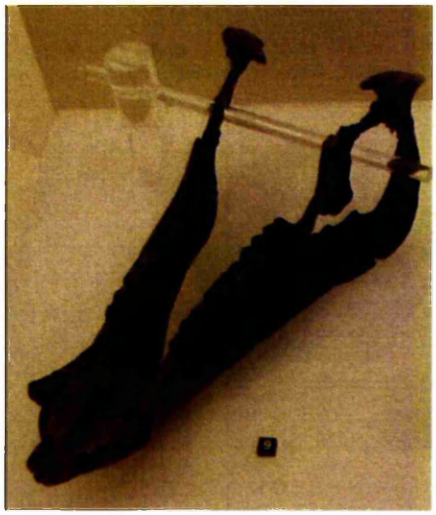
However, also other objects than the crafted had been used in the basin for ritual purposes earlier in the Yayoi Period, during times preceding local bronze casting and production and import of beads. In Early and early Middle Yayoi, a time when depositions in wells were predominant, animal bones can be seen to have been used in rituals at Karako Kagi. Their use increased during phases I through III, but was interrupted in phase IV and substituted by long distance traded items and local crafts whose procurement signalled privileged access to skills.

2.7.2. Early Middle Yayoi depositions

Domestic and imported pottery certainly played part in the ritual well depositions of phases II and III, but in these early phases we are dealing with jars and pots rather than open vessels on pedestals. The assemblages from phase II-3 and III-1 are dominated by pots and comb-patterned jars, elaborately executed vessels with excellent horizontal comb patterning and also occasionally handles and collar attributes that cover part of the rim opening, but there are relatively few pedestalled bowls.

From an area in west-central Karako Kagi (exc. 8 & 22), 10 pits were discovered in the Middle Yayoi layer with diameters of 3m or more. Pit 1101 contained 10 whole or almost whole vessels from phase II. Pit no. 105 was a well from phase III-4 that contained artefacts in all layers. Towards the bottom there were three whole pitchers in unbroken condition, indicating that they landed there for ritual reasons, and regarded as stemming from an initiation rite of the well (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003b:154). In one of the top layers there were sherds from more than 33 complete or almost complete vessels from a subsequent well-sacrifice.

Animal bones make up another characteristic of the early depositions, and oracle bones (fig. 19) and perforated animal jaws (fig. 20) constitute, together with the comb-patterned pottery



Figures 19 & 20: Oracle bones; Boar mandible with perforation

Figure 21: Clay bell.

(replica)

and the clay bells (16 items at Karako Kagi, fig. 21), the most conspicuous ritual artefacts that survived from early Middle Yayoi.

At Karako Kagi, phase III can be seen to have been the epitome of animal bone focus (table 8), as well as clay bells seem to belong first and foremost to this phase, although earlier as well as later clay bells exist. As we have seen, phase III was also the peak of import of Ikoma and Kawachi pottery, and the phase where most moated precincts were constructed and some of them provided with imported pottery.

Table 8

Ritual animal bones at Karako Kagi

Phase / Artefact	I	II	III	IV	V	Undated
Boar Mandibles	1	1	10			13 (deer) on pole (MY)
Oracle Bones/scapulae	2		14		12	

Almost all the site's dated boar mandibles – five of which are perforated – belong to phase III. Oracle bones curiously occur in phases I,[44] III and V. Boar – and in some cases deer – mandibles with or without perforations and scapulae of deer and boar with scorched surfaces have been discovered in several places. Deer scapulae scorched with fire until cracks appeared are found in the Korean Peninsula as well, and are recognised as derivations of the inscribed divination turtle shells of Shang period China. Boar mandibles with perforations for insertion of poles are particular to Yayoi Japan, and as such their exact use it not known. Both from Aoyakamijichi in Tottori Prefecture and Chabatake in Shiga we have assemblages of boar mandibles having been placed on stakes before deposition (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 2003:55), and from Aoyakamijichi we have large amounts of divination scapulae from both boar (52 items) and deer (31 items) (Tottori Prefecture Educational Corporative for Cultural Assets 2001:256; 2002:414-432).[45]

[44] One of the oracle bones from phase I is a limb bone, whereas another is a tusk.

[45] In modern times, pigs play important roles in the ritual life in various places of the Pacific Area. Rappaport has described how, in New Guinea, they are killed after ritual cleansing of the slaughtering ground (Rappaport 1968:205). And cases are known in which skulls of boar or pigs play a role in rituals, e.g. on the Andaman Islands where pig skulls are wound with string (Campbell 1983:122-123).

At Karako Kagi, we see that both boar mandibles and oracle bones were relatively frequently deposited in phase III, but none such depositions exist from phase IV. In phase V, oracle bones reappear as deposited artefacts, whereas the mandibles are not seen again in Late Yayoi. Whereas it is the deer – and not the boar – that is depicted, most of both types of bones are from boar, and as for the oracle bones this preference is particular for Karako Kagi compared to sites in most other areas, where most oracle bones are from deer. Interestingly, it appears that Karako Kagi's peculiar balance between the two animals has roots back into Jōmon times. Thus, older reports of animal bones at Jōmon settlements show that deer and boar were hunted at approximately similar rates throughout the Jōmon Period, except from the Tawaramoto site in the Nara Basin where deer bones constituted only 20 % of the record, and I would like to propose – with some caution since evidence is sporadic – that certain groups inside the Nara Basin had a long tradition of not hunting deer. In Early Yayoi, on the other hand, deer hunting decreased drastically all over Kyūshū, Shikoku and Honshū, only not in the San'in area (Shimane Prefecture) where it continued unchanged throughout the Yayoi Period (ibid:468), and where more bones were recovered from deer than from boar (Harunari 1991:460-464).

The records at Karako Kagi were in 1988 estimated by Fujita to contain three times as many bones from boar as from deer (ibid:461). At the large site of Kamei at the Kawachi Inlet, many Yayoi Period faunal remains were found and analysed in the 1980s by Akira Matsui, who estimated about 66 to be wild boar and 33 to be shika deer, whereas the number of other animals bones was low (Matsui 1991).

In contrast to this decrease in hunting for normal consumption, the relative numbers of bones used for divination are reversed, and the numbers of deer bones were 67 compared to 25 boar bones at a national level from the entire Yayoi Period (1991-figures), meaning that deer bones constituted 70 % of the oracle bones. However, Karako Kagi seems to have had its own conduct in terms of use of oracle bones, since here, many more of the oracle bones are from boar than from deer (Harunari 1991:465), to my knowledge the only place except from Aoyakamijichi in Tottori where this has been demonstrated. On the one hand it seems highly likely that the decrease in deer hunting for profane subsistence was related to the new religious role of the deer, which however, induced people to hunt it for religious purposes. On the other hand, at Karako Kagi, where of all places most pictures of deer were produced, there seems to have been a hesitance, perhaps certain restrictions, towards using deer bones even for divination, which hesitance was particular for the site (and maybe the whole basin?) within its own wider region.

The perception of the deer as sacred may in the basin have emerged already in the Final Jōmon Period, when the Tawaramoto site was the only place to be registered as having a lower record of bones from deer than from boar. The significance of the deer's sacredness may therefore have had a slightly different twist here than outside the basin.

2.7.3. Depositions during phase IV

In phase IV when most engraved drawings were made of deer, the ritual depositions of animal bones came to a halt. The boar, whose bones had been much used in rituals in the preceding phase, was not much depicted in art, but a few examples exist on bells (plates 7.1, 7.2, 9.7) and we have possible examples on pottery as well (IDs 124, 139).

Although the picture engraved pottery vessels at Karako Kagi were jars with constricted necks, in general the record of pottery used for ritual depositions changed nature. In phase IV, there had been a rise in the proportion of pedestalled bowls, supplemented by bowls and cups equipped with a shallow foot-part. Apparently, during the later phases of the Yayoi Period there was an increasing emphasis on rituals presenting the food-items, whether concrete or symbolically, rather than merely offering food containers.

From the bottom of the well SK-101 in exc. 22 four miniature vessels and a wooden ladle were recovered, from the mid-layer an almost intact IV-1 pot, and from the top layer lots of broken IV-1 pots, some jars and pitchers and part of pedestalled bowls, all together with a fragment of ID 145 (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003b:160-3). Seven sanukite arrowheads, a drill and a scraper appeared from the same well. The features of the rest of the field were from phases I-III (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education, 1986:4, 45, plate 21-1).

Animal remains are not demonstrated in any possibly ritual context in phase IV features, and to throw further light on the ritual activities at Karako Kagi in that phase, we have to direct our attention altogether away from bones or body-parts of animals. In that phase, crafted items gained ground as objects of ritual handling and depositions, but whereas the preceding phase shows a number of clay bells, items that could be easily produced by anyone, we now see objects that must have been rare, i.e. highly valued crafted objects. Some of these definitely reached Karako Kagi from far lying regions like the unique limonite nodule containing two jadeite beads and closed with a sheet of burnt clay (exc. 80) (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 2001:10) (fig. 22), and presumably a lot of its glass beads, whereas the finely processed chipped stone dagger in a wooden scabbard (exc. 13) (ibid 1983:5) (fig. 23) may have been made by a local specialist. The wooden halberds (fig. 24) seem not to

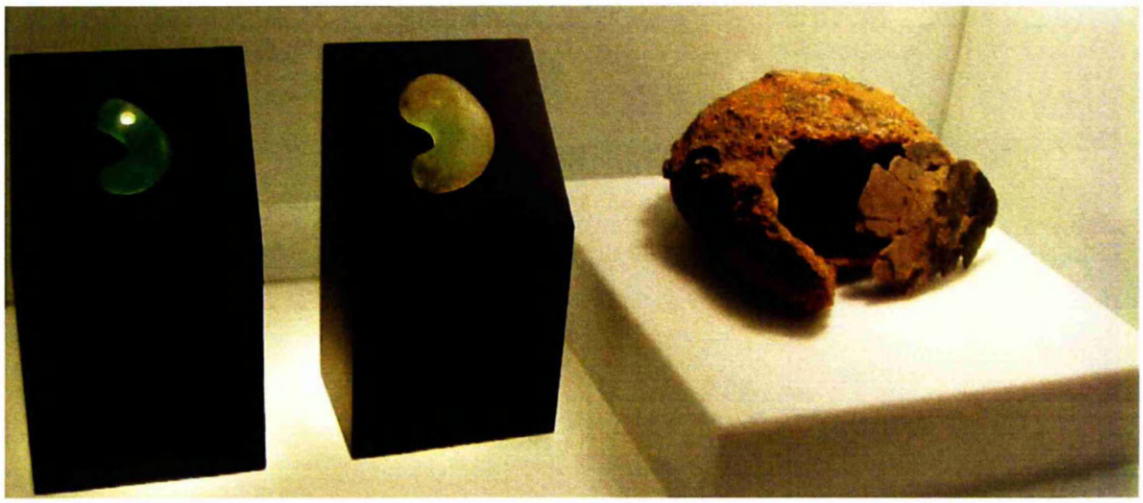


Figure 22: Limonite nodule and two jadeite beads, phase IV.

Figure 23: Sanukite dagger in wooden scabbard, phase IV.

Figure 24: Wooden halberds, exc. 33.

(Picture from Tawaramoto Town Board of Education, 1989:plate 45-1)

conform to this picture; bronze halberds were available at Higashinara. However, there may have been another aspect of ritual life in the phase, an aspect dealing with imitations – although these seem unnecessary at the time – since finds of wooden rice reapers have also been made at Karako Kagi. Like the clay bells of the preceding phase, they may thus have been ritual.

There is a large number of undamaged chipped stone arrowheads at Karako Kagi (fig. 25). They stem from the entire Yayoi Period, and it has not been possible for this thesis to work out statistics for their comparative distribution in the various sub-phases.

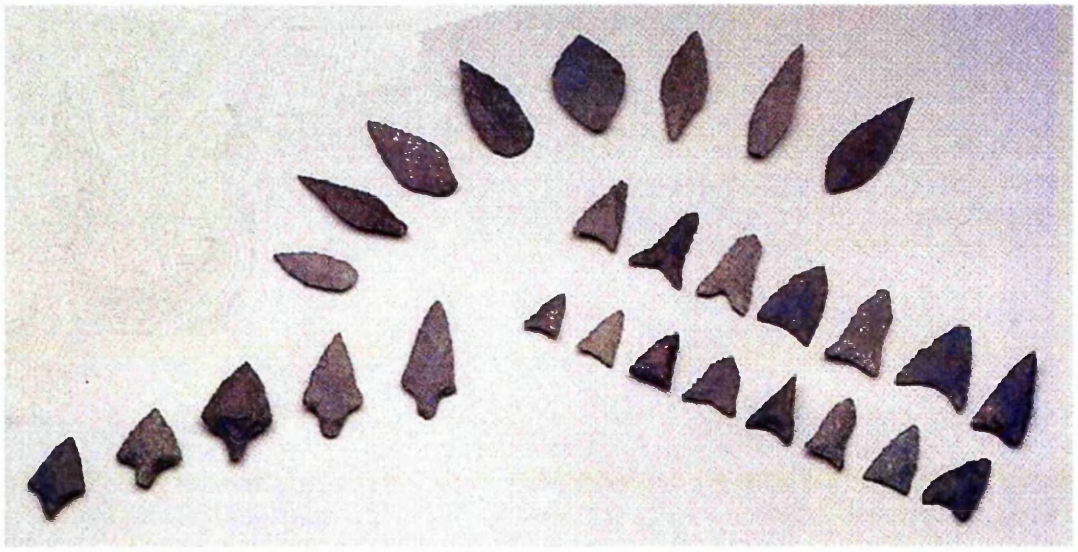


Figure 25: Stone arrowheads.

(Picture from Kashihara Archaeological Institute, 1996:27)

From phase V we have many cases of whole pottery especially in wells, pits and moats at Karako Kagi. The phase sees a certain 'renaissance' of the animal focus, as oracle bones – but not mandibles – reappeared in phase V, ending up in wells. From this phase a clay chicken head exists (exc. 11) (Kashihara Archaeological Institute 1981:6-7) (fig. 26). The reappearance of oracle bones after their complete abandonment in phase IV represents a problem that cannot be solved in this thesis.

Figure 26: Clay chicken head.

Earlier in this chapter, as I gave an introduction to the burial types present at Karako Kagi (2.5.2.), I mentioned that there is some connection between graves and picture engraved pottery. The remainder of this chapter will deal with the locations of burials and of ritual objects of phase IV – including picture engraved pottery, and it will demonstrate that these locations are the same.

From figs. 16 and 17 (2.6.) it can be seen that there are two concentrations of picture engraved pottery in the northern half (although these are not distinguished by date): Nineteen vessels were discovered in exc. 19 to the north-west and twenty seven vessels in exc. 59 to the north-east. In exc. 13 next to exc. 19 (fig. 28), both a phase IV jar burial and an undated

inhumation have been found. In exc. 23 close to exc. 59 we have two wooden coffins from phase I, and in exc. 59 itself three burial jars from phase IV (no excavation report exists from exc. 59). A third concentration – the largest of all – stems from exc. 61 and 69, which are both situated at the eastern corner of the segregated area. In exc. 61, two burial jars were found, one from phase III-4 and one from phase IV. Thus, in all three cases, the southern, the north-western and the north-eastern, graves have been recovered in either the same fields or fields immediately next to them.

Exc. 61 and 69 that held the largest picture engraved pottery record are two large fields, but, intriguingly, exc. 3 to their east, which is larger than any of them, had a lower number of engraved sherds (fig. 16). Exc. 47 had even fewer, and exc. 40 none at all. The area where these large fields are located is the lowest lying of the site, which would keep any material deposited there in place, and the low total number in such large fields as exc. 3, 47 and 40 put together, compared to high numbers in the fields immediately west of them seem unrealistic unless the pottery was already biased towards the western fields. Furthermore, in exc. 91 to their east, the number is almost as high as in the three mentioned fields put together, and in the entire southern half this field comes third after the fields of exc. 61 and 69. However, it was in exc. 91 that the three phase II moated precincts and a wooden coffin also from phase II were recovered.

We thus have ample indications that the picture engraved pottery is related to burials, but was not placed directly in the same feature as the grave. Also, some of the burials are considerably older than the picture engraved pottery (exc. 23 & 91), which must indicate a consciousness of ancestors and the continuation of certain areas of the site as appropriate for burying the dead. Part of the picture engraved pottery could have been put in position later than the burying of the deceased. The high degree of fragmentation combined with the general remaining of vessel parts in one location indicates that the vessels were left on the ground until they were destroyed by accident, e.g. at times of activity at the moats or until they slid down into the moats during heavy rainfall or wind.

In fig. 27 I have collected all obtainable information on phase IV wells, pits, burials and picture engraved pottery (ID-numbers), and an outline follows of the relevant feature related material from excavation reports.[46] The following outlines the characteristics during phase IV

[46] Apart from the excavation reports referred to in these paragraphs, I have had access to reports from exc. 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 21, 26, 32 that held no phase IV features, furthermore to reports from exc. 15, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 60 that held only faint traces of phase IV activity.

Information from other excavations not referred to have only been available from yearly reports in which all phases II, III and IV material is referred to as "Middle Yayoi" material.

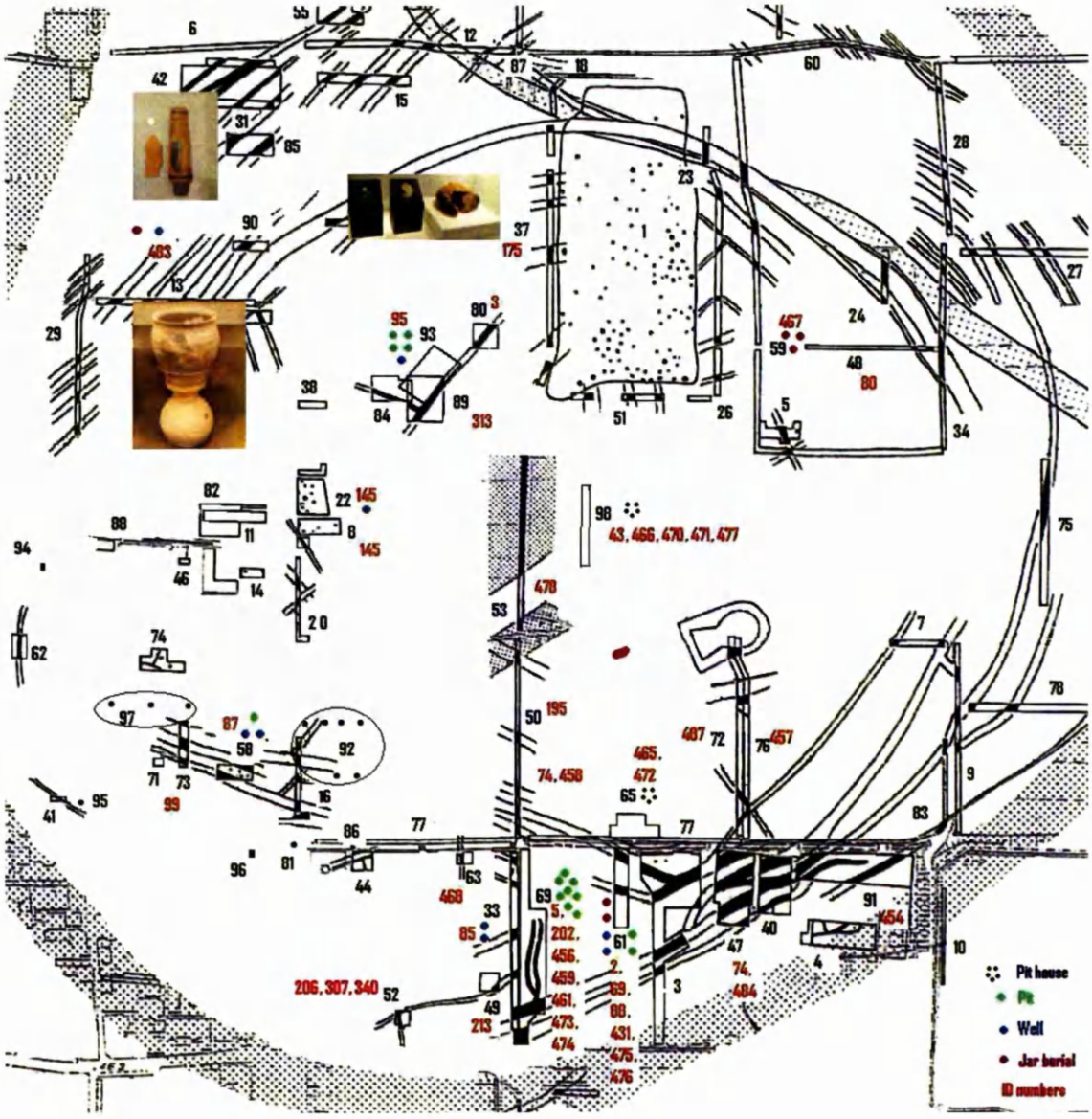


Figure 27: Phase IV 'particular' objects.

of the places that hold the highest numbers of picture engraved pottery in general. All materials mentioned in the following paragraphs are of phase IV unless otherwise stated.

Several of the many moats in exc. 13 (fig. 28, top) were specifically from phase IV, and generally, there is a ritual tinge connected to the finds there. Some of the finds in exc. 13 and 19 (23 IDs in total) stem from burial activities. The burial jar had been buried in soil that had been filled into a moat (SD-01) in the middle of phase IV. SD-02's lower layer had been sealed by the flood at the end of the phase, and from here a jar, two pitchers – one of them intact –, two whole pots and a pedestalled bowl were recovered together with the sanukite

knife in wooden scabbard (fig. 23), some wooden artefacts and a large amount of scorched rice. At the bottom of SD-05 jars, pots and bowls and a lot of pedestalled bowls were found together with 8 rice reapers, one of them very large, some animal bones and some wooden material. SD-06 was the long-lasting large moat whose last phase was phase IV from which phase we have part of a stone 'spearhead'. Here was also natural wood that had been mixed with pottery, lacquered (painted) wooden boards, spinning wheels, wooden pedestalled bowls, a bead and an arrowhead made from antler (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 1983:4-6, 8-10).

Figure 28: Exc. 13 and 19: Early to Middle Yayoi.

(Maps from excavation reports)

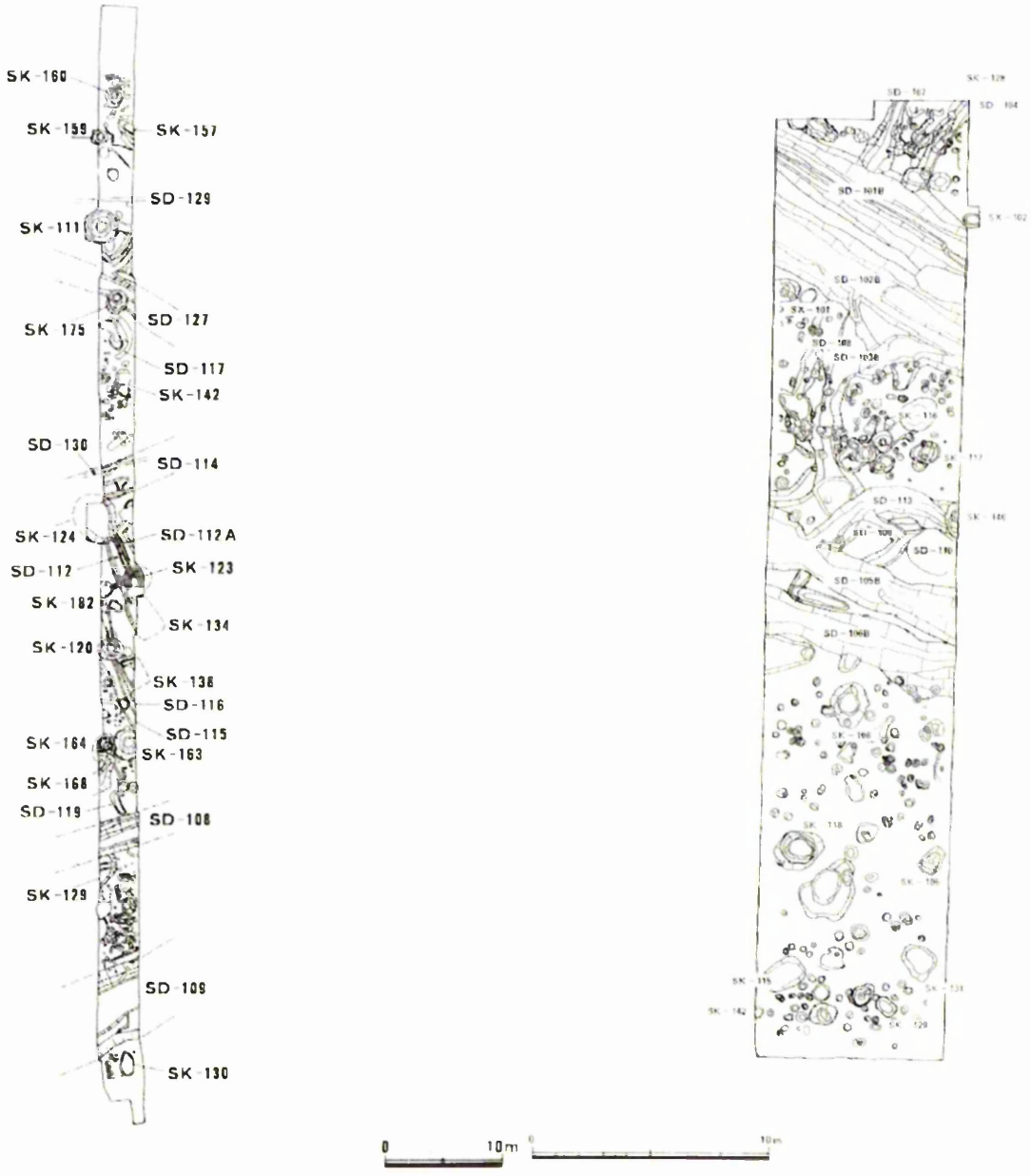
Exc. 13 also included a well (SK-07) from whose top layer three intact pedestalled bowls were exhumed. South of the well the skeleton of an adult human was found. This is undated, but speculations are that it may be related to the well (ibid:10). Further pottery from the field was a broken footed cup in SD-06 and the foot of a pottery stand in SD-06E.

In the artefact rich large moat of exc. 19 (SD-102/204), close to the deceased individual of exc. 13, a large amount of IV-2 pottery – pedestalled bowls, jars, pots, bowls and pitchers – was recovered together with wooden pedestalled bowls, a wooden rice reaper, a bead and a clay bell, but the moat-part – originally from phase III-1 – shows heavy traces of redigging, resulting in a mixing of layers and breakage of pottery vessels (ibid 1984:33-34, 46-49). The

field also included three wells, one of which, SK-1104, contained a wooden rice reaper, and another, SK-102, held some whole pottery in the lower layers and fragmented pottery in higher layers. The third well, SX-202, had been constructed by joining two pottery vessels, whose bottoms had been removed, on top of a natural waterway. It contained lots of burnt clay, charcoal and ashes, as well as many half vessels and large vessel fragments (ibid:29, 35, 37). The find of wooden rice reapers at Karako Kagi, whose access to stone material was so privileged, seems illogical, unless they had some ritual significance, and I suggest we view it as belonging to the category of imitations rather than an actual utility object. When considering the ritual function of the north-western moat-belt represented by exc. 13 and 19, we should also bear in mind that this spot and its picture engraved pottery is relatively close to the later of the large sized buildings (from exc. 93) (but not to the earlier, since this is earlier than most of the picture engravings).

The following can be observed in the southern edge of the site: In the field of exc. 61 (21 IDs), there are many moat parts, but most are either older or younger than phase IV (fig. 30). Four moats expire with its early half, and four others, among these SD-101b and SD-102b, start with its later half. The latter two contained a fair amount of pottery, but because of redigging, phase IV pottery – mostly jars, some pedestalled bowls, a few pots and a pitcher – had been mixed with a somewhat larger record of phase V pottery. The two moats were parallel, and flanking them at either side were two pottery vessel burials: a phase IV-1 jar in SX-101, and a phase III-4 pot in SX-102, both assumed to be related to the moats. In the field were also two wells, three large pits and at least 10 postholes (ibid 1997a:8, 18). A piece of engraved pottery was found in a well, SK-106, and part of the field's other picture engraved pottery in lower layers of moats (ibid:8-9, 13, 16-20, 32).

In exc. 33 (including 29 IDs from exc. 69 = 35 IDs in total), only two moats cover phase IV (fig. 29), SD-115 its beginning and SD-109, the large moat, its end. Two wells also belong to the phase. In one of these, SK-120, a bead was found in a lower layer, and lots of broken IV-1 pottery was recovered from the higher half of the layers. Most were pots and jars, but also a pitcher, a footed cup, a bowl and parts of pedestalled vessels. On top was ID 85 (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003b:164-167). SD-109's lowermost layer had lots of phase IV pedestalled bowls (many were intact), some jars, pots and a few footed cups. ID 71 was found on the surfaces partly of SD-115 and partly of SK-120. Unbroken sanukite arrowheads from various phases were recovered from this field (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 1989:9-10, 17-19, 37-41, 53, plate 48).



Figures 29 & 30: Exc. 33: mid/late Middle Yayoi; Exc. 61: late Middle/early Late Yayoi.

(Maps from excavation reports)

Also other excavation fields held picture engraved pottery and ritual artefacts together.[47] Thus, there was relation between the deposition of picture engraved pottery, burial activity and the deposition of other ritual objects at Karako Kagi. The space between the moats functioned as the primary space for all these activities.

Based on the correlation between phase IV picture engraved pottery and burials it is my conviction that there was a strong ancestral consciousness at Karako Kagi in the phase, because some of the burials are older than the pottery. Imported pottery vessels seem to have played a major role in the basin in funeral rites at moated precincts in the preceding phase – both the objects and the features peaked in numbers in phase III. At Karako Kagi imported vessels were still associated with burials in phase IV, but their number did not match that of picture engraved vessels. Also, in the basin, very few imported phase IV vessels are found at moated precincts, as appears from table 6.

I would therefore like to suggest that imported pottery was used mainly for actual funerary rites; whereas picture engraved pottery fulfilled an important function as continuously ongoing markers of graves from all phases for the sake of maintaining people's ancestral loyalty to the place. Such visual marking of the site's ancestors would form a new element in its physical cosmology and create slight changes in the cognitive conception of people.

[47] From the moats SD-101 and SD-102 in exc. 52 a lot of pottery was excavated, of which a bit was from phases I and II, but most was from phase IV jars, pots, pedestalled bowls and some picture engraved pottery (IDs 206, 303, 340). Raw rhyolite and roughly worked pieces of the material was also found here (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 1993:4, 6, 10). One pit in exc. 3, pit 6, held two intact phase IV pitchers, while the main content (the mid-layers) of the large moats SD-06 and SD-07 were fragmented phases III and IV pottery, and most other pits held phase V pottery (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 1978:6-7). Furthermore, the occurrence of picture engraved pottery in the area of the large building of exc. 93 is accompanied by a well. A whole IV-1 stand was recovered from the bottom layer of the large moat in exc. 40, next to the postholes from the entrance bridge, perhaps indicating the ritual connotations of the construction (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003b:158-159).

Summary 2. The uniqueness of activities at Karako Kagi

The chapter has put together features and objects present at Karako Kagi essential for understanding the settlement's physical appearance and dynamics at various stages of the Yayoi Period. My argument here is that each of the elements was a material expression of the cognitive conception of the inhabitants at any given time, and consequently that the changes that we have observed in connection with these features and objects reflect changes in people's cognitive cosmology.

Picture engraved pottery, oracle bones and 'peculiar artefacts' which are usually suspected to have been ritual are here shown to have physical connection to imported pottery, wells, ditches, moats and burials – according to changing patterns. And these patterns demonstrate not only the religious co-significance of features and traded items, but also an enhanced focus on cultural elements in late Middle Yayoi.

In Middle Yayoi, most settlements of the Nara Basin were concentrated in its south-eastern part. Karako Kagi, located in the centre of the basin near the trunk of the Yamato River was during Middle Yayoi the largest and most extensively moated settlement of six settlements with moats.

The moated settlements that we find all over western Japan held the privilege of producing and distributing special tools and elite goods, whereas smaller farming villages were committed to food production and tools related to this. The latter were thus only involved in subsistence related local exchange, whereas the moated settlements – always located at logistically important places near water – also engaged in far distance exchange for commodities that never reached the farming villages.

The construction of moats around settlements seems from the beginning of the Yayoi Period to have been connected to a demarcation of living spaces. In some areas, moats functioned as drainage, and there are instances where it is evident that they were meant as protection against military attacks. However, there is very little relation in the Nara Basin and in most other places between warfare and settlement moats.

Middle Yayoi started with the agglomeration of smaller settlements into larger ones, and these agglomerations – of which we have several in the basin: Karako Kagi, Tsuboi Daifuku and Byōdōbō Iwamuro, were provided with multiple moats in concentric circles around them. Also ditches that divided the interior of the site were dug as Middle Yayoi progressed; such are present at Karako Kagi and Tsuboi Daifuku and at Ikegami Sone on the Ōsaka Plain.

At the end of phase IV, when a flood left sedimentation in Karako Kagi's moats several other basin settlements were deliberately filled or left to natural silting, and a subsequent redigging of moats at all the sites is seen in early Late Yayoi. The filling of moats was repeated at the end of the Yayoi Period, but this time after substantial numbers of whole pottery vessels had been deposited in the moats at all sites. This sequence, carried out everywhere in the basin is seen here as reflecting an organised concept, an idea shared by the leaders of the respective settlements. Whereas extended depositions of pottery inside moats are seen from Late Yayoi, there seems to have been a busy activity between the moats and in wells in the previous phases of the Yayoi Period.

The significance of Karako Kagi, where regular habitation is very hard to detect, may – together with certain sites in the San'in area – have resembled that of the European Neolithic causewayed enclosures, as living quarters are not found, rather single-standing postholes in seemingly disorder can be observed. It remains an open question whether there was habitation at Karako Kagi, since traces of pit-dwellings could have been destroyed by the heavy agricultural activity on the spot in modern time. The evidence however, for pithouse construction at moated settlements outside – and not inside – the space encircled by the moats is so substantial in the San'in region that it seems likely that a special type of moated settlements arose half way through Middle Yayoi. It may thus be that it is no coincidence that the only two pit houses detected at Karako Kagi are related to the central stone processing area and the southern bronze casting area respectively, since the site may have been among the moated settlements that were not ordinary habitation sites. Karako Kagi has another peculiar phenomenon in common with a site in the San'in region (Aoyakamijichi), namely that in the early phases of the Yayoi Period, more oracle bones stemmed from boar than from deer. It is suggested here that in Karako Kagi's case this fact could be related to a tradition, reaching back into Jōmon times, in the basin of regarding the deer as a sacred animal.

Karako Kagi as mainly a production site in its later phases is definitely a possibility; this thesis however, links its productivity to its ritual activity. Although it has been stated elsewhere that still more buildings were constructed in the partitions between the many ditches, no definite order has as yet been established of the many postholes except from the two pithouses mentioned above and the two large buildings in the earlier western segment, dated to phases II and III respectively. The later of the buildings is thought here to have replaced the earlier at the time of the agglomeration of the three segments into one settlement, and to have ceased to exist some time during phase IV. It is theorised in the chapter that the building had a ritual function due to the conspicuous orientation of similar buildings at other

large moated settlements, and due to its physical proximity to a concentration of evidence of ritual activity at the north-western edge of the site.

Already in Early Yayoi, Karako Kagi had the highest intensity of exchange and production in the Nara Basin, and its economical dominance was substantially based on processing rice reapers of rhyolite and other stone tools of sanukite, whereas Tsuboi Daifuku organised the mining of the raw material. Karako Kagi thus had a firmly established tradition of production and trading when Middle Yayoi took its start. Based in finds of early Middle Yayoi imported pottery in apparently ritual context, and in exotic imports and local products without wearmarks stemming from late Middle Yayoi at Karako Kagi in the same features and in the context of picture engraved pottery and burials, it is argued in this chapter that industries and trade were maintained at the site partly for the reason of employing their products in rituals. One example is the imported pottery that started to be deposited at moated precincts in the basin in phase III. Such has not been detected at Karako Kagi's three early precincts, but may have been present. In any case, imported vessels were deposited in wells at the site. In phase IV the pattern changed slightly, since imported pottery was no longer deposited at moated precincts in the basin, and this may be because precincts were no longer constructed. The vessels were now deposited at places at Karako Kagi, where other types of burials are found, e.g. jar burials. The vessels' connection to funeral activity was thus continued, but the type of deposition location shifted.

In phase IV, depositions in and at wells, moats and ditches of hardly obtainable or processed crafted material took their start at Karako Kagi and were to reach their climax by the large-scale pottery depositions inside moats at the end of the Yayoi Period, a phenomenon that is reflected in other moated settlements of the basin. However, these depositions had been preceded by depositions in phases I – III of particularly selected animal bones – scapulae and mandibles of boar and deer, together with pottery deposition in the shape of containers like comb decorated jars and pots. This pottery consisted of the above mentioned imported vessels, a phenomenon that peaked in phase III all over the basin. In phase IV, when long distance trade was initiated, we see the first depositions of imported beads and of open pottery and wooden bowls on pedestals, whereas the animal bones are absent and the most conspicuous use of jars – now unpatterned – is that of pictorial engraving. The connection of import to burials and of domestic products to wells was thus unchanged, but the pattern of content changed; the artefacts were increasingly culturalised, which matched the new production at Karako Kagi of elaborately decorated bronze bells. (An alternative ritual trend of the phase however, was constituted by imitations, a dichotomy that is not treated further in the thesis).

During early Middle Yayoi Higashinara on the Santō Plain had been ahead of Karako Kagi in terms of bronze casting; however, a few traces from Karako Kagi have been recovered in the shape of stone moulds for bells, likely from phase III. In phase IV, as long-distance import increased steadily, so did the level of casting activity in the southern part of Karako Kagi. Phase IV thus was a time when Karako Kagi was no longer primarily a centre of agricultural tool production and animal based ritual activity, rather it became a centre of bronze casting and long-distance trade. It was a time of transition during which the spirituality connected to animal-worship decreased in flesh and became only representational in art, and the focus swung to craft-based objects, a demonstration of culture's triumph over nature. A paraphernalic display started in phase IV with an increase in the relative number of pedestalled dishes and bowls compared to other pottery vessels, and accompanying pedestalled vessels crafted in wood. But it is also the unique objects representing time-consuming production and/or far distance connections that reveal to us that exchange had become related to special skills and status, which may be – and is here – interpreted as the status of specific individuals.

Thus, the exchange that accelerated in phase IV, and which had inherited from early Middle Yayoi a highly ritual significance, now became increasingly political. The ritual connotation of import that is weighted in the chapter is seen here as one of the reasons to establish a segregated area in the south-western part of Karako Kagi in phase IV, as it has been demonstrated in other cases that there is often an urge in traditional societies to keep imported objects in special bounded areas due to alleged pollution and dangers connected to them. The newly established segregated area in the south-west next to the entrance thus attracted imported pottery in phase IV, but so did the north-western moat belt. Whereas the analysis presented here does not offer any explanation of the difference between the south-western segregation and the north-western moat-belt, it demonstrates that these two areas came to hold two of the three concentrations of ritual activity.

The picture engraved pottery appears in larger numbers than any of the other ritual artefacts at the site. Its distribution is analysed in the chapter, and it appears that the south-western quarter of Karako Kagi holds the densest concentration of picture engraved pottery. Rituals involving picture engraved vessels are thus assumed to have taken place inside the segregated area, which however, for the most part has not been excavated as yet. When scrutinising the find spots of particularly phase IV picture engraved pottery it turns up that its occurrence is particularly conspicuous in the eastern edge of the segregated area that is so far the only part of this area that has experienced relatively large-scale excavations. Its second largest

concentration stems from a field in the north-east, from where we have unfortunately no excavation report, however, the next in rank is the north-western moat-belt, closely connected to the large building. Furthermore, in all three areas the picture engraved pottery had clear connection with earlier or contemporary burials, and with other sorts of ritual artefacts including large sized rice reapers that have been deposited in the same areas.

It is argued in the chapter that the picture engraved vessels were deposited between the moats near graves to mark the graves of past and present, and as such functioned in the interest of ancestral consciousness and the sentiment of loyalty to the place. In contrast to the imported pottery that appears to have been used in direct funerary rites both in phase IV and earlier, the picture engraved pottery was thus used for tracking the settlement's roots into the human past with an emphasis not observed before in the basin.

3. Karako Kagi in the Middle Yayoi landscape of the Nara Basin

3.1. Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I have outlined the cosmological foundation of the iconography in transition. This chapter will outline the social foundation such as can be deduced from the physical changes inside the Nara Basin; changes in settlement pattern and -development that are here interpreted as indications of competition between sites and site clusters.

In Middle Yayoi, Karako Kagi held the position as the leading industrial place in the Nara Basin, and the range of its industries increased as the phase progressed. Several other large sites in the basin were provided with more than one moat, but by phase IV, Karako Kagi had become the most extensively moated settlement of all, and its outstanding position clear. This chapter investigates the role of Karako Kagi in Middle Yayoi on the background of settlement patterns in the Nara Basin. It argues that in phase IV, most other settlements in the basin were in some way related to Karako Kagi, and it suggests that production of picture engraved pottery at other sites was dependent on this relationship.

Also here, I expand on my argument of settlement moats as space markers and explain why they could have functioned in phase IV as dividers between the cultural sphere on the inside and the natural world on the outside and how this is reflected in the reformed iconographical record. This distinction was not yet present at the beginning of Middle Yayoi, and its emergence was accompanied by the flourishing production of picture engraved pottery at Karako Kagi and the initiation of bronze casting at the settlement. Also by the turn to phase IV, the moated precincts, hitherto constructed in satellite sites of Karako Kagi and other large settlements, disappeared from the centre of the basin and were moved to its edges, to areas that became new political strongholds in phase V.

The chapter further links the move towards culturalism in iconography as well as in settlement structure to a similar move in the political sphere – a move towards permanent positions and offices. I thus believe that the shifts in the material data that I treat should be interpreted as indications of a shift towards culturalism in all three spheres: the political, the structural/architectural and the iconographic.

The development during the early Middle Yayoi of the dual settlement system lends evidence to a decreasing egalitarianism. So does the intensification of moat-digging during the later part of the timeframe, which was so time-consuming that we must assume that it was

initiated and organised by one or more individuals holding a special position. The following chapter will treat the competition between moated sites of the Nara Basin that I see indicated in the similar physical structure of these, a competition that seems to have emerged already during Early Yayoi, and that must have been led by ambitious individuals.

Hodder has argued that not only individuals but also societies construct their own realities, and that material culture has an integral place within that construction (Hodder 1986 in Renfrew 1994a:10) In order to understand the 'truth' of a community or a region at any given time, it is thus necessary to isolate this entity in the search for the factors that defined the circumstances of that community or region, at the same time as we must keep an eye on influences reaching the entity from outside. This is why it is crucial in the pursuit of the religious trends of the Kinai area in Middle Yayoi to examine the physical environment of the pictorial data which I believe constitutes one of these trends, and to draw conclusions on the social currents in the environment.

3.2. Middle Yayoi settlements in the Nara Basin

3.2.1. Settlement groups

Yayoi Period sites in the Nara Basin, most of which are located in its eastern half, appear in two settlement patterns relating to geographical setting. In the open lowland they gather in clusters interspersed with unoccupied land (fig. 38, back of volume), a grouping that is particularly clear during Middle Yayoi when four such settlement groups can be distinguished in the open land. Contrastingly, a number of more widely dispersed sites are situated along or beyond the edges of the basin in mountains or valleys particularly in its southern area. Site clusters are less clearly identified in these surroundings than in the central area.

There is one lowland group in the northern part of the basin consisting of a number of similarly small sized settlements at the tributaries of the Saho River; the others, all situated south of the main currents of the Yamato River, are composed of one or two large settlements accompanied by satellite sites, some of which functioned originally as cemeteries of the large sites. The three lowland groups here are the Byōdōbō Iwamuro cluster in Tenri, the Ō/Nakazoshi cluster in Kashihara and the Karako Kagi/Hozu Miyako cluster in Tawaramoto. The two former are located at the edge of the wetland zone whereas Karako Kagi and its associated sites are situated inside it, Karako Kagi itself only 47 m above sea level. Tsuboi Daifuku and Shiba, situated at the basin edge, possibly constituted a fifth group. The sites

named here as well as Shibu, also at the edge of the basin, are larger than the remainder of sites inside the basin in Middle Yayoi.

There are no large settlements in the northern part, assumedly because of a poor water provision,[48] and none in the western part either, probably because of the opposite situation, an excessively large number of river currents. All the large sites hold either moats or picture engraved pottery or both and moating may eventually turn up to have been present at them all.[49] Five smaller sites have also presented the pottery.

The sites in the central area of the basin are typically placed 3-4 km from mountainous surroundings with Karako Kagi situated at the longest possible distance of all, giving it open land in a radius of 5 km (except from the Nukatabe and Shimanoyama Hills), and much wider towards north and south. Karako Kagi and Hozu Miyako sites are presently separated by the Tera River, and Karako Kagi is flanked at its east by the Hase River. In the Yayoi Period however, the Hase River passed west of Karako Kagi from its outset in the south-eastern corner of the basin, and due to frequent changes of river currents over time in many places, the location of several rivers differed from the present picture (Barnes 1988:41). Also, due to modern irrigation as well as perhaps a lower sea level at the present time,[50] the water surface inside the basin has fallen considerably and many small river tributaries have dried up. Thus, in the Yayoi Period, most of the rivers carried much more water than they do at present, and many more river arms and tributaries existed making up a combined land- and waterscape. At many site excavations in the Nara Basin, fossil river beds have been detected, indicating that one or more waterways were often included in settlements, which again means that many of the settlement moats held water corresponding to the water level of the penetrating rivers at any given time.

North, west and south of Karako Kagi were in Middle Yayoi at least 13 other sites related to it or to each other with a distance of 1 km to their nearest neighbouring sites. Hozu Miyako is the other large site in Karako Kagi's group. Three of the smaller sites – Shimizukaze,

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[48] It is reasonable to assume that in the Yayoi Period the water supply of the rivers in the northern part of the basin was less constant than that of the rivers by the large settlements. The handful of smaller sites in the northern area are located where the Heijō capital appeared in the beginning of the 8th century, when water supply of the Saho River was apparently ideal and it was navigable – building material for the palace was transported up the river (Barnes 1988:171). The Saho area, however, suffered at times from a lack of water, and the unreliable state of this stream may have been a contributory cause for the relocation of the capital in AD 794 (Aoyama 1999:101).

[49] So far, Shiba shows some evidence of having been moated as well (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:18).

[50] Pollen deriving from Uryūdo on the Kawachi Plain indicates slightly higher temperatures in the Yayoi Period than at present. This could have caused a higher level of rivers and sea, as well as increased evaporation from the sea, followed by an increase in precipitation (Aikens and Higuchi 1982: 225).

Yaokuhara and Hagota – are located very close to the main settlements, and they have, together with the two large sites all given picture engraved pottery, whereas the satellites further away have not. Shimizukaze plays a particular role in this connection, since a high number of picture engraved sherds have been found here, and the site will be treated in greater detail below. It was the only other place in the area of the Karako Kagi/Hozu Miyako settlement group where activity had been going on already in Early Yayoi – and as early as the Final Jōmon Period (Kashihara Archaeological Institute 1989). It is situated 600 m north of Karako Kagi, and these two closely connected sites form the base of the group.

From the circumference of the Karako Kagi/Hozu Miyako cluster the distance to any other surrounding settlement is more than 2 km. The large settlement of Ō is and was placed at the current of the modern Asuka River, and its satellite of Yabeminami is located at its immediate periphery. From Ō to Nakazoshi, another large site at another of the Asuka Rivers tributaries, the distance is 2 km (between settlement-centres) like that between Karako Kagi and Hozu Miyako, and the two sites and their satellites form another settlement group, likewise with intersite distances of 1 km or less and distances of at least 2 km from the circumference of the group to any other site in the basin. Within this group however, only Nakazoshi has presented picture engraved pottery (ID 115).

Byōdōbō Iwamuro so far seems to be isolated as a large site with only one genuine satellite site, Senzai, holding five of its moated precincts, and they cannot be characterised as a settlement cluster in the same category as the two examples mentioned above. The area in which they are located, i.e. the area between the Furu and the Saho Rivers, is peculiarly void of settlements. There are smaller sites to its north-east close to the basin edge, Besshō Tsurube (別所ツルベ), Nagatera (長寺) both 3 km from Byōdōbō, Wani Morimoto (和邇森本) and Morimoto Kuboshijō (森本之庄) 4 and 5 km from Byōdōbō (Ikeda 1998:45), and these may have been related to it. However, some of the satellites of the Karako Kagi/Hozu Miyako group are situated less than 2 km from Byōdōbō, and the possibility of this site and Senzai belonging in some sense to the same group should not be ignored. Byōdōbō Iwamuro has given one example of picture engraved pottery (ID 569) and Nagatera two (IDs 570, 571). The site of Kaichi is located east of Karako Kagi, but only shows activity in phases I and II (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:11).

In the higher setting of the upstream sites one group is almost as tightly built as the two central lowland groups; this is the group consisting of Tsuboi Daifuku with its three satellite sites following the criterion of an intersite distance of 1 km, whereas the satellite of Kibi as

well as the other large site of Shiba both escape the criterion by a few hundred metres. Within this group, Tsuboi Daifuku, Shiba and Kibi have provided picture engraved pottery (Tsuboi Daifuku: IDs 1, 244, 535; Shiba: IDs 107, 136, 137; Kibi: no IDs). The rivers that spring in the south-eastern basin had a more westerly course in the Yayoi Period than at present; thus the Hase River ran by Shiba before passing between Karako Kagi and Hozu Miyako, and the Tera branch of the Asuka/Soga River passed Tsuboi Daifuku before it ran past Hozu Miyako's west side.

Whereas Shiba lies at the foot of Mount Miwa, Tsuboi Daifuku is in the open land (62-65 m above sea level) – although less than 1 km from mountainous environments and it is clearly associated with small scaled settlements at its immediate outskirt. With this agglutination to it of satellites, it resembles the large settlements further downstream.

Shibu is located close to the mountains (72 m above sea level, Asuka area) and 2.5 km south of Tsuboi Daifuku, thus separated from it by approximately the same distance as that separating Karako Kagi and Byōdōbō Iwamuro. However, in this case, no satellite sites of either settlement act as intermediaries and its possible role as part of the Tsuboi Daifuku/Shiba group is doubtful. Also, the substantial moats that enclosed Shibu (3.2.2.) may indicate that this site was not part of any cooperative group. It was however, situated at a branch of the Asuka River that led directly to Ō. The small settlement of Shijō slightly more than 1 km from Shibu should perhaps be regarded as its satellite. Also, a group of moated precincts outside its circumference would have played approximately the same role as the satellite sites of the other large settlements. Shibu has given picture engraved pottery (IDs 225, 226, 233, 242, 243).

Kamotsuba that was moated in Early Yayoi and later again in Late Yayoi, shows very few signs of activity in Middle Yayoi, and cannot be treated together with the moated settlements mentioned above. It is a highland site (located 100 m above sea level) at the slope of the Kongo Mountains in the south-western corner of the basin, and as such it belongs to a different category (3.4.). It had two satellites, Kobayashi and Wakita, the latter of which however, held moated precincts from phase III.

Between Shibu and Kamotsuba, the two small sites of Uenoyama and Kazu existed next to each other, but in isolation from other sites (distanced 3.5 and 4 km respectively from their closest neighbours). Uenoyama has presented picture engraved pottery (IDs 113, 232), but from Late Yayoi, and as such shows another example of the phenomenon away from the settlement concentration in the eastern basin. Like Kamotsuba, Uenoyama became moated in mid-Late Yayoi (Barnes 1988:213), and was a highland site. The southern isolated sites show

a different sequence of development than the clusters in the eastern basin, which I shall return to at the end of the chapter (3.6.).

Apart from the sites inside and at the edge of the basin itself, one scattered group of smaller sites existed in the south-eastern mountainous area east of the Tsuboi Daifuku/Shiba group (not included in map), and another along the Kii River (not included in map) whose valley is connected to the Nara Basin via its only southern lowland pass[51] entered between Tamate and Kazu. A handful of spatially unrelated sites are dispersed in the western part of the basin.

The settlement distribution of Middle Yayoi corresponds to part of the distribution of Late Yayoi (phase V) material as observed and described by Barnes in 1988. Two arcs of phase V material (fig. 31) can be seen in the basin, one cutting through the central basin (downstream arc) and the other bordering the eastern and southern hill foot (upstream arc). Barnes included all Late Yayoi sites and connected all sites situated 1.5 km or less from each other, creating the arcs. It was demonstrated that the ends of the arcs were all close to exits of the basin (mountain passes), indicating that the arcs reproduce lines of communication and transportation. The later straight-line course of roads which took shape in the 8th century AD (during the Nara Period, AD 710-784), and which was based on an axial system of land division (*jori)* introduced in the preceding century, was thus a radical break with this early road system that had been based on the natural topography (Barnes 1988:167-172, 209-210). As mentioned, only parts of the communication arcs existed in Middle Yayoi, since the various settlement clusters kept some distance between them as buffer zones between territories.

The extraordinarily closely situated rivers and streams of the western basin may in Middle Yayoi have constituted a hindrance for traffic over land in the area, which again resulted in the very low number of sites we see here compared to that of the south-east region where the rivers were more centripetal and had fewer tributaries, allowing for more freedom of movement over land. This relative absence of settlements in the western and also the northern areas of the basin comprises a major difference from the Late Yayoi settlement distribution, indicating either that waterways had become less abundant in Late Yayoi, that forcing them had become easier or that settling there had become increasingly necessary. Indications are that the latter was the case, since floods that appeared at the end of Middle Yayoi both inside the basin and on the neighbouring Kawachi Plain reduced the area of habitable land, and the

[51] The Matsuchi Pass, mentioned in Nihonshoki (Barnes 1988:164, 167).

Figure 31: Two arcs of Yayoi V material.

After Barnes 1988:211 (modified)

more easily traversable land in the eastern region was no longer sufficient for the size of the basin population.

It is interesting that one or more rivers separate the two large settlements of each cluster, which would give the cluster the opportunity to control a large territory. Karako Kagi and Hozu Miyako thus dominate the three most centripetal rivers of the basin and would have

been able to control all traffic between Tsuboi Daifuku/Shiba and the main trunk of the Yamato River. Thus, the transport of rhyolite raw material took place from Tsuboi Daifuku via Hozu Miyako to Karako Kagi.

3.2.2. Transformation of the settlement pattern in early Middle Yayoi

The process leading to the grouping of settlements inside the basin had started in Early Yayoi by the establishment of a number of small settlements, many of which were provided with moats at some point during the phase.

The development of moat digging in Middle Yayoi had in fact been preceded by an earlier series of digging and filling of moats in Early Yayoi both within and beyond the Nara Basin. The construction of settlement moats around the original three settlements at Karako Kagi followed by their filling after a short interval was not extraordinary for the beginning of the Yayoi Period. The original settlements at Karako Kagi as well as the early settlements of Ō belonged to a category of short-lived moated settlements dispersed along the whole Inland Sea Coast and all the way to Ōsaka and Nara that typically appeared in mid-Early Yayoi and most with several moats to encircle them. The moats at all these settlements were filled again after they had been dug, some immediately after, but typically at the beginning of Middle Yayoi (Kawabe 2006a:18-24), into which picture both Karako Kagi and Ō fit. Most sites in this category measured about 80 m in both directions, an index, however, that grew in proportion to the sites' proximity to the Ōsaka/Nara area. Shijō Shinano (150 × 100 m), also inside the basin (not included in map) is among the 11 sites within the category that were simply abandoned after being provided with two almost contemporaneous moats in late Early Yayoi,[52] whereas Karako Kagi, Tsuboi Daifuku, Byōdōbō Iwamuro and Ō[53] constitute those at which activity went on also after the transition to Middle Yayoi. The moats however, were rearranged, a rearrangement which may have involved a change in the significance of the features. During the rest of Middle Yayoi the moat belt was the place for burials, located between moats and inside them, sometimes relating to wells holding what is interpreted here

[52] The highland site of Kamotsuba that existed in relative isolation from other sites could also in its earliest phase have belonged to the category of short-lived Early Yayoi settlements with moats, as it holds Early Yayoi pottery in the lowest layer of one ditch section. There is no evidence of a continuous moat, but sufficiently large ditch parts have been recovered in order to expect the site to have had an encircling moat in the phase (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:29).

[53] At Ō, the assumption of two moats existing in phase II-1 is based on a number of ditch-parts, whereas another string of these is conceived of as having encircled the southern part of the site in Middle Yayoi (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:16).

as ritual depositions, and the moats present direct deposition or discard of ritual material inside them, e.g. the mandibles and oracle bones.

The situation at Byōdōbō Iwamuro resembled the one at Karako Kagi. Initially, it consisted of three habitation areas, one of which grew larger than the others, and was made the nucleus site by an encircling moat. Although this moat was not filled, it was accompanied by more moats in Middle Yayoi until a moat-belt was created, inside which activities went on. Both here and at Tsuboi Daifuku, there was a wider interval between the two inner moats than between the others (Matsumoto 1998:36). At Tsuboi Daifuku this interval was used for burials from early Middle Yayoi (Kawabe 2006b:58), and at Karako Kagi, the three moated precincts that had existed since early Middle Yayoi were integrated into the moat outlay and ended up in the same location.

Tsuboi Daifuku, like Karako Kagi and Byōdōbō Iwamuro, held initially – in Final Jōmon and Early Yayoi – three small scaled habitation settlements, in three individual, slightly elevated, spots, each with their own graveyard.[54] The site then – like Karako Kagi – moved on to the initial construction in early Middle Yayoi of a large moat supplemented by additional ones until by the middle of the phase a total of five concentric moats enclosed the settlement. At least at the Daifuku section, the visualising of borders was clearly connected to the burials. The synchronous development of settlement moats during the phase thus reflects a new social system taken up after the close of Early Yayoi and the abandonment of the earlier moat system, a system in which Karako Kagi held the leading position in terms of industries during Middle Yayoi. As the total length and the radius of the new moats would not have been easily surveyed, it would seem that they were construction works directed by skilled organisers, i.e. leaders, of the settlement structure.

The development of Ō and Byōdōbō Iwamuro tells us that neighbouring settlement groups formed part of the social formation of the central part of the basin. And Tsuboi Daifuku that may have been very powerful by the middle of Middle Yayoi due to its central role in the provision of rhyolite material followed the same development and was likely until phase III Karako Kagi's equal in terms of number of moats. But Karako Kagi was the nucleus of the basin, and started in phase IV to differ strongly from the other moated settlements with its abnormally many moats and its high number of satellite sites.

The development of Tsuboi Daifuku – whose degree of digging was only surpassed by that of Karako Kagi – was closely related to burial activities, and this was true also for the isolated

[54] At the same time the settlement got its first close lying satellite (Ikeda 1998:44).

site of Shibu, although burial areas were differently structured at the two sites. Shibu became a large settlement during Middle Yayoi, and so far four late Middle Yayoi pit houses have been found.

The cemetery outside the site had been established in Middle Yayoi and consisted of moated precincts (for which reason it should perhaps be regarded as a satellite - *my comment*) – three early and one late Middle Yayoi items, whereas many jar and pit burials, some of them from the Jōmon period, were found inside the main site, which was not provided with a moat until Middle Yayoi (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture, 2003a:24). Unlike at the settlements in the lowland, Shibu's moated precincts would not be visible from the inside of the settlement due to the denseness of the forest between it and its cemetery (Kinbara and Fukasawa 2002:36).

3.2.3. Power concentration at the Karako Kagi cluster in phase IV

Until phase III, several of the other moated settlements in the Nara Basin had been in the same category as Karako Kagi, although not at the same level. This was particularly true for Tsuboi Daifuku that seemingly organised the mining of the rhyolite – a status filled position that could have resulted in the construction of five moats. However, by phase IV when Karako Kagi entered trade relationship with San'in and started bronze casting, Tsuboi Daifuku could no longer participate in the competition. Its rhyolite material was devaluated, and possibly as a result it could not add any more moats and could also only trade with one western area (2.5.3.3.), exactly as the other 'normal' moated settlements in the basin. If we look further ahead in time, while Tsuboi Daifuku clearly held habitation in Early and Middle Yayoi it has not been possible to demonstrate the presence of this in Late Yayoi and it may have changed back into Daifuku's primary function as a cemetery. In this phase and in the following Early Kofun it is assumed that this site was the centre of a cemetery (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:20-21).

We know that the centre of authority was after phase IV to switch to the area in which Tsuboi Daifuku and Shiba are situated, clearly observable by Early Kofun and apparently already present in Late Yayoi (3.6.), however, Tsuboi Daifuku seems not to have become the central site in Late Yayoi. It appears that what started as cooperation between Tsuboi Daifuku and Karako Kagi in procurement and processing of the rhyolite material ended up with a monopolized concentration of resources at Karako Kagi. It is my conviction that also all production of picture engraved pottery in phase IV was regulated by Karako Kagi, as this was – particularly in phase IV-2 – closely connected to the Karako Kagi cluster. This appears

when we look at the dating of engraved pottery at other sites, although this is sparse. One of Tsuboi Daifuku's pieces (ID 1) stems from the phase III/IV transition. This piece shows one of two 'birdmen' discovered in the basin. The human with bird-features is interpreted here as representing a shaman, according to my accounts on shamans (1.6.1., chapter 5), thus a person that would have held considerable power at a site with the physical characteristics of moating and partition division. And the fact that the piece stems from the transition to phase IV fits into my general interpretation of Tsuboi Daifuku as a powerful cooperator of Karako Kagi up to that time.

Shibu is a settlement that appears remarkably different from the other large basin settlements in structural terms, and it is not inconceivable that it – owing to its isolated position – held on to its autonomy for longer than the other settlements. Its enclosed area reached its largest dimensions at the end of phase IV, but at this site it was the outer moat that held the largest dimensions measuring between 6.5 and 10 m in width, and 1.4 m in depth. It is one of the few sites at which there is evidence of an aspect of defence related to the two moats. A late Middle Yayoi pit burial (SX8820) contained two skeletons into one of which stone arrowheads were imbedded (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:24).[55] Fukasawa suggests that earthen work was added at the outside of both moats, adding to the solidity of the construction (Kinbara and Fukasawa 2002:34). At Shibu, boars and other wild animals from the forest would have been close, which would be another motive for protective devices at the site, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the inhabitants here were exposed to human physical aggression in contrast to people in the central lowland, and that this aggression emanated from Karako Kagi. At Shibu, two picture engraved pieces from late phase III have been recovered (IDs 225, 226), but the site apparently have no pieces from phase IV.

As mentioned, there are many more picture engraved sherds at Karako Kagi's small satellite sites than at the large sites south of it, and this is particularly so in phase IV, as all dated pieces from Karako Kagi's satellites are from phase IV or even IV-2. At Shimizukaze, only two excavations have been executed, however, 122 fragments from 56 picture engraved vessels have been recovered there, securing the site's rank as second to Karako Kagi in engraved pieces. During the first excavation ID 111 was found as one

[55] It is worth noticing however, that war itself may have been guided or at least accompanied by religious considerations. Takehiko Matsugi points out that the physical appearance of lethal weapons differed from one region to the next, and since finds of these are usually local, battles would have taken place between neighbouring groups. Contrary to the Kyūshū area where the way of killing apparently was cutting off the enemies' heads, in Kinki and Seto people killed each other by bow and arrow. This fixedness of patterns may indicate a strong ritual element of warfare in the Yayoi Period (Matsugi 2004b: 244).

of 34 pieces from a dried waterway (Kashihara Archaeological Institute 1989:69-70). This piece constitutes the other 'birdman', or shaman, of the basin. It is a clear phase IV piece, and in my view telling of the connection of this powerful figure to the Karako Kagi cluster in the phase. Later, ID 485 was recovered from another late Middle Yayoi waterway, SD-01, together with 19 other engraved sherds among a total of 45 sherds in disorder. 12 additional picture engraved sherds were found in the cultural layer (Toyooka 2003).

The same waterway as that uncovered in the later of Shimizukaze's excavations has been detected during at least seven excavations at Karako Kagi. It ran through the area where the Karako Pond is now situated, left the site's northern corner and entered Shimizukaze site at its south-eastern edge. The sedimentation layer from the large scale flood at the end of Middle Yayoi, verified in several moat parts at Karako Kagi (exc. 13 and 19), was also found in Shimizukaze's waterway.[56] It is from this layer – layer VI, dated to a time up to late Middle Yayoi – that most of the picture engraved pottery from Shimizukaze stems, together with a large quantity of pottery (61 whole or almost whole pottery vessels were discovered[57]) without images, most of which was from late Middle Yayoi; all items were relatively well preserved due to sedimentation layers of later times (Kashihara Archaeological Institute 1989:74-90). It is tempting to conclude that all the pottery found in SD-01 at Shimizukaze had been moved from the north-eastern part of Karako Kagi via the waterway by the large flood at the end of phase IV. Fujita, however, disagrees with this interpretation, since the examinations of the waterway at spots between the sites (exc. 12 and 17) revealed only few finds of pottery, nothing near the quantity found at Shimizukaze, and none with pictures, and he states that the artefacts did not float from Karako Kagi to Shimizukaze (Fujita 1994a:32).

Together with six other satellites of Karako Kagi and Hozu Miyako, Shimizukaze is considered to have been one of their cemeteries, as they all functioned as homes of moated precincts. But from late Middle Yayoi there are no precincts, rather there are signs of other activities in the shape of two buildings with earth embedded posts, two wells and two pits. The two buildings – SB-101 and SB-102 – turned up next to each other during the second excavation. SB-101 is strictly east-west oriented, measures 7 × 3.2 m and has two rows with 4 posts. These posts had been removed again in phase IV, and large amounts of pottery sherds from the phase together with lumps of burnt clay

[56] Shimizukaze's location is the lowest in the basin (46 m above sea level), and the site was characterised by frequent floods from the many rivers in its immediate vicinity.
[57] Among these were 19 pedestalled bowls.

and charcoal dumped into the emptied postholes. Sherds from different postholes can be fitted together. One sherd was engraved with a bird on the roof of a building (ID 66). The building can be identified as such because of the visible eaves. SB-102 was of a similar style (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education, 1997b:13).

The buildings at Shimizukaze have the size of storage houses with raised floors, but the depositions of – among other things – burnt clay and charcoal in the postholes of the abandoned house indicate a certain degree of ritual meaning of it, since traces of fire and burnt material are relatively often found at locations and after acts that we interpret as ritual. One example consists of traces of fire in the serial ditches in front of the palisades of the European causewayed enclosures; another of burnt flint inside European megaliths. Also in Japan this phenomenon has prevailed; since on top of the chamber of the Nima Ōtsuka Kofun in Okayama, whitish burnt soil containing a concentration of sherds from a 6th century pot was found during excavation (Niiro 2005:20). The depositions from phase IV may stem from abandonment rituals, and the building next to it may be its replacement. I suggest that these buildings were in some way 'descendants' of the large buildings inside Karako Kagi, although they are smaller. A fragment of a Chinese bronze mirror – one of the oldest in the basin – stems from Shimizukaze, phase IV, adding to the site's status[58] (Kashihara Archaeological Institute 2005:22).

Yaokuhara is another sub-site of Karako Kagi's 900 m to its west. Particularly the Middle Yayoi pottery record was large here, although some pottery exists from earlier and later phases. This site only flourished for a short period of time, namely that of phase IV when its role may have been like that of the earlier moated precinct sites of Shimizukaze and Hagota. It has only been excavated once, but so far it seems that it was a complex site. Three ditches, five pits and many postholes from late Middle Yayoi were found. One artefact rich pit, SK-201, was large, oblong and rectangular (5.6 × 3.8 m, depth: 0.6 m). It contained five layers with large amounts of pottery sherds. The picture engraved pottery (IDs 65, 112, 365) was recovered from three spots in layer 2. Other sherds from the pit belonged to complete, but broken pottery stands and pots. The pit also contained arrowheads of stone and grinding stones. The site has given many stone arrowheads and a fragment of a rice reaper. Both Shimizukaze, Hagota and Yaokuhara have produced pottery sherds with buildings on them as

[58] Whereas imported Chinese bronze mirrors have been found in elite graves in northern Kyūshū from mid-Middle Yayoi on (Takakura 1993:32), Kinai started receiving (or keeping) fragments of them from phase IV (Tsujita Jun'ichiro, Kyūshū University, personal communication September 2006).

has Karako Kagi (Mametani and Oguri 1997:30-31; Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 1997b:16, 17).

None of the satellite sites of the Karako Kagi/Hozu Miyako cluster were used as habitation sites (there are no traces of houses, wells etc.) in phases II and III when the moated precincts were constructed. On the other hand, in phase IV, when no precincts were built and picture engraving boomed at the Karako Kagi cluster, four of the sites were abandoned all together, whereas Hagota and Shimizukaze together with the new settlement of Yaokuhara show habitation features, stemming from sub-phase IV-2 (Yanagisawa 2003:35). These were thus the only ones among the seven cemeteries that ever came to hold any other activity. Also, this activity was limited to a short period at the very end of Middle Yayoi, since the features related to habitation were absent again already from the following phase, sub-phase V-1. However, during this short phase of settlement activity, picture engraved pottery ended up at the three sites of Shimizukaze, Hagota and Yaokuhara.

A notable stylistic difference between pottery engravings from different settlements in the basin gives us reason to assume that the pieces were normally executed where we find them, e.g the Karako Kagi deer differ from the ones at Shimizukaze, and the roof of the Shiba-piece house (ID 137) is drawn in naturalistic three dimensions, making it a unique representation. The spirals on the gable of the house roof of one Yaokuhara piece (ID 65) swirl downwards, also a unique feature. Further comparisons of engraving traditions are presented in chapter 4. However, the assumption that the pictorial engraving went on at the sites where the engraved pieces have been recovered means that there was no substantial industry or preoccupation with the craft at any other sites than Karako Kagi and Shimizukaze, where numbers extend to 326 and 56 vessels respectively (Fujita 2005).

Since we have several examples of picture engraved pottery together with contemporary whole or complete pottery vessels, and since the engraved pottery is usually found as fragments, and only extremely rarely as whole or complete vessels, it must have received a different treatment after it had served its purpose. There is one suggestion that the engraved vessels were used as libation vessels or meant for sharing a meal with the deities, and subsequently intentionally broken before or at the time of discarding them in rivers (Fujita and Tatsumi 1998:61-62). This could be what happened to the large quantities of engraved pottery found in context with other pottery (the pottery that is often whole or complete) in the fossilised waterways of Shimizukaze.

Just as spots of Australian rock art were regularly also places with human remains (Taçon 1999:41), a connection between art and burials could have been practised at Karako Kagi.

Engraved pottery vessels containing food or drink for the deceased may have been placed next to the features containing their remains. This does not preclude the possibility that engraved vessels, which had not broken or disappeared into moats (that would often contain water) accidentally or by natural causes during their stay in the burial area, were later collected, broken and discarded in a river.

3.2.4. The role of the moated precincts and their removal in phase IV

Moated precincts appeared in the Nara Basin towards the end of Early Yayoi, and their number increased during phases II and III, continuously best represented at the Karako Kagi cluster. There are examples of the moated precincts at habitation sites as well as at sites acting exclusively as cemeteries. The ditches delineating the sides of the precincts regularly contain broken and unbroken pottery and sometimes special artefacts, in one instance a bronze bell.

Research in recent decades has thrown light on the role of some satellite sites in the basin as cemeteries for the larger settlements, notably Karako Kagi and Hozu Miyako, whose own number of burials seems much too low compared to the size of the sites. Several sites in their group were seemingly designated to hold their graves, since a large number of moated precincts, thought of as the high status burial feature of the Kinai area during the Yayoi Period have been found at them. Some conspicuous aspects are related to these features, however. One thing is the seeming lack of actual burial evidence inside the moated precincts of the basin[59] which, however, could be due to shaving of the earth surface in connection with modern activities, just as this may have caused the scarcity of habitation features at Karako Kagi. Another aspect however, is a peculiar absence of the precincts themselves from all settlement groups in the central basin during phase IV.

At Karako Kagi, three moated precincts have been recovered from early Middle Yayoi (some disagreement consists between authors whether to date them to phase II or III) and two from Late Yayoi (see 2.5.2.), and the only burials at the site safely dated to phase IV are jar burials. Also no moated precincts at the satellite sites stem from phase IV.

The earliest moated precinct in the basin stems from Initial Yayoi and was constructed at Saki in the north-west corner of the basin near the passage to the Kyōto Basin (4.3.1.-fig 33). Early Yayoi precincts are located at Tomondō Higashi (伴堂東) and Aji (庵治), both in the Karako Kagi/Hozu Miyako group, whereas Ō and Daifuku held one each during this phase. Most moated precincts within the basin, however, stem from the early phases of Middle

[59] I have come across no such accounts in my search through material on Nara Basin sites.

Yayoi, phases II and III. The three in the south-eastern moat belt of Karako Kagi are amongst these (Tawaramoto Town Board of Education 2003a:12-13), and further 32 have been recognised at seven of the 12 satellite sites belonging to its group.[60] The Ō/Nakazoshi group has 28 from this time at two satellite sites.[61] So far, however, no moated precincts stemming from phase IV have been found within any of the lowland groups. These, 27 in total, are instead placed at the edges of the basin.[62]

However, even at Shibu, only one precinct was constructed in phase IV, whereas 7 items from the phase are located at two small sites at nearby Fujiwara Palace Site that may be regarded as Shibu's satellite sites. Thus, after one construction, Shibu's moated precincts were moved away like those of the lowland, but maybe not as far. The same is true for the Tsuboi Daifuku/Shiba group. One precinct from phase IV exists at Shiba.[63] The single phase IV moated precinct at Shibu was placed together with the site's earlier features from early Middle Yayoi along the path that led to the entrance of the site.

During the entire Yayoi Period, other types of burials accompanied the moated precincts. The jar burial, a typical Final Jōmon type of burial, was still in use in the Yayoi Period, and also wooden and clay coffins were used as well as pit burials. The abandoned site of Shijō Shinano has 3 jar burials from its active phase (Early Yayoi) (Honmura 2006:14). Apart from the two Early Yayoi wooden coffins that were found at the northern edge (exc. 23) of Karako Kagi, a variety of Middle Yayoi graves are found here in addition to the three moated precincts mentioned above. And like the precincts, the rest of these graves are all located in areas near the moats; 13 phase III and IV burials in pits or clay coffins have been found at the outskirt of the site near the moats (Fujita 1997:12).[64] So, Karako Kagi did hold graves during phase IV, just no moated precincts. Thus, grave types of modest visibility existed within the settlement groups of the lowland during phase IV, whereas construction of the more monumental moated precincts started to take place at new locations.

One of Tsuboi Daifuku's areas (Tsuboi section) was surrounded continuously by the same moat from Early to the end of Middle Yayoi, whereas another (Daifuku section) that

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[60] These sites are Sakate Higashi (坂手東), Hagota (羽子田), Shimizukaze, Tomondō Higashi, Mikawa (三河), Aji and Shimoei Tōjō (下永東城) (Yanagisawa 2003:35).

[61] All are from phase III; one at Nishisoga, 25 at Tsuchihashi (Yanagisawa 2003:36) and two at Yabeminami (Mametani 2003:29).

[62] There are three at Nishisato, a small site in the north-western part of the basin, Ikaruga terrace, and seven at the Fujiwara Palace site sections 7 and 11, thus being related to Shibu, one at Shiba, three at Ikeoku at the eastern foot of the Nukatabe Hill, one at Kobayashi and twelve at Miyataki in Yoshino (Yanagisawa 2003:35-37).

[63] Here, there are also two from phase III, whereas Daifuku holds one Early – and two Late Yayoi items. Kibi holds one Late Yayoi item.

[64] These are one phase III (ex. 33), and one phase IV pit burial (exc. 33 and 13 resp.) plus 10 clay coffin burials.

functioned as a cemetery in Early Yayoi is thought to have been surrounded by a moat only at that stage. This section developed in Middle Yayoi to a regular habitation site, exactly as was the case at some of the satellite sites in the central basin, Hagota and Shimizukaze. The habitation site of Daifuku thus became unmoated (Kawabe 2006b:57). The majority of graves other than moated precincts at Daifuku stem from the Jōmon period, (graves from Early and Middle Yayoi are concentrated in the then moated Tsuboi section (ibid:60)). Also in the Tsuboi section we see a lack of late Middle Yayoi graves, whereas moated precincts have clearly been constructed at the site in Late Yayoi. In Late Yayoi it is likely to have been primarily a cemetery, and also in Early Kofun it is assumed that this site was the centre of a cemetery (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:20-21).

So, by the start of phase IV, although a variety of graves were used at the large settlements, a different kind of location was chosen for moated precincts; whereas they had hitherto been placed within a few kilometres from any habitation settlement or at the settlement itself, they were now removed altogether away from the lowland settlement systems and to the edges of the basin or even more remote places. Miyataki south of the basin carries the most substantial evidence of a total reformation of moated precinct location practice, since it shows 12 precincts stemming from the late half of Middle Yayoi. This site is located at the end of the Kii River Valley, which would involve a high level of logistics, in case the groups in the basin used these as burial facilities.

As I have addressed earlier there is an absence in the Nara Basin area not only of identified elite graves, but of graves in general inside the moated precincts. From finds at settlements on the Ōsaka Plain of graves inside moated precincts, e.g. Uryūdō (Imomoto 2004:133) it is clear that these features functioned as burial features in this region as well as they did in northern Kyūshū – and in the Honam region in the south-western Korean Peninsula (Takakura 1993:6, 12; Seyock 2004:87). However, no graves have been detected as yet from any moated precinct inside the Nara Basin. Also, the number of precincts in the basin is remarkably low in phase IV, much lower than during both the preceding and the following phases. So we must consider the possibility that this type of feature was not used for burials inside the Nara Basin until Late Yayoi.

Immediately east of the Nara Basin we see the western edge of the strong tradition of secondary burials, which was predominant in all of eastern Japan in the Yayoi Period. Elaborate burial jars with necks and rims shaped like human faces were most likely the resting places for the bones of highly respected individuals (plates 48, 49). A continuation also in the basin of secondary burial for high status individuals is absolutely feasible, considering the fact

that the area was in some understanding isolated from the plains to its north and west by mountain ranges. Further, as treated earlier, in early Middle Yayoi the basin conducted substantial exchange with the area to its east (2.5.3.3.), and probably shared other of its cultural traits. Secondary burial in burial jars was in use in the basin before the Yayoi Period, and during it, it was used together with pit burials and coffins made from wood or clay.[65] It may therefore be that in the basin the moated precincts were conceived as altars or ceremonial platforms – also for burial rites, but that they were not used for actual interment.

Moated precincts of Early and Middle Yayoi were often not larger than 3-5 m in either direction and 1-2 m tall, and as such they represented a much more viable labour-process than did the settlement moats or the large-scaled house, so their construction could have been handled by a limited group of people and carried out in the breaks between agricultural tasks. Thus, it is possible that before the conglomeration and growth of large settlements the moated precincts were built and possessed by the various clans or corporate groups inhabiting the settlements to which they were connected, and that they were placed at the outskirts of the settlement. After the conglomeration they could be placed at the same location or at special sites like Shimizukaze and Hagota. These group-possessed features would thus have served ritual purposes[66] of the respective segments of society. At Karako Kagi there are three moated precincts from early Middle Yayoi, one for each of the segments whose union could have been symbolised by the construction of the three features next to each other close to the entrance where all visitors would see them and thus familiarize themselves with the infrastructure of the settlement. When in phase IV this infrastructure was abandoned, the emphasis on the moated precincts was replaced by a new focus, namely that of selected individual graves, which were marked by the picture engraved pottery, as I have argued earlier (2.7.3.).

The moated precincts may have been the location for primary burials not involving interment. A scenario is possible like the one that has been suggested for the causewayed enclosures of Europe of the bodies of the deceased being placed on the ground accompanied by ceremonial material. The bones could then be removed after defleshing (Andersen

[65] The best evidence of this stems from Tsuboi Daifuku, where the Daifuku and the Tsuboi sections have held various types of grave-facilities interchangingly. The overall picture of grave-types at Tsuboi Daifuku is: FJ: jar burials; EY: jar burials, wooden coffins and pit burials; MY jar burials and pit burials (Kawabe 2006b:59-60).
[66] And they may have been predecessors of the ceremonial platforms observed to have been constructed in the angle between the two parts of some Kofun mounds.

1997:307-308) and placed in the megalithic graves that are always part of the landscape surrounding the enclosures.

If the moated precincts were used in the basin for primary burials of this type, these would have left no traces after the bones were collected. If used for cremation, traces of fire were left in the top layers of the mounds, but these would have disappeared by the shaving by agricultural machines. No reports exist, however, of human bones – burnt or unburnt – in the burial jars of the basin from Middle Yayoi.

However, by the time of Karako Kagi's extensive moat construction during phase IV, a performance of clearly power-demonstrating character – reflected only partly at Tsuboi Daifuku and Byōdōbō Iwamuro – individually clan-based ceremonial was abandoned and the moated precincts were moved away, perhaps because all ceremonial *at the site* by that time had to be carried out as public performances shared by the whole population of the settlement, while other rituals were moved away together with the precincts, and perhaps only attended by certain parts of the population. The precincts between the moats as the altars of the various segments were thus not wanted by the upcoming political leaders of phase IV.

The political development in the basin will be treated below (3.5.). It is here seen as a competition between factions starting at the transition from Early to Middle Yayoi and ending up in phase IV by a clear case of power and resource concentration in the Karako Kagi cluster. It is essential though to consider the full scale of implications that the cultural landscape had on the political sphere, a sphere that I see as utterly intertwined with religious life.

3.3. Forest, rivers, wetlands and the cultural landscape

- The enclosing of the cultural sphere

In the central wetland-zone where Karako Kagi, Hozu-Miyako and their satellite sites are situated, vegetation would be low, characterised by grassland, occasional shrubbery and, if any trees at all, these would be few and scattered and with insignificant trunks. From these settlements the view would have been unhindered for many kilometres; apart from the Nukatabe and Shimanoyama Hills the surrounding scenery in all directions would have been dominated by grassland, rivers, fields, clusters of moated precincts and settlements belonging to the group, whereas settlements of other groups could be seen further away, and the mountains and the woodland at a far distance to the east, west and south. In the landscape of Karako Kagi and its agglutinated settlements, the forest, although within eyesight, was far

away. Tall trees and thickets, as well as the mountains themselves, were not part of the daily life at these settlements, and for individuals who spent most or all of their time within the wetland, these phenomena were unfamiliar, perhaps frightening. Facing south from Karako Kagi, the distinctly shaped Miminashi Mountain would be in the centre of one's view, and mountain ranges would encompass it along the entire circular edge of this view.

Byōdōbō Iwamuro, Ō and Nakazoshi are all placed on the contour line between the wet- and the dryland. They would still have been within the open lowland, although with occasional trees in the area, and the woodland of the mountains would have been within visibility from the sites. The settlements near the mountains, however, were in immediate reach of the forest. Tsuboi Daifuku is located slightly more protruding from the mountain foot than Shiba and most of the others, which may have made it visible from the Ō/Nakazoshi group, and its relation in the landscape to the Miminashi Mountain whose raw material was shipped to Karako Kagi from the site would have been noticeable.

Other sites at the basin-edge would have been hidden from all the lowland settlements and perhaps even from the nearest neighbouring sites, since at least some areas of the southern part of the basin were densely wooded. Pollen samples taken from Shibu have demonstrated that this place was characterised by oak and other trees standing up to 30 m. tall around the site, the forest reaching the outer edge of the settlement moat in some places. Here, with the forest close to the settlement, it would have been integrated in the daily life of people living there, whereas the world of the lowland was not visible from Shibu. During Early Yayoi, the site was non-moated as it had been in the Jōmon Period, however, the moats constructed in Middle Yayoi, perhaps because of unrest in the surroundings of the site, would have created a separation between forest and settlement although the forest was much closer here than it was to the lowland sites.

We have seen that moats around settlements was a marked feature of the Yayoi Period; "ditches, moats and boundaries" being the "dominant symbolic framework of the Yayoi" (Mizuno in Hudson 1999:169), which framework is also seen in the bronze bells, but also that the significance of the enclosing by moats probably changed over time and differed between different natural settings. The symbolic patterns of constructions and layouts – particularly the concentric circles with its powerful centre – comprise a phenomenon particularly related to domestication (Wilson 1988:77).

Demarcated features holding water would in the Yayoi period have made up a characteristic shape in the landscape. Like at many other settlements in the basin, also at Tsuboi Daifuku a

fossil waterway has been detected that crossed the site and maybe even spread its arms out at its inside. Also, ditches other than moats have been located at Tsuboi Daifuku, like at Ikegami Sone on the Ōsaka Plain, resembling the partitioning ditches at Karako Kagi. And like at Karako Kagi, part of the site (north-eastern area) was destroyed by flooding, here by the Tera River that passed nearby (Kawabe 2006b:54, 57, 61). And like many other settlement moats the ones at Shibu would have been filled with stagnant water from a natural waterway that crosscut them (Kinbara and Fukasawa 2002:33).

In no other place however, was there as close a connection to water as at Karako Kagi and its immediate neighbours. In the central Nara Basin water would sieve up from the bottom of the moats and ditches that people dug. Such geological conditions may have rendered the feeling of living on top of an enormous pool of water and the idea of a watery underworld. This is the kind of underworld incorporated into the cognition of the Maya people in Mesoamerica at present, since most lowland landscapes here are karst with limestone caves continuously shaped by and housing the moving ground water. Any such cave can serve as an *axis mundi,* and the focus on mountains, caves and bodies of water can be detected in the archaeological material of premodern times (Brady and Ashmore:127). Thus, the royal palace was erected on top of the mouth of a cave whose interior system functioned as drainage of rainwater, and after heavy rain, water pours out of the cave with a roaring sound loud enough to be heard more than 500 m away. During the rainy season the water and its sound is consistent, and as it sprung from under the king's palace, it was his control of the water and the successful growing of crops that would be demonstrated every year and his divinity reconfirmed; "a conscious political strategy" (ibid:130). In order to orient architecture to sacred landmarks (the Miminashi Mountain) the civic centre had to "be established and perceived to grow in a cosmically ordained pattern". If prominent sacred landmarks can be appropriated into public architecture the city and its leaders are sanctified and legitimised (ibid:132). So, by way of modifying Karako Kagi by extensive digging of moats and ditches in particular pattern and these features held water from the underworld, the settlement and the landscape around it became united with the "primordial powers" that were brought firmly into the realm of accountable human action and control. Like at the ancient Mayan royal palace, the inhabitants of Karako Kagi were "surrounded on all sides with landmarks of enormous power and deep meaning. Within nested scales of space, time and architectural metaphor, families could ritually lay claim to continuity with the earth and its primordial past, and kings literally positioned their claims to rulership within the most majestic and awe-inspiring centres of once-and-future, perpetual creation" (ibid:132).

It is the view here that the ritual aspect of the waterscape and the 'power of water' offered to Karako Kagi's most ambitious individuals by the nature of the basin could very well have played an important part in Karako Kagi's behaviour in the basin. Brady and Ashmore suggest that the surface of open water may have been considered a mirror in the Mayan communities, where mirrors and their reflective qualities were much appreciated (ibid:137), just as they were in the Yayoi communities, although in Kinai whole mirrors were not present in Middle Yayoi. The high tin-content of the early style II bells however, may stem from the habit of polishing them and using them as 'mirrors'. In pre-Columbian societies mirrors were symbols of shamanic power and often emblems of royal authority, and in Meso and South-west America, the reflective surface of water filled bowls is often used for divination (Karl Taube in Brady and Ashmore:137). It is thus far from unlikely that the waterscape and its reflective surface played several roles in the religious life of the Middle Yayoi people. If we take this thought a little further, the floods at the end of Middle Yayoi may have been used politically either in a negative sense which would cause the downfall of the leaders at the time or in a positive sense in terms of the leaders' claims of directing divine contacts. The large concentration of water at Karako Kagi as the central and lowest lying settlement may have had ritual and political significance.

Since so many of the lowland sites included waterways, the moats of the Yayoi Period settlements would often have held water and complemented the paddy fields, also outlined and enclosed. The dichotomy of inside and outside is extremely relevant when talking about Yayoi Period settlements. At an overall level, encircling the settlements and framing the rice fields became synonymous with marking out the cultivated sphere the contents of which were the products of human innovativeness. What was inside belonged to the world of people in contrast to the forest with its untamed creatures and natural yields, exploited by humans, but largely outside their control. In the woods were the wild and uncontrolled nature and the natural spirits, a world that was relatively close to people at the upstream sites and perhaps integrated in their daily lives, but which a large part of the population at the lowland sites were not familiar with.

Humans create "experiential space of culture" (Hastrup 1995:55) out of nature, and one way of doing this is to pose places and localities in opposition in their own conception. Kirsten Hastrup notes that "some social spaces are more event-rich than others", and that "remote areas, i.e. social spaces that from the point of view of the defining world are considered peripheral" (ibid:53) are particularly event-rich, simply because "more happenings are registered as events and more behaviours immediately interpreted as actions" (ibid:53). She

describes the perception of the inhabitants of an Icelandic village in 1982-3 of the world outside the normal habitation area as "wild" and as a place to be kept an eye with as an arena for human action. Moving outside of the village meant moving outside its ordinary authority structure and as such outside the social order. In this particular place, the space outside housed an associated fishing village with fishermen's barracks, and men lived there in connection with their work. The outside world was a man's world, and women moving in the area away from the domestic village became potential sexual game. It was also a wild world, and women and everyone else not initiated to the area would be "so conspicuous in the physical as well as the social landscape that everyone noticed it" (ibid:54).

The same way it may well be that ordinary Middle Yayoi people would not wander around in the open landscape of the Nara Basin in an uncontrolled manner, rather that only certain members of the communities were initiated to bear the 'untamed nature.' That these initiated people could have taken advantage of their role will be a focus of mine later in the thesis, when I speak about political shamans and religiously powerful leaders (3.4.3., chapter 5).

Whereas there are examples from mobile and vastly dispersed hunter-gathering societies of individuals of both sexes leaving their community for shorter or longer periods of time to hunt and gather, which relate to their aversion for showing dependence on their fellows (Wilson 1988: 33), a high degree of domestication gathers large segments of the population in relatively limited areas, which provides the structural conditions for controlling the conduct and movement of people (ibid:60). From control and into imposing norms and limitations on people's freedom of movement in relation to the borders of the settlement is not a major leap, whether the standards were in the shape of bans or just expectations that would have made traffic away from the settlement conspicuous.

The transference of moated precincts away from the settlement would then serve the double purpose of making travels to visit them conspicuous as well as a distinction of participants: those who could go and those who could not. If the leaders of the lowland settlements during phase IV erected moated precincts at locations near the woods and in mountainous and wooded areas, this would have made them the loci for even more special – and perhaps secluded – events than they had experienced when they were still constructed between settlement moats.

The sacredness of the peculiar or altering landscapes seems to be universal for hunters as well as agriculturalists, and for egalitarian groups as well as populations of early states. Sanctuaries, rock art and graves are often seen in landscapes of great natural formation or of unusual shape, at junction points between geology, hydrology and vegetation, or at places

providing panoramic views, which type of places are conceived as meeting places between an upper world, a lower world and the earthly world, and an *axis mundi* will often be located at such a place (Taçon 1999:37-41). The moated precinct's new location in the borderland between mountain and lowland; between forest and grassland or in river valleys that provided the same conditions plus the ever-present water current would thus – in the political conditions that I see rise in late Middle Yayoi – make the sacred divine rather than immediately reachable, and it would heighten the relation between rituals and divine authority. Bells that were buried at spots where views were offered of fertile land and the settlement dispersed in the lowland would induce the same atmosphere. Some of the sacred places of the Australian Aboriginees hold so large concentrations of power that it is dangerous for all except people of the highest religious knowledge and initiation to go there (ibid:38), which can be highly convenient for a political manipulator.

From the settlement groups in the open areas the traffic to forested areas would be limited. Perhaps individuals or labour groups in charge of the exploitation of the deciduous trees and wood for building material and firewood would go, but it is also possible that wooden material would be shipped from the settlements closer to the mountains. Nagatera site north of Byōdōbō Iwamuro developed as a settlement amidst the thicket of kunugi oak trees (a wood sort with high firing qualities and seems to have been highly engaged in woodworking (Ikeda 1998:44). The need for the majority of people in the lowland to penetrate into the deep woods would have decreased a lot since Jōmon times, and several work groups would have had very little to do in the forests, among these both the farmers and the artisans. Hunting may not have been very prevalent.

The lowland settlements separated from the forest by some distance would have contained worlds apparently disconnected from it. Moats comprised visible borders between the unpredictable and uncontrollable nature, and the highly developed civilisation of the settlements. And it would seem that if digging of moats around features had come to be a sign of cultivation in Middle Yayoi, digging of multiple moats meant a higher degree of cultivation.

Some of the small scaled settlements – the other satellite sites – may not even have had the right to construct moats around their habitation areas, because they housed populations consisting only of farmers whose role was to provide for the agricultural production. These people may not have had the status necessary for moating their settlements, and most certainly they could not afford the labour input for its construction. In contrast to this, powerful individuals must have been present at the Nara Basin settlements that developed multiple

moats in Middle Yayoi, and these settlements were without doubt among the most sophisticated in a wider region.

This was truer at Karako Kagi than anywhere else in the basin. The site was by the start of phase IV a step forward owing to its strategic location and its control of transportation ways, its ritual connection to water resources and its major contact with foreign areas. The leaders there now used these advantages by focusing strongly on cultural elements; substantial moating, feasting with display of objects and costumes plus a change in the record of acceptable iconographic motifs on picture engraved pottery.

3.4. Political and religious development – Karako Kagi's way to power

3.4.1. Development of factional leadership in Middle Yayoi

For most – maybe all – of Middle Yayoi, the Nara Basin was not a chiefdom, since "a chiefdom is brought into being by the surmounting of village autonomy and held together as unified multi-village wholes by a powerful chief" (Carneiro 1998:20). It is characterised by the dominance of one settlement – the seat of the chief – over all other settlements in the area – and this is significantly larger than the rest. Other characteristics are monuments and ceremonial centres, and differentiated burials are the best indicators of social ranking (Carneiro 1981:53-4; Renfrew and Bahn 1991:155, 188-189). It could occur to us that a simple chiefdom existed in the Nara Basin in Middle Yayoi. We have 'monuments' in the shape of the settlement moats and the large house structures at Karako Kagi, and its many ritual depositions up to and in phase IV plus the beginning long-distance import of rare beads etc. and then of course its picture engraved pottery allow for the labelling of the site as a ceremonial centre.

But there are no 'elite graves' with grave goods in the basin like those in the northern Kyūshū region. As yet we do not know of any other place in the basin with large structures like the ones at Karako Kagi and their possible descendants at Shimizukaze, and – as discussed in chapter 2 – Karako Kagi was from the beginning of Middle Yayoi ahead of the rest of the basin's settlements in terms of external exchange and internal development, thus also in terms of status. However, other large moated settlements existed in the basin; they too held well depositions, and up to phase III they all had several exchange partners in western

Honshū, although not as many as Karako Kagi (2.5.3.3.). Some also held pottery with engraved drawings (IDs 1, 225, 226, 137).

Until the end of phase III, Karako Kagi and its leader(s) were thus in the lead, but did not control the basin, since its outstanding position appears to have been one of degree rather than one of difference. There is at least one other settlement in the area that matches its size of 283.205 m2, namely Tsuboi Daifuku with 270.000 m2.[67] Further, the moats at Karako Kagi were reduplicated by comparable moats at the nuclei of the other settlement units. Also, although both the moats and the large buildings were large enterprises, they were not permanent monuments as they are aimed to be in a chiefdom, and though their constructions represent large labour investments, this could have been provisioned at each settlement cluster separately rather than calling for the cooperation of a united workforce from the whole area. As a comparison we can consider the labour spent on Northern European Early Neolithic passage graves. The labour force spent at Lundhøj in Thy, Denmark is measured to 15,000 man-days (Earle 1997:161), roughly 2 years for 20 people.

So, on the one hand the moat 'monuments' that we are dealing with represent too much labour to have been mobilised in egalitarian societies, on the other, the enrolment of work force was not larger than allowing for all the settlement units to have them. It is therefore likely that until phase IV the individual settlement units were autonomous with separate leaders, and that these leaders may have been very powerful within their villages, since they organised the construction, maintenance and filling of the encircling moats. On the basis of the similar appearance of the settlement clusters of the south-eastern Nara Basin, I view these as factions developed through Early and particularly Middle Yayoi in permanent competition with each other. Factions are defined by Elizabeth Brumfiel as "structurally and functionally similar groups which, by virtue of their similarity, compete for resources and positions of power and prestige" (Brumfiel 1994:4). The concepts of factions and factional competition were first developed in the 1970s and '80s and described intensification, modification and decline of power within the elite stratum of a society. In the '90s however, the concepts extended to involve conflicts and competition within commoner groups as well, which would provide leaders with followers to expand their own influence and power (Brumfiel 1994:8). Thus, in tribal societies, leaders compete with each other also to provide their respective followers with benefits (Clark and Blake, Spencer, Redmond in Brumfiel 1994:8) and

[67] Sizes state the land encircled by the outermost moats of the sites.

consequently, commoners follow the leader that "supplies them with the greatest immediate benefits" (ibid:9).

Because of their structural similarity, the factions will "hold similar ideas about what the world is like and what it should be like" (ibid:5), an example of which in the Middle Yayoi basin is the systematic moat construction within each settlement unit around its nuclear village and burials in its moat-belt as demonstrated in the cases of Karako Kagi, Byōdōbō Iwamuro and Tsuboi Daifuku and the deposition in wells of ritual material. At Tsuboi Daifuku even the partitioning ditches observed at Karako Kagi seem to have been reduplicated. Next is the matching in three of the cases of the moated village by another large-sized but non-moated village in the same unit and the presence of satellite sites. Even if Karako Kagi's moat system became extraordinary at the end of Middle Yayoi, and it had more satellites than the other units, its moat features were not originally unique, thus its leader, even though possibly the most powerful in the basin, was not paramount.

I suggest that the three original small-sized moat-encircled settlements at Karako Kagi were each headed by some type of leader(s) under whose directions the settlement moat was constructed, such as it was at a large number of other Early Yayoi settlements in the western part of the archipelago. The moats signalled the unity of the dwelling group of people, and it symbolised the cultivated status with which they viewed themselves and wanted to be viewed from the outside. But also, it symbolised the political status of the settlement leader, and settlements without moats were possibly habitation areas of lineages or other groups without interest in or possibility of demonstrating any competing aspects.

Competition for status takes place within almost all societies, only severe social restrictions can suppress this natural drive in some humans (Cashdan in Hayden 1995:20) – exceptions from the rule are strictly egalitarian communities that leave individuals with very little personal freedom.[68] Thus, also in most so-called egalitarian societies there will be rivalry for temporary hierarchical positions, and wherever possible political individuals will manoeuvre for prestige and, according to their personal ambitions, try to gain personal control over "the fruits of some of their labour" (Clark and Blake 1994:18), resulting in leaders with varying degrees of charisma and actual power over their fellow villagers.

[68] The Konkomba communities in northern Ghana constitute such egalitarian groups. Their ideology restrains personal and commercial development and particularly the material consumption of the individual. At the same time the neighbouring chiefdoms of the Dagomba makes room for differentiated consumption due to the resources attached to its heterogeneous structure. For this reason, Konkombas sometimes offer tribute and presents to Dagomba chiefs in order to gain part in the advantages of the – in many ways freer – hierarchical social structure (Andersen 1998:34-35).

In non-centralised societies status depends on achievement through ambition, intelligence, charisma, personal motivation and energy, social relations and luck, in short ones "capacity to influence others" (Spencer 1994:31). And an aspiring leader usually needs some qualities in terms of military, hunting or religious skills in order to attract followers in the first place. Thus, politics and religious life at Karako Kagi, Tsuboi Daifuku and the other moated settlements of the southern Nara Basin could well have been led and organised by strong individuals holding power by means of personal physical and/or mental strength. In all (newly – *my comment)* stratified societies the difference between the two tiers [is] political and religious power, which [is] not necessarily based on economical advantages like wealth, possessions or special access to resources (Service 1978:32).

Increased investment in visual art activities such as we see it in phase II at the bell producing settlements north and west of the basin and in phase III at settlements doing pictorial engraving on the Kawachi Plain and in the Nara Basin may signal increased competition and social stress due to changing organizational scale. A comparison of case studies in the 6th and 5th millennium Hungarian Plain, at the 7th-6th millennium site of Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia and of the Pueblo IV culture in the American southwest shows "sites populated by agriculturalists who seemed to have joined together following residence in smaller sites. These aggregate sites were much larger than any previous sites in each region, so co-resident populations are of a larger scale than existed previously. In all three cases we have an increase in long-distance trade, including socalled 'luxury', 'exotic' and 'ritual' items (in the Nara Basin the western Honshū trade – *my comment)*, increase in the decoration of domestic architecture (in the basin the digging of ditches and moats), increase in decoration on household items (in the basin comb patterning of pottery) and by inference from various sorts of evidence, an increase in ritual activity (in the basin feasting with animal bones and later pedestalled dishes). In no case do we have good evidence for social stratification, significant differences in wealth, for minority control of surplus production, or for control of means to exercise force. There is, however, some evidence for part-time craft specialization (in the basin stone-arrowheads, axes, rice reapers and, later on, mould engraving), differential access to trade goods, and leadership roles based in religious authority" (Hays 1993:83).

We may view the situation at Karako Kagi in phases I and II as three clans, lineages or cooperative groups interacting as described by David Maybury-Lewis: A village may hold several factions led by individuals almost constantly trying to attract new supporters; an ambitious leader will necessarily be concerned with his faction's size, striving to augment its membership through recruitment and doing what he can to discourage attrition. One of the

characteristics of factional competition is the relative ease with which individuals move between factions and thus change sides "every community automatically grants asylum to refugees or seceders form other groups" and these join the factions that exist here (Maybury-Lewis 1967:205).

This process also demonstrates the vulnerable position of factional leaders. They are only leaders for as long as it lasts. Charles Spencer's observations among the Shavante in eastern Brazil points out that the factional leaders always have to be on the guard for competitors who will "abduct" his supporters or take over his faction. It is easier to *gain* power than to *keep* it, since an aspiring faction leader "promotes inter-factional tensions and rivalries, lending military and other support to individuals and groups in order to lure them away from their leaders and into his own faction". In contrast to this rather aggressive role, an actual factual leader is supposed "to act as a peacemaker" showing tolerance and wisdom and "to drown discord in a flood of oratory" (ibid:203; Carneiro 1998:28). He needs to function both as an organiser of exchange and possibly warfare, and he must lead the religious life of his faction or his village in the shape of ritual activities (Strathern in Redmond 1998a:8).

However, developed factions are often not waging direct war on each other in normal times. Individuals avoid fighting unless they are driven (Spencer 1994) and "self-aggrandizing" leaders will need their followers to be able to link their personal rage and desire for revenge to his plans of waging war on another party (Brumfiel 1994:7), or he has to reward them. Followers for whom neither of these conditions applies do not fight. In fact, factional competition tends to be a self-preserving state of affairs and "non-revolutionary in intent" (ibid:5). This description seems to fit the situation in the Nara Basin almost until the end of Middle Yayoi.

The adequacy of factional leadership depends on ecological diversity, the larger the quantity of intensifiable resources, the more successfully the mechanism will work (ibid:6), and the Nara Basin meets these qualifications perfectly with its wide central lowland with riverine fish and fertile soil, its grassland for deer, and its mountainous forests housing wild game. This type of competition probably started in the south-eastern Nara Basin already in Early Yayoi, as well as in all the lowlands along the Inland Sea where we see the early moated settlements,[69] whose abandonment at the beginning of Middle Yayoi was often related to the growth during this phase of settlements.

[69] Since agriculture allows for increased food production it is thought that in some regions of the world agriculture was introduced *because of* an emergent inequality, since leadership, alliance and exchange can only exist if they are supported by economic surplus (Price 1995:138, 145 and referring to Bender 1978:206). The

When people chose to leave their small settlements and aggregate into larger ones, they must have distanced themselves from their fields, so they must have gotten something in return in order to take such a step. This something may have been the access to the products and resources that had become available at the sites that they moved to, and that grew into larger sites, since import of food resources from sites particularly in coastal areas west and east of the basin was organised there. In any case, by the beginning of Middle Yayoi, something must have triggered a small number of leaders in some of the small-sized villages to exercise enough charisma and persuasion to attract supporters from other villages than their own. And this attraction was strong enough to cause both the abandonment of many of the settlements whose moats had been established in the middle of Early Yayoi as well as the confederation of hitherto segmented settlements like the ones at Karako Kagi. It was a movement of people that led to a crystallisation in the settlement system of the south-eastern basin involving the appearance of the large moated nuclear settlements. This moving was what formed the strong factions residing at both the amalgamated nuclear villages like Karako Kagi, Tsuboi Daifuku and Byōdōbō Iwamuro and at those that had always consisted of only one settlement like Ō. Including phase III, the settlements were more or less similar in physical structure, and as mentioned they all traded with settlements beyond the basin.

Leadership of the individual village in an area with factional competition varies from periods with several factions to periods of united leadership under one person. If it happens that one faction exercises sufficient domination in order to completely absorb all other factions in a village, this would make the leader of this faction a virtual community leader and produce "a condition which, in the short term, resembles the centralized authority of a chiefdom" (Werner 1980 in Spencer 1994:32). This type of strong factional leaders – chieftains – exercise for a time the type of centralised power that is normally associated with a chief, however, their leadership is situational and not extending to other villages than their own, because many settlements in the area are similar to their own, and such decentralisation or "direct leadership" means that social status is based on each individual's achievement during his or her lifetime (Spencer 1994:31). Political leadership in Early and Middle Yayoi would often not have been life-long, since competition with potential substitutes would have been a forceful modifying factor at the time. However, by phase IV when Karako Kagi was bronze casting and had completely outnumbered its neighbours in terms of trading partners it is likely that leadership at the site had become more or less stable. Still later, in Late Yayoi, its

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emergence of political leaders in communities is linked, not to an agricultural way of life, but to the presence of a surplus of subsistence.

large-scaled bronze casting industry called for organised procurement of raw material, which would have involved a high degree of permanency in its leadership.

Unlike a chief who is a permanent regional leader with an inherited office, a chieftain is the achieved leader of an autonomous village, and the chieftaincy, resembling a "mini-chiefdom" (Hayden 1995:59) is usually tied to the lifespan of a strong leader, and his death will result in a new "cycle" starting with many faction leaders (Spencer 1994:32). However, areas with many autonomous mini-chiefdoms do sometimes exist for several generations with various leaders, or with an emergent hereditary position of the chieftain, and it is possible that the large settlement units in the Nara Basin had come to comprise more or less permanent factions by late Middle Yayoi.

In phase IV however, the balance of power started to tip and Karako Kagi to emerge with a visibly privileged position. From that time on the number of mid-Seto trading partners of the other moated settlements in the basin had decreased to only one each, all different, whereas that of Karako Kagi had increased (2.5.3.3.). If we look at the few pieces of picture engraved pottery located at sites not belonging to the Karako Kagi/Hozu Miyako cluster, only three are dated to phase IV (Shiba: IDs 107, 136; Nakazoshi: ID 115 (IV-1)). None are dated to IV-2, the phase when the engraving activity boomed at Karako Kagi. Also, the filling of moats at the other settlements at the end of Middle Yayoi were not accompanied by pottery depositions, and the possibility is present that Byōdōbō Iwamuro, Shibu and Tsuboi Daifuku were forced to imitate the event that had taken place at Karako Kagi when its moats were filled and destroyed by sedimentation from the flood. It would thus be reasonable to assume that the factions beyond that existing at the Karako Kagi cluster would have been less autonomous by the end of phase IV, and that a new political situation had been introduced in the basin. As will be touched on later (3.6.) however, the power apparently did not stay at Karako Kagi but seems to have shifted to the south-eastern basin corner at some point during Late Yayoi.

3.4.2. Exchange and feasting as warfare – intensification of competition during Middle Yayoi.

The value of valuables in pre-industrial societies is not financial in a monetary sense; rather they are prestigious and connected to esteem, rank, splendour and beauty. Monumental and aesthetic achievements, not profits, are the proofs of success, and expenditure of material and time is extended as far as possible (in contrast to capitalist societies) to impress. "...in the domesticated economy the exchange of material goods is only the *means* and not the *ends* of

transactions: such goods as pigs, shells, blankets..." The exchange partners are audience rather than customers. The storehouses for crops etc. could more correctly be called galleries. The main reason why people show up at feasts is the entertainment, not the food. There are parades of people dressed in attires, and by the kula, the visitors also display themselves in outfits. Pigs on stakes are displayed according to their size by the wola (Wilson 1988: 81-85). Displays are arranged architectonically, houses and temples are put in rows, architecture is the field in which most work is invested in order to obtain prestige (ibid:87). The aesthetical function brings forth the political. All domesticated people until the mechanisation have placed their worth/esteem in arranging and displaying architecture. The display is more important than the amount and the size (ibid:89).

In the 1970s among the transegalitarian Mekranoti in central Brazil, men of markedly personal capacity to influence others, *benjadjwyr,* of which there could easily be more than one in each village, usually had more contacts to the outside world – here missionaries and government officials – than others. The sons of these men tended to develop into *benjadjwyr* themselves given their contact with the foreigners which enlarged their knowledge about the outside world as well as allowed them access to foreign goods usable for the gift giving that is a crucial element of socialising and of maintaining influence for the Mekranoti as it is for so many other peoples. Therefore Spencer suggests that "one of the conditions favouring the transformation of achieved authority into a permanent centralized chiefly office is an increase in the kinds of inter-societal contacts that allow a leader to act as culture broker on a regular basis, expanding and regularizing the external dimension of authority" (Spencer 1994:31-35).

It is not unlikely that Karako Kagi and the Nara Basin was in phase IV going through a process like the one the Mekranoti went through in the 1970s. Karako Kagi held throughout Middle Yayoi a leading position in terms of exchanging food resources with neighbours in and close to Kinai (2.5.3.), and in phase IV we see the beginning of the far-distance trade that transformed the place to an evident top in the exchange hierarchy. The trade with foreign regions would at Karako Kagi towards the turn to Late Yayoi have been a substantial factor in transforming skilled communicators and tradesmen at the site from temporary factional leaders to genuinely higher ranking people rich on exotic goods which they would then start to pass on to their sons together with their exchange networks. This would be the beginning of a leadership based on lineage and genealogy, since the sons who inherited the wealth and the outwards contacts would be harder to overthrow in the future.

Hiroshi Kanaseki suggests that the flow of information and goods from China and Korea to northern Kyūshū in the earlier parts of the Yayoi Period made up an external pressure from the more advanced cultures on the continent which induced the stratified societies in northern Kyūshū to develop. Thus, a three-tiered hierarchy existed in Kyūshū until mid Middle Yayoi with approximately 10 regions representing the highest rank. This hierarchy developed into four tiers in late Middle Yayoi now with only two regions representing the highest rank. In the Kinai area, however, Kanaseki sees a two-tiered hierarchy until the beginning of Late Yayoi, and approximately 60 central settlements (in contrast to regions) represent the highest rank. Thus, communities (through phase III – *my comment*) in the Kinai area held more egalitarian relations mutually than the ones in Kyūshū, and political decision making was far more dispersed between communities than in Kyūshū (Kanaseki 2001:22-24). In the same way, however, the pressure related to far distance contacts that accelerated in late Middle Yayoi in the Nara Basin, particularly for the part of Karako Kagi, would have supported the intensification of the stratified societies, and a tier of people between the leaders and the farmers would have emerged at the large settlements, e.g. the full-time craftsmen who produced the trading objects.

Mary Helms explains how chiefs often legitimise their authority by the foreign prestige goods. They are crucial because a chief's contact with geographically distant peoples proves his contact with cosmologically and cosmographically 'distant natural forces' (Helms 1979: 132-143). In order for a Panama chief to control the flow of distant prestige goods to his residential site, he would attempt to control the actual access to crucial points on the long-distance routes, this being at passes over mountain ranges, at important river junctions and at sea ports (Helms 1994:58). In Middle Yayoi bronze bells were distributed to such strategic places, and the leaders of bell-producing settlements like Higashinara and later Karako Kagi were controlling the transportation routes of their own import of elite goods this way.

In northern Kyūshū, inter communal exchange of goods had changed at the beginning of Middle Yayoi from seasonal occurrences involving food-resources, into a year round based trade of axes and stone sickles as the most important goods (Mizoguchi 2002:157). Mizoguchi sees the relative success of *chosen leaders* in procuring these objects as a prerequisite for their maintenance of power. However, their possession of esoteric knowledge, *acquired* through their exclusive contact with other communities, secured them respect and a surplus of good-will that would provide for acceptance through a certain but not infinite length of dire times (ibid:160-161).

Mizoguchi interprets the large influx of non-utilitarian material from the peninsula as a means to explain or justify to the commoners the necessity of this contact to a region far from theirs by employing the artefacts in a ritual executed in front of the whole community, thus giving them the feeling that it was for the well-being of them all. This was the way the leaders allowed for their own extended "topography", i.e. their access to the exchange networks, which at this stage still needed the accept of the commoners. In late Middle Yayoi, the trade range of Karako Kagi started to extend and change from the regional food resources to the far-distance exotica just like it had in northern Kyūshū earlier in the phase, and rituals involving the exotic artefacts have left their traces in the shape of beads inside wells and inside the limonite nodule, and together with the locally produced pedestalled pottery or wooden vessels they would have provided the base for action and display at communal feasts. Although there are fewer traces of ritual activity at Karako Kagi in phase IV than in the preceding phases, the shift to crafted non-local objects can have conveyed to the leader a substantial hierarchical advantage. In phase IV some of the rituals are moved away from the settlement as bronze bells are now deposited in high lying ground at the edges of the basin, exactly contemporary to depositions in Kyūshū of bronze weapons. In Kyūshū this behaviour accompanied the deposition in very rich elite graves situated *away from* the commoners' cemeteries of grave goods consisting for a large part of large numbers of bronze mirrors (Mizoguchi 2002:164-172, 188). In contrast to Kinai, the elite were thus buried with grave goods both before and after the weapon depositions, but there was a change away from furnishing the rich graves inside communal cemeteries to establishing them at separate and remote sites.

From the beginning of Late Yayoi, the weapon hoards of Kyūshū became larger, while gravegoods became temporarily fewer at the beginning of Late Yayoi, i.e. the effect of hoard rituals was regarded crucial. Mizoguchi sees the emergence and growth of bronze hoards as evidence of a regular but not fully established elite's manipulation of the commoners' conception of the bronze rituals. The leaders were no longer chosen, but ruled based on genealogic claims; they had thus separated themselves from the commoners. By also *moving* rituals involving the bronzes out of the communal space, and into a location of seclusion, yet close to the community and often in proximity to water that was vital for the cultivation of the paddy fields, their deposition here would have appeared sensible and seemingly to the well-being of the community. The new type of rituals were thus "a mixture of *exclusivity, communality, and formality*" (Mizoguchi 2002:189), since they were known and maybe also observed by the commoners, but still exclusive enough in terms of inaccessibility by the

commoners, either physically or in terms of formalisation, to "avoid challenge by the commoners in terms of its effectiveness" (ibid:189).

I see a related phenomenon evolving in the Nara Basin during phase IV in spite of the lack of elite graves. The bells were buried on mountain slopes, and these places could have been fully visible but not immediately accessible. Whether commoners attended the ceremonies accompanying the depositions or not, they must have been forced to accept the decision of removing the most valuable objects present at their settlement and having it placed 'outside', since the similar deposition method all over western Japan reflects authoritative decisions. The moated precincts were erected in the same sort or even more remote locations as the bells, and whether commoners joined the ceremonies there or not, the places involved long journeys from the settlements, and did not call for frequent visits by commoners engaged in farming or even crafting. Ceremonies – funerals or others – taking place at the moated precincts would have to be prepared and organised to a much higher degree than ceremonies taking place at the settlement. And this increase in the amount of time and effort results in formalisation. Whether the journey to the precincts was undertaken by the leading tier including the religious specialists, thus adding secrecy to the mission, or the whole village would depart for the ceremonies forming a long procession of people, the journey would be remarkable and noticed by people who were not part of the party.

However, ceremonies and feasting undertaken at the settlement would still be important for the daily good-will of the commoners towards their leaders and for that of visiting trading partners. Gift giving is an essential part of all leadership, and a factional leader gives away things to people to win their support, in which process things from foreign and distant areas are the most appreciated.[70] The bestowal of valuables to his followers will often take place within a ceremonial framework, and the ceremonial interaction itself, at which occasions the leader takes on a role as instructor of songs, dances and rituals, is crucial for someone to keep his position. At the same occasion the leader has an opportunity to display his own power in the shape of valuables and exotic objects.

The interior of the European causewayed enclosures are often characterised by pits containing whole pottery vessels and dispersed postholes, and suggestions have been set forward of a variety of ritual activities carried out in this space, activities that left no visible

[70] Redistribution is a characteristic of transegalitarian societies like those of Middle Yayoi, not of chiefdoms, as has been assumed earlier (Service 1962:134,145). Robert Carneiro states that the role of powerful chiefs is purely parasitic, and he even claims that redistribution itself results in esteem *rather* than power, and the latter is only gained when the chief ceases to redistribute and starts to accumulate (Carneiro 1981:58).

traces (Andersen 1997:305). Imported materials had been brought to these sites, some maybe for exchange, but their presence at high rate at the sites indicates that they were brought for intentional deposition. The pottery assemblage is dominated by open bowls and cups, indicating that feasting activities took place at the sites (Thomas 1991:35). Likewise, open bowls and cups are what dominate Karako Kagi's pottery record to a still higher degree from phase III through phase IV.

The digging of moats around Tsuboi Daifuku and Byōdōbō during Middle Yayoi attests to a competitive attitude from strong leaders here towards the leader at Karako Kagi. These leaders at an advanced stage of factional ascendance were all aspiring to obtain chiefly power by way of turning their own village into arenas for display of their success. We have no evidence that feasts like the one described below took place at Karako Kagi in phase IV, but we do have evidence of large numbers of stone rice reapers and arrowheads, wooden vessels, mats and textiles, as well as the antler products, and we do have imported beads and pottery as well as the upcoming bronze bell casting which we know was partly for export.

It is worth considering that the occasion of moat digging could be part of large community feasts in the same genre as with the Jivaroan tribes in South America where a world-renewal festival occurs at their settlements approximately every 10 years. Drumming is continued all day long by adult males, starting in the early morning before dawn in order to summon people from the entire area and until the end of the day. Youngsters perform ritual tasks, girls in the gardens, boys in the forest searching for sacred vine. Just before dusk the plaza of the village is divided by an *axis mundi* line of freshly painted pottery, one pot from each woman. Then the youths are given a hallucinogenic drink, are ritually hazed by the warriors, and eventually withdraw to huts near the forest in order to experience supernatural visions (Kelekna 1998:167).

In Middle Yayoi, the Kinai region was characterised by a remarkable unbalance in consumption between iron and bronze (Morioka 2004:221). Whereas the former was imported to Kyūshū in an organised way, as well as constituting an impressive record in northern Honshū in locations very far from the iron resources on the continent, Kinai was not engaged in the iron trade until Late Yayoi. Instead, it concentrated on the import of bronze and the casting of bells that subsequently travelled and became dispersed all over Eastern Seto.

There is only faint evidence of bell casting at Karako Kagi before phase IV. But due to its leading position in the basin, more bells could have been kept at the site before that time; bells that had been obtained through exchange with the casting sites on the plains. The same

situation may have prevailed at the other large settlements in the basin from where we assume that the bells stem that were deposited at the basin edges in late Middle Yayoi.

The incipient bronze casting at Karako Kagi and displays of bronze objects must have played vital roles in the struggle of individuals to gain permanent power and in the social processes of transforming the basin from transegalitarian communities to a chiefdom. Already before phase IV, leaders of the autonomous settlement units may have demonstrated and induced in their followers the concepts of their territory as well as their own power as centralised using strong material symbols like the bronze bells. But, as I see it, as Karako Kagi accelerated in phase IV its own casting, the leader here became able to materialise his power in a way that could not be imitated by the other settlements of the basin. The bells were made from foreign materials by specialists attached to the leader, they symbolised his power and "defined his office" (Earle about the role of chiefly swords – 1997:160), which was probably not quite temporary any more, and an efficient way to demonstrate his power was to display these symbols publicly (ibid), perhaps at the procession from the settlement to the moated precincts, but certainly also at feasts where important exchange partners would receive them as gifts.

Brian Hayden sees indebtedness as the foremost strategy for leaders to hold and increase their power, and the sense of obligation can be strengthened if the feasts are held in ritual or sacred contexts, since impressive and powerful rituals would enhance the moral contract, and in the cases where ritual paraphernalia are obtained, the receiving party would be seriously indebted and obliged to produce and surrender an even greater surplus (1995:38-40). Elsa Redmond compares this type of competitive exchange to the "battle by means of gifts and countergifts" among big men in New Guinea who arrange ceremonial pig feasts, at which they exchange pigs, shells and feathers and thereby build alliances and broaden their exchange networks. And although in New Guinea there is no mentioning of raids in between the exchange, the pig feast is characterised as "war carried out by other means" (Godelier 1986:170; Redmond 1998).

The aspect of feasting takes on a progressively more important role as societies become increasingly non-egalitarian In his account of "transegalitarian" societies, Hayden identifies "Despot", "Reciprocator" and "Entrepreneur" societies, ranked in increasing degrees of the societies' ability to generate food surpluses and therefore increasing degrees of inequality linked with the changing of strategies used by the aggrandizers to control this surplus (Hayden 1995:25). It appears that in the first type of society, warfare plays an important role, whereas exchange and feasts appear sporadically, while in reciprocator societies, warfare is

either diminished or supplemented by exchange, and in entrepreneur societies, exchange has replaced warfare and is underlined by substantial feasting. There seems to be "some deep-seated incompatibility...between war and ceremonial exchange" (ibid:170).

In reciprocator societies, the leader uses all the strategies of the despot in order to create debts, power and surpluses, but puts more focus on exchange. This situation may have arisen in the Nara Basin in the later part of Early Yayoi when the small settlements became moated, which again led to their dissolution and agglomeration. If the material benefit to be gained from exchange of women and valuable goods increases sufficiently, warfare may diminish (ibid 42, 44). Surplus is larger than in a despot community and, apart from the food consumption and the display aspect, more directed towards creating the framework for reciprocal exchange (ibid:46). The feasts are arenas for display (of wooden and pottery pedestalled bowls and dishes, with stone and wooden tools, and involving boar and sometimes deer slaughtering – *my comment)*, and the generosity of the giver (the leader) is more pronounced, starting to resemble conspicuous consumption. The debt created at the side of the receiver is more substantial and contractual, urging him/them to return at least a comparable meal and feast within reasonable time. Competition between leaders displayed at the feast have started to emerge, and the rivalry can be expressed both by the amount of food and valuable objects, but also by sophisticated and materially rich dances, or ritual and/or military display (ibid:47).

I believe the aspects unfolded above describe the situation in the basin in Middle and Late Yayoi from when we have substantial evidence of depositions of whole vessels in moats and ditches as well as at Karako Kagi imported pottery and other artefacts plus the bronze casting.

Also the "new" bells of styles IV-2 – 5 that were produced in Late Yayoi after the deposition of the "old" bells, were apparently given away, since these are also generally found in dislocation from their area of production. We do not know when the "old" bells were exported, or if this traffic took place during all of the phases II-IV, but we know that *after* phase IV, one of the most important areas of bell-receiving, the Izumo area in the San'in region, had contacts with Kinai cut. The break in interaction is usually interpreted as a deliberate act of cultural isolation on the part of Izumo (Watanabe 1998:37), but I shall argue later (3.6.) that the initiative was taken in Kinai. The archaeological record of Late Yayoi from the San'in is significantly different from Kinai's, bells are no longer imported here, and export to Karako Kagi is not substantial during phase V. However, when still in phase IV, trade was conducted between Izumo and the bell-producing centres in Kinai. That bronze bells travelled from Kinai to Izumo and beads in the other direction is incontestable, but also

the possibility should not be excluded that tradespeople from Kinai during phase IV fetched some of the bronze that they needed in Izumo. The lagoons in the San'in area offered protected conditions for harbours (4.3.3.), and bronze material or objects arriving from the continent could have been landed there (Oksbjerg 2002:77, 85, 99), which was probably what induced groups in the area to produce some bells of their own during the phase (4.3.3.). Furthermore however, there may have been something else to fetch, something related to the conception of trade in a ritual connection, which I have argued earlier was present at Karako Kagi both before and during phase IV (chapter 2). Groups or individuals in the Izumo/San'in area may have possessed highly coveted immaterial valuables in the shape of religious knowledge and power, impelling groups or individuals from other areas to travel to the area, a suggestion that I shall expand on towards the end of the thesis (5.9.).

It may have been a wish on the part of the leaders at Karako Kagi to expand their power by trading with far lying Izumo that more than anything else induced them to accelerate the casting of bells and other bronze objects. Also the leaders of the northern Kyūshū polities must have held contact with San'in – and particularly Izumo – leaders in high esteem, since also bronze weapons, the Western Seto counterpart to Eastern Seto's bells, were exported in large numbers from Kyūshū to Izumo.

3.4.3. The fate of the patterns and the shift to cultural pictures in phase IV

We have seen that giftgiving and creation of obligation is an efficient means for factional and other leaders to weaken possible opponents. But psychological 'warfare' can also be used to subdue subjects, whom the leaders need to lead in order to *be* leaders. And in Karako Kagi's material record from phase IV we see signs of further 'warfare' of this type in the shape of manipulation of symbols.

Simultaneously with the peak in pottery pictures in the Nara Basin in late Middle Yayoi, the vessels were no longer comb decorated. Comb patterning is closely connected with the pottery of phases II and III, whereas in phase IV the basic decoration changed to linear or spiral ornamentation printed into the clay when paddling the vessels with engraved wooden paddles (Barnes 1991:34). The picture engraved jars are not paddled, however, but appear with a plain and blank surface – often brush burnished – on which the pictures were applied.

The loss of comb decoration in late Middle Yayoi has been attributed to an increase in warfare between Kinai groups and groups in other regions which would have meant less time

and concern for elaboration of the ceramics. Also, "more homogeneous shape categories are thought by many to reflect an increase in political control, leading to more uniform styles across different regions" (ibid:35).

As is shown in the preceding sub-chapter, the political control was certainly an important issue in phase IV, but the warfare was executed by indirect means. And rather than a lack of time for comb decoration, I believe that we are dealing with a lack of free choice, a ban on this type of decoration on pottery. Comb decoration was still in use in the Nara Basin by the time pictorial engraving started to accelerate; i.e. in phase III. We even see a few examples of pictures superimposed on the bands of parallel line pattern. However, all full surface covering pattern on pottery disappeared and only the pattern inside figures was left. Instead of producing beautifully comb patterned pottery vessels in the basin, the elaboration of pattern was transferred to bells, the basin's new industry – taking place only at Karako Kagi (and later at Niizawa at the basin's south-west edge). Extended surfaces of patterns was thus reserved for the bells, whereas bells in the same turn excluded pictures; a distinction sensible for leaders who were trying to assume permanent leadership and were looking for means to make their regalia look sufficiently formal in order to persuade the commoners that their power was legitimised by higher forces.

This echoes the concept of the runes in the Nordic Viking Age. The runes were the symbols of magic force and "the key to the dreadful power of Odin", because they could "force dead man's tongue to speak" (Hedeager 1997:112). The knowledge of runes was a deathly threat to society, it had to be monopolised and controlled. And Odin was the protector and the owner of the force constituted by secret knowledge (ibid:111-114).

The use of pattern as a strong and power related symbolism thus constituted an element of the leaders' "oratory", perhaps incomprehensible to the commoners, and perhaps genuinely without any meaning, but with a sense of secrecy. And exactly the lack of sense could have been a powerful means that could not be contradicted as is argued by Maurice Bloch (chapter 5).

The pottery of phase IV is also standardised but much plainer than before, apart from the pedestalled vessels. Adding pictures made them appear more elaborate, but the drawing skills are highly varied if we judge pictures from their resemblance to the motifs they are representing and in terms of their aesthetical appeal to the modern viewer. Carefully placed strokes, sunk several millimetres into the clay forming houses or deer with scrupulously executed pattern filling (IDs 7, 9, 62, 63, 67, 129, 542) alternates with sketches of motifs only

touching the surface of the clay, and patterns inside figures whose strokes do not respect the delimiting outer contours (IDs 37, 76, 85, 112, 133, 172, 226, 550).

The images were produced when the vessel was completed; however there are cases of images erased with strokes of a brush, thus not accidentally. This means that the very act of engraving was essential to the engraver and contained meaning, which Fujita thinks could be that certain motifs were not to be seen. We must therefore be aware of all the less conspicuous images. The pottery engraver made the pictures in preparation of the ceremony in which they were going to play a part. Fujita thinks the engraver was an ordinary member of the community and not the shaman. Also, the vessels themselves cannot be distinguished from pottery without images. He also thinks the motif had to fit the ritual (in Fujita and Tatsumi 1998:58-59), which phenomenon can be observed in many other places of the world, Ancient Egypt, where rituals were depicted in murals and Southeast Asia, where they were represented on bronze drums.

Executing picture engravings and casting bells with them may have been important occasions for the makers of the bell-moulds and for possible spectators. Rituals performed and attended during various steps of the making of a bell might have included a ritual at the time of casting that took shape as a divination or fortune telling ritual. This idea offers us an explanation of why 'erased' pictures were left as they were with even essential importance connected to the possible disappearance of pictures. Divination from the outcome of animal depiction during the casting of a bell might well have been a variant of the taking of auguries from the cracks of animal bones.

Concerning erased pictures on pottery, there are several things to take into consideration, since these are later than those having disappeared from the bells. The erased pottery pictures may have been inspired from the bell pictures missing after casting. Erased pottery pictures from Karako Kagi were made where one or more bell mould engravers were working. The mould engravers would probably have been among the most highly esteemed artisans, whose work was awesomely admired and probably eagerly watched, and their working process was perhaps imitated by the pottery engravers, even when it included corrections of strokes in the wet clay. Picture erasures on pottery are not overwhelming in number and may stem from the individual pottery engravers' immediate urge to practise the skill of the bell mould engraver. The lattice pattern filling out the bodies of deer and the roofs of many houses may stem from a much more officially accepted idea of imitating in an 'abbreviated' version the lattice pattern on the bells, but carrying out this pattern may also have heightened the pottery engravers' sense of acting out the role of the immensely respected bell mould engraver.

Here we must remember that social stress can also result in increasing production of art and aesthetics, (even, art can be an important means for aggression in times of war). Also, in an atmosphere of increasing political pressure and social stratification, this aggression in the shape of art can be expressed both for the purpose of control on the part of the suppressors and for the purpose of opposing the authorities on the part of the suppressed. The art historian Max Raphael stated that art is "not simply an idyllic expression of contentment, an efflorescence of a 'higher' aesthetic sense, but rather an arena of struggle and contestation" (in Lewis-Williams 2002:181). Even if such a statement is to some extent speculative, I still would not exclude the possibility that drawing pictures may in phase IV have offered the engravers the opportunity to perform their art after they had been deprived of the right to use the ancient comb patterning. Whether the pottery pictures were executed willingly or not we cannot know, and some may interpret the sketchy images as the results of attempts to protest, but they can just as well be truly expressive pieces of art from the hands of artisans whose *styles* were at least free of restrictions even if the depicted motifs were probably dictated to a high degree, and even if they did not possess the right to execute comb patterns any more.

The cosmology observed on bronze bells previous to phase IV reflects a religion bound to nature and the world of animals, an animist belief system in which animals think and speak and play central roles (chapter 5). Traces and maybe all of this religion would still have existed in late Middle Yayoi, comprising the cognitive basis for the last bell pictures of Kinai. Thus, the frog and the dragonfly are still present within the 34 scenes. However, it was becoming mixed with new ideas; ideas that emerged from the political leaders. These leaders needed new ideologies to legitimise their rule, but they also needed the support of the commoners as long as their positions were not hereditary. So, the religion of before and its symbols were integrated and manipulated. Deer had to be very important as they were before, so icons of them were produced en masse. But other motifs with no connection to the old religion were introduced and dictated. Importantly, they installed the engraving of humans in full warrior attire or wearing bird wings or beak, humans that represented warriors and shamans, both decorated with feathers: the symbol of religious as well as of political power. These motifs represented the leaders themselves and their offices in the way that they probably performed at feasts and other ritual occasions. At the same time as the leaders had these motifs and the highly culture-focused motif of a raised floor house installed, they had the patterns removed from the sphere of the settlement and the commoners, and reserved for the bronze bells that they controlled and that were also to be removed from the settlement.

The pottery iconography became culture-insisting, or in other words: cultural-aggressive.

Most of the pottery birds are the short necked type that is rather to be associated with surveillance and watch keeping than with "rice spirits" (4.4.). It seems to me that the role of the birds on pottery can be likened to that of the birds on poles in front of villages. From an overall point of view, the record is simply less 'spiritual' than that seen in the previous phase.

The representation of humans had changed from showing action to showing identity, perhaps glorified or idolised identity. Pictures in phase IV seems to have become idols, rooted in religion and perhaps still loaded with spirituality to devoted believers, but possible to manipulate for individuals with ambitions to play special roles in the society and with enough outlook and entrepreneur skills to know how to carry out such manipulation. As I shall return to later, religious manipulations will typically be shaped as the promotion of the manipulators' ancestors (5.7, 5.10). It is my conviction that the semantics of the deer had also become cultural; like that of the falcon Horus of Ancient Egypt symbolising the pharaoh the deer had become a symbol of royalty, of leadership (chapter 5).

There is an essential difference between the people threshing on the bells of phase II and later on the style III bells and the warriors and bird people on pottery, which pinpoints the turn from nature to culture in the iconography. Although the threshers are processing the fruits of cultivated nature, they, as well as the fisherman, are showing the importance of interacting with the natural world for the sake of subsistence, whereas the humans in the pottery pictures are presenting their own role in society. I conceive of the threshers and the fisherman as representatives of people in general, and I suggest that the turn from nature to culture did at the same time involve a shift of focus from community to individuality.

The spear- and shield-holding people with headgear – in my view the political leaders – have more in common with the tattooed faces on Late Yayoi pottery (IDs 135, 167), than they have with the people occupied with threshing, simply because there is focus on who they *are* and not on what they *do*. The "shaman(ess)" as well is depicted for what he or she *is* by phase IV rather than for what he/she does, whereas the earlier shamans – the humans shooting deer on bells – were depicted for their action; shooting the deer rather than for their outfit. Probably, killing the deer was still an important ingredient of rituals in phase IV, but the act was rarely depicted, and emphasis was now on the performance of the shaman. Still, the relation between shaman and animal is strongly expressed in the pictures of the 'birdman' with a deer or bird inside him (ID 111).

The imagery on late Middle Yayoi jars consists to a large extent of buildings and humans and to some extent of boats, all motifs belonging inside the cultural sphere of the settlement. And central to the change is the express focus on bird features, i.e. religious power. With

human figures, the adornment with feather attire on the heads of people is new. Inclusion of the boat itself and the type of building that is multi-storied combine to form a picture of a man made, culture bound focus in late Middle Yayoi figurative depiction. The boats are usually interpreted as depicting people sailing out to meet the rice spirit. However, they can also be seen as sailing out to raid other regions.

Also, whereas the only lethal instrument that we see on bells is the bow, on the pottery, we find pictures of halberds, swords and shields, worn by people wearing feather resembling head gears (Sahara and Harunari 1997:85). And whereas the bow on early pictures is hunting gear, the weapons in later imagery are arms for warfare. This means that armour and true weapons had now come to be explicitly expressed because, as I assume, a leading class had now emerged, who controlled the types of imagery depicted on the pottery. Hence, the religious significance of the imagery was rather more political and perhaps exclusive, perhaps a shamanism involving social stratification.

The deer as the strongest element of the old animist religion was used as the mediating factor. This element constituted the profound religious basis in people's minds, and by providing the commoners with the basic elements from the previous phase, the leaders could add the new elements related to their own power. The new elements in pictures were legitimised by their combination with pictures of the old and universally accepted order. The institution of new orders and regulations often becomes more easily accepted when their connection with old orders is claimed.[71] If we accept the idea that picture engraved vessels were deposited in burial areas, not only at the time of actual funerals, but also at other rites for ancestor worshipping – and maybe only then, the mediating role of the deer becomes even clearer.

In the material evidence we have from the late Middle Yayoi settlements of the basin, we thus see the materialising of the power of strong factional leaders in spite of the absence of elite graves. Barnes sees such signs only in Late and Terminal Yayoi when the prominence of the chief started to "materialise...in the social...[as well as]...in the natural landscape" (Barnes 2007:30). As a consequence of this, Barnes further states that "The most significant aspect of materialization to be noted in the Japanese case is that the manipulation of bronzes

[71] The upcoming of new Christian kings during the turbulent European era of the Great Migration (5th and 6th century) were accompanied by the claim of their relation to a heathen past, since their subjects were confident with this past. Thus, Theoderik the Great, king of the East Goth from AD 497, adopted Christianity and "did away with the last bit of heathendom", but consolidated his position at the same time by "tracing his lineage, the Amals, 17 generations and half a millennium back to heroes and halfgods, "who were not only humans", by the work on the history of the Goths of the roman senator Aurelius Cassiodorus" (Hedeager 1997:37, 41-43).

within a native framework of cosmology and religion – the proposed bronze bell worship of the Eastern Seto region – apparently led to a dead end in terms of increasing socio-political complexity. It was only when Kinai adopted the mentality of bronzes as prestige goods, under the tutelage of Western Seto and the continent, that a political system was established allowing increased hierarchization and political stratification, the operational threshold of state formation" (ibid:31). However, the collected evidence from Middle Yayoi treated here gives us reason to include late Middle Yayoi and the initiation of bell production at Karako Kagi in the complexity that led to the increased political stratification in Late Yayoi treated by Barnes. This would have taken place, as bell production resulted in full-time artisans and full-time organisers (leaders) of bronze trade leading to permanent and hereditary leadership.

3.4.4. The control by ideology and religious power – Karako Kagi's ultimate strategy.

Hayden's description of societies of reciprocator and entrepreneur levels of inequality is usable as a model for the political situation in Middle Yayoi at the various settlement units in the present analysis. The importance of a developing exchange network which suppresses the presence of warfare in many reciprocator-level societies seems to echo the situation in the basin during the phase. In societies of various degrees of centralisation, warfare can be replaced by rituals, and whether struggle for power is overtly military or not, the aggressive aspect of ideological and/or religious legitimisation of power should not be overlooked.

Earle states that a chief aspirant can – alternatively to proving his capability as a military leader, in which case the confederation of communities happens by conquest or continuous influence upon a village (Carneiro 1998:36) – refer to his natural authority because of genealogy or demonstrate other personal abilities (Earle 1997:3). Carneiro however, sees the effect and power of this type of authority as one of coercion and threat rather than one of persuasion (Carneiro 1981:64). At Karako Kagi a large production of arrow points and other weapons could have served as a threat of force. "A warrior wished to be known for his might, so that others would not attack" (Earle 1997:158).

Although warfare can be an efficient way of obtaining power fast, in the long run it is "a highly problematic source of social power" (ibid:8), since the leader will have to look out for rebellion, betrayal and intrigues from the side of his warriors. Although efficient for instant strategies, in the long run, power resting on warrior might is a destabilising force.

Ideology is another power source, but like warfare, it does not function in isolation. It is powerful for gaining authority if it is used strategically, but in order to do so, leaders must make their own ideology – which may be different from the ideologies of other groups within a society – concrete in forms such as ceremonies, symbols (and monuments) (ibid:143 – *brackets added by me).*

The control over economy gained by control of network is the most stabilising and gives access to other media of power (ibid:8, 12-13), thus power over ideology and military is most efficiently maintained on a continuous basis in social systems with strong economies based on rich injections of non-local goods. In late Middle Yayoi the factional leader at Karako Kagi seems to have entered this level and used the import to gain a grip of his co-villagers and to aspire for chieftainship in the south-eastern basin. This ideology was a leader-focusing ideology, in which motifs of the warrior and the 'birdman' were powerful expressions. It was also a leader-dependent culturalism, as the buildings in the pictures and the divisions into partitions in the architectural features would not have been there had the leaders not initiated their production. The role of the religious specialist, the shaman with bird outfit, had become a significant part of the administration and control of the life at the settlement, just as was the case for the political leader, the warrior. During Middle Yayoi the leaders' joint control over exchange, ideology and a kind of military represented by the weapon production, was under constant transformation in step with the control over economy as satellite sites appeared and disappeared, as moats were dug, and as the material content of the rituals changed.

In egalitarian societies, the special skills of religious specialists are only used at special occasions, and some of them spend the remainder of their time exactly like any other member of the society,[72] as is the case for the diviner of the Konkomba communities in northern Ghana. When his task is fulfilled and the spirits have left him, he has no more rights or authority than any other member of the group (Andersen 1998:36-38). His or her power is thus invisible, and it may only occur during ceremonies. During ceremonies the religious expert has stripped himself of his humanity and invested with divine rather than secular power. Or, he has put on the power held by a chief and steps forward as a judge. Still, his power is not represented in material objects, rather it lies in the words that he speaks when obsessed by spiritual forces (ibid:40).

[72] However, such a situation is far from always the case, some religious specialists in tribal societies enjoy certain privileges, wear special clothes and live in special huts, but they do usually not have the right to force work on others. Their position is also very often achieved rather than ascribed.

However, in order to use power strategically on longer terms, the individual(s) trying to maintain it must employ material objects, and this is why religious objects are indispensable in non-egalitarian societies. The dogmas and the "truths" of the society have to be displayed in order to remind people of them on a permanent and long-lasting basis. It is well observed that leaders – although on some occasions they appear without any particular attire (Redmond 1998b:75) – will usually wear full "ornate" at formal occasions, like the Jivaroan leader described wearing a shotgun, special dress, face paint, ornaments, and an exceptionally fine feather headdress (Hendricks 1988 in Redmond 1998b:77). The exclusive access of a chief to religious knowledge has to be constantly visible, or else he will have no further claim to a special position than the religious experts of many egalitarian societies.

An aspiring leader will have to make his co-villagers accept the ideas that support his leadership. Since ideologies start as mental processes inside people's brains and is formed by personal communication between people, in order for an ideology to be shared and known by a larger group of people it has to be "experienced in common". Therefore the experience "must lie outside people's minds (Earle 1997:147). This is why ideology is "presented publicly in ceremonies and other occasions....created and manipulated strategically by....the ruling elite, to establish and maintain positions of social power" (ibid:149). More than anything however, knowledge of the Otherworldly provides people with personal power (Creamer 2001:55). Even more original than ideology, it is the most universal force to put those who hold it into positions of authority, and its effects can be found in even completely unranked egalitarian types of society.

"A ruling ideology may assert a 'natural' order to the universe such that specific social, political and ritual actions are needed to retain the proper operation of the world. Leaders must be followed, followers need to be led. That is part of a cosmic order taken into the social fabric of daily life through myths, legends and ceremonies. Ideology serves as the constitution for institutions. ...Leaders manipulate information to make it appear that the ruling elite have both the right and the might to hold onto authority" (Earle 1997:9). Often the 'natural order' will appear as a *divine* order, and the leader will be thought of as a 'priest' and act as one during ceremonies. Timothy Earle (and DeMarrais and Castillo 1996) states that "power is linked to the knowledge of power, which must be experiential", and that "power rests on materialised ideologies" (Earle 1997:144). He emphasises the process by which ideology transforms "from abstract ideas and values into practices and products that can be manipulated by a ruling segment" (ibid:144). "Materialization is the transformation of ideas, values, stories, myths and the like into a physical reality that can take the form of ceremonial

events, symbolic objects, monuments and writing", it "creates common, shared experience, and it permits control over the production and use of the ideology" (ibid:151-152).

The use of bronze bells in rituals would have a strong impact on on-lookers concerning the religious power of their leaders. Also, creation of objects and features function as an ongoing socialisation of the people who produce the objects. Such socialisation often involves putting people to work in the shape of construction work (Johnson in Paynter and McGuire 1991:9) in order to keep them busy and prevent them from experiencing uncontrolled leisure time. The constructions are very often building-systems based on a paradigmatic form, described by Rabinow in a way that calls to mind the outlay of Karako Kagi in Middle Yayoi: "The panopticon consists of a large courtyard, with a tower in the center, surrounded by a series of buildings divided into levels and cells" (Rabinow in Paynter and McGuire 1991:9). This manipulation of the material culture brings about an atmosphere of common sense, a 'system' which helps legitimise their sovereignty.

And in this common sense atmosphere at Karako Kagi, brought about by digging and dividing the settlement into a veritable chess-board of cells, feasts were held, employing the ceremonial pedestalled vessels, pottery vessels were decorated with pictures and deposited at its edges near the jar burials in the moat belt, and eventually bells and other bronzes were cast. Whereas the pictures produced here and elsewhere in the basin and on the Kawachi Plain stayed at the settlement (on pottery), the bells that had now become void of pictures were taken away from it and buried. There was thus an inside cult with pictures on clay, a relatively cheap material, and an outside cult without them on bronze, the most expensive material known at the time. I am inclined to believe that the disappearance of pictures concurrently with the transition from stone to clay as mould material was intentional and related to the increasing focus on formalisation of the cult, and even though pictorial motifs can be dictated, what can be formalised more efficiently is pattern. Pattern on style III and IV-1 bells is beautifully executed with careful attention to details; a tendency that develops in Kinki style bells of Late Yayoi, style IV-2 – 5, to fierce relief lines, monstrous 'ears' with spirals, and dogmatic designs with no possible alternatives.

Aestheticism in some forms can also be created for the sake of dominance. The change of mould material from stone to clay meant a great step forward in aesthetical and technical terms. But also, it meant larger input of labour on a total scale, since the new material demanded that preparation of the mould started from the beginning before almost every new casting, and possibly the preparation of the mould in several layers was executed by different people from the engravers. To take out the finished bronze product from a clay-mould would

in most cases result in destruction of the mould, whereas the moulds made from stone had been likely to stand several castings. For that reason we have finds of intact or almost intact stone moulds for casting bells and bronze-weapons, whereas used clay moulds have mostly disintegrated completely, and we usually find only the frame of courser clay used for enclosing and stabilising the mould until the casting was completed.

We do have a few examples of twin bells from clay moulds, but in these cases, even if the mould had been spared from demolition when the first bell was removed from it, the lines engraved into it would have to be redrawn, resulting in a slightly different result in the second casting (Yasu Town Historical Museum 1998:16). These rare examples are of bells of style III, and the shift to clay moulds was basically accompanied by a shift to single production, and each bell called for its own mould and the labour input that this involved.

The mould engraver's role also changed. When still using stone moulds he would have been a craftsperson whose work was audible both when the mould parts were cut and hollowed into shape, and when it was engraved with slight chopping and scratching. After the switch to clay moulds however, all these activities would be soundless, and during the engraving the engraver would be an artisan sitting silently bent over his work. This change may well have made him appear in a new light.

3.4.5. Offerings of the bronze bells

Assumedly religious depositions leave us with very little traces of the rituals executed in relation to the depositing act, and the information we get on ritual life from this type of finds is very limited (Kaul 2004:73). We do have some evidence that ritual depositions took place in moats already in Middle Yayoi such as the phase IV burial jar dug into the bottom of a moat at Karako Kagi. Other moat depositions, however, may have taken place after the rituals were performed, such as the assemblages of boar mandibles from phase III.[73] In contrast to this the deposited bronze bells were laid down in phase IV with high precision and even uniformity from one site and region to another.[74]

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[73] In many cases it is diffuse to define the religious nature of a deposition act; this is particularly true of material that is found scattered in a disorderly, maybe broken, fashion. On a bronze fitting from 9th Century BC Assyria, a procession of people is shown carrying objects to a sanctuary with altars, solar pictures and a statue of a deity. Behind the sanctuary another two people are busy discarding the objects (now kept in a sack) into a river. This indicates that rituals involving the objects may precede and be separated from the deposition, since in such a case the deposition itself does not seem to be very ritualised (Kaul 2004:79).

[74] The bells rested on their fins, and if items of very different sizes were deposited together, smaller bells were inserted into larger ones.

The logic of removing from circulation what was most precious is a matter of control. Whereas it has been claimed that the bell depositions were carried out at the end of phase IV because the political leaders wanted to rid their offices of an old religion, this could have been done by simple remelting of the bells, and I believe that their deposition should rather be seen as a means of maintaining the system that kept the leaders in power, and that the bells were deposited *during* phase IV, not *after*. This scenario fits the bell chronology of Anjō Museum of History that includes bell-style IV-1 in phase IV together with bell-style III. Hoards containing socalled "old" bells include bell-styles up to IV-1.

First of all, "deposition was investment in a divine market, ...and those who carried out depositions must have felt that they gained something from the divine investment" (Kaul 2004:85). The leaders, who had access to the bronze resources, an access that started in the basin from phase III and increased during phase IV, were in control of the depositions, by which they demonstrated their ability to come close to the divine that they themselves moved out of the daily world, and in this way they legitimised their power of the religious sphere. Thus, depositions became a kind of redistribution in which riches were distributed into the divine sphere allegedly for the wellness of society as a whole. At one level, the exegetic significance of the depositions and their rituals: welfare and fertility, demonstrated the hierarchical structure of society, and the religious framework diminished tension and strengthened the social organisation bringing with it order and stability in daily life. Also, the elite's access to the objects used in the rituals meant that they possessed a monopoly of the ideological or religious knowledge, and such a system both legitimises the authority of the leader to an unquestionable degree and it offers him splendid opportunities of competitive conduct. At another level, the mere removal of valuables like bronzes from the human world would also protect the privileged position of the leading tier, since it prevented circulation of enough objects for larger parts of the population to gain access to them. It was crucial that only the leading tier had access lest the objects lost their value as a result of 'inflation' (ibid:85-86), and Bradley exemplifies this by the utmost importance of returning to the Lady of the Lake of King Arthur's sword Excalibur at the moment of his death (Bradley 1990:1-4, 40).

Kaul sees this system working in the Nordic Bronze Age, in which the constant removing of bronze objects was one part, and the constant need to pursue new supplies another, and he states that the deposition of enormous riches can be seen as an essential system-maintaining factor. "It was only when the significance of the bronze disappeared or when the supply of

bronze was almost abandoned that this economic (and ideological/religious) system seemed to break down" (Kaul 2004:87).

At the end of Middle Yayoi, the northern Kyūshū polities achieved the technique of iron forging/casting and subsequently many other places in the western part of the archipelago. Thus, the demand for raw material, semi-products and finished products of stone weapons and tools dissolved, and the busy and extensive exchange network that had developed during Early and Middle Yayoi and inside whose frames the distribution of the prestigious bronzes had also taken place, broke down (Fukasawa 2004:99). This is a likely cause for the decrease in contact between Kinai and the San'in region. In Late Yayoi the San'in region and northern Honshū imported iron directly from the continent via the Japan Sea (Murakami 2004:200), and in order to avoid the influence of this metal in Kinai, which would devaluate the bronzes, the leaders there may have chosen to break connections to their earlier trading partners in San'in. This way they may have saved at least part of the exchange system from collapse. Finally, we may wonder whether the relative absence in the Kinai region of iron *in general* during the Yayoi period (2.3., 3.5.2.) was not the result of a deliberate determination on the part of the leaders to avoid the material, as if they anticipated that an untouchable status of the bronze was indispensable for them to stay in control.

The Kinai leaders who now had their busy trading with the San'in area interrupted, and whose connection with many other areas had to be redefined, seem to have used bells once again as their trump, and they may have answered back to this changed situation by producing bells of hitherto unseen size and ornamentation, whose sole function was to impress – in contrast to the "old" bells the "new" bells do not carry wear from being rung, and many Japanese archaeologists think they were used for parading.[75]

[75] It is still problematic to explain the access that Kinai must have had to the large amount of bronze used for the "new" bells. The tempting idea that the Late Yayoi leaders recollected large numbers of "old" bells – which would explain to some degree the relatively low number of "old" bells within Kinai itself, is seemingly contradicted by the isotopic content of the "new" bells. These are – although of the same basic copper as that of the "old" bells that we think stems from northern China – remarkably homogenous in lead content (Mabuchi et al 1985:144), which indicates that either all the bells were made from one enormous pool of melted bronze, which seems unlikely, or that an indigenous, hitherto undiscovered copper ore existed and was exploited in the Kinai area, with the same lead isotopic profile as the northern Chinese (Thilo Rehren, University College London, personal communication 9th March 2005), which seems evenly unlikely.

However, indigenous mining may be the correct answer, since Mori Kōichi has pointed out that many finds of Yayoi bells are situated close to copper mines exploited in Japan in periods subsequent to the Yayoi. He argues that a mixing of copper with different provenances can confuse the result of a lead isotopic analysis, and he sees Mabuchi et al's results as stemming from a mixing of copper quarried in different mines within a given area of the archipelago (Mori in Pearson 1992:142).

3.5. Landscape disruption and highland settlements at the end of Middle Yayoi

We shall now return briefly to the settlement pattern in the Nara Basin and look at the sequences that characterised the end of Middle Yayoi and the start of Late Yayoi. Although this thesis argues that the settlement moats in Middle Yayoi were not generally related to warfare, we have seen that Shibu shows certain aspects of violence possibly connected to its position in the forested area in isolation from cooperative settlements, but possibly stemming from an attack from a neighbour as a result of not subordinating to Karako Kagi like the more easterly upstream sites (3.2.3.). As I have mentioned earlier, Shibu is among the settlements whose moat filling at the end of Middle Yayoi accords with Karako Kagi's, so it may be that aggression from the latter caused the site of Shibu to subordinate at least for some time.

We have also learned that the highland site of Kamotsuba may have had its moats renewed in Late Yayoi. This may have been at a time of unrest mentioned in the Chinese chronicle of Wei Chih (compiled AD 233-297). Here, it says that queen Himiko who reigned during the first half of the 3rd century AD, and who apparently lived in a moated settlement in the country of Yamatai (often thought to refer to the Nara Basin) – was enthroned after many years of armed strife between the leaders of the various "kingdoms" that at that time co-existed in the "land of Wa", i.e. western Japan (Tsunoda 1951b:13). Since Himiko died approximately AD 248 (ibid:16), she could hardly have been 'enthroned' any earlier than AD 170, and if the highland sites are to origin in the "80 years of strife" mentioned in Wei Chih that preceded Himiko's rule, this period would in fact have been 120-170 years, which means the first half of Late Yayoi.

Barnes – and others – places the origin of this unrest at the end of Middle Yayoi and connects it with the appearance of the highland sites in the western edge of the Nara Basin near the mountain passes (Barnes 1988:213-214). The highland settlement of Kamotsuba that was moated by a U-shaped moat in Early Yayoi has itself given very few traces of activity from Middle Yayoi. Substantial material evidence however exists at Kamotsuba from Late Yayoi from when a V-shaped ditch section holding more than 30 layers has been recovered. This ditch seems to have been cleaned intentionally (Barnes 1988:433-434; Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:29), and the site may have been taken up after an interval and provided with a new moat, belonging to the category of highland settlements established towards the end of Middle Yayoi along the western edge of the basin. These settlements were placed near the mountain passes leading to the Ōsaka Plain, and they may have held a

defensive role in front of aggressive incomers from the west (Barnes 1988:213). (However, these sites are relatively short-lived in contrast to Kamotsuba).

Generally, in the Nara Basin, transference of whole settlements from lowland to hilltops and other high lying locations cannot be demonstrated.[76] Many of the highland sites, particularly those situated at rivers behind the edges of the basin, were temporary, but a good part of them show activity only from phases II or III.[77] Also, the large sized moated settlements seem all to have opened up their moats again immediately after filling them at the end of phase IV (as treated in chapter 2, Karako Kagi was an active site also after the flood). However, this does not preclude the movement of *parts* of the population to the western upland sites, e.g. from Tsuboi Daifuku where most activity evidence from Late Yayoi consists in burials rather than habitation material, as mentioned in 3.2.2. Though no evidence connects lowland settlement moats with warfare in the Nara Basin, the flood may have induced political leaders to conscript selected groups to be installed at highlying sites – some of which were moated – in order to guard the passages into the basin.

The Kawachi area (that is another candidate for the centre of the unrest) also experienced the great flood that was caused by tectonic faulting and subsidence of the Ōsaka Plain. Here, it drowned all settlements in the upper Kawachi area (Yasuda in Barnes 1988:213-214) including Uryūdo and Kitoragawa, and Barnes suggests an influx of refugees from this area to the basin, which would have "heightened the territorial identity among indigenous groups, resulting in the formation of the communities.....in the various basin sectors during Late Yayoi", and which therefore may have caused the precautious establishment of the highland sites (Barnes 1988:214; 2007:78).

Also inside the basin, the rivers rose at the end of Middle Yayoi and caused floods that devastated some of the lowland sites like Karako Kagi and Tsuboi Daifuku. We therefore have the scenario of a heavy influx of homeless refugees from the Ōsaka Plain moving into the basin at the same time as many of the sites in this area were also flooded. This would in itself have caused a higher settling density in the higher lying areas including the basin edge.

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[76] High lying moated settlements dominated the settlement pattern at different times in various regions; in the Kinki region they appeared around the middle of Middle Yayoi, and their numbers rose at the beginning of Late Yayoi when many moated lowland settlements filled their moats and their inhabitants moved away and established a highland site instead. The many highland sites were in function in the region till the middle of Late Yayoi when a tendency of transference of the population back to the lowlands can be seen (Matsugi 2004b:244, Watanabe 2004:249).

[77] This is true for at least Hara (原) and Nishibe Hasama (越部ハサマ) in the Kii Valley, Takatsuka (高塚) and Nakanoshō (中之庄) off the south-eastern corner of the basin and Zeniyakubo (ゼニヤクボ) in the mountains east of Byōdōbō Iwamuro. These sites are situated respectively 136, 165, 320, 360 and 480 m above sea-level (Society of Yamato Yayoi Culture 2003a:30, 32, 34, 35).

3.6. Early chiefdom in Late Yayoi

The factional competition between the leaders of the settlement units in the south-eastern Nara Basin seems to have been won in phase IV by Karako Kagi. But, eventually power shifted to the area at the other end of the best navigable rivers of the basin, whose location was closer to the new placement of the moated precincts (altars or graves), and at an altitude that would have made it less vulnerable to the floods. It seems that at some stage of phase V the centre of power shifted from Karako Kagi to the south-eastern corner of the basin. As observed earlier by Gina Barnes, Late Yayoi precincts are placed in the same loci of the basin as are the Early Kofun mounds, i.e. at the south-eastern basin edge around Tsuboi Daifuku (that had by then become a regular cemetery), Shiba, Shibu and the later Makimuku, and in the north-western corner at Saki (Barnes 1988:185-186). They thus reflect centres of political power continued from Late Yayoi to Early Kofun. It would seem that the dislocation of the moated precincts already in phase IV in some ways heralded the political spatial switch to come for the south-eastern basin, since there are some phase IV items at Shibu, Shiba, Kobayashi and particularly at Fujiwara close to Shibu, but in what way is difficult to say. In phase V we also see moated precincts reappear in the lowland; Karako Kagi holds two items just next to the segregated area in the southern part of the site. Two precincts appear at Shimizukaze, and also at Hozu Miyako a precinct was constructed in Late Yayoi (Yanagisawa 2003:36).

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt to explain *how* and *why* the power centre shifted from Karako Kagi to the south-eastern basin corner, although one clue is that the latter area took advantage of its proximity to the spring of the rivers. We do see, however, that whereas Tsuboi Daifuku, Karako Kagi's former partner, had no picture engraved pottery during phase IV, Shiba had several pieces, so by that time, Shiba seems to have been the main settlement in the Tsuboi Daifuku/Shiba cluster. However, whether armed conflict played a major role in the transition that finally turned the basin into a centralised chiefdom is hard to say. The only remains we have of a possible war victim consist of the late Middle Yayoi individual from Shibu, buried in a pit burial and whose skeleton was found to contain a number of stone arrowheads.[78]

Redmond notes that since people in basically egalitarian societies will normally resist social, political and economic subordination (Braun 1990 and Upham 1990 in Redmond 1998a:6) for

[78] However, Matsugi suggests that this individual may have been a ritually killed person due to the number of arrowheads (personal communication, October 2005).

a chieftainship to turn into a permanent hereditary chiefdom, the "benefits of this centralized, hierarchical leadership must greatly outweigh the loss of political autonomy". This social change would typically have come about by a historical instance of accident that allowed the chieftaincy to extend into an area and to make it hereditary (ibid:6).

Such incident in the Nara Basin could have been the flood detected at Karako Kagi and Tsuboi Daifuku that occurred towards the end of Middle Yayoi and which temporarily filled the eastern depression and other parts of the former, thus decreasing its interior area significantly. The incident was probably further accompanied by a large number of refugees coming in from the Kawachi area, that was completely submerged by the heightened sea level. Furthermore, the natural circumscription of the basin made up by the surrounding mountains would have been strengthened, adding weight to the burden laid on the existing villages. In the midst of this chaotic situation, or in the wake of it, it is quite likely that a strong individual with a large group of supporters, who had previously shown a talent for organising and administrating, would have been able to enhance his office and take paramount authority in the southern part of the basin, thus establishing an early chiefdom in this area. A chaotic situation such as I have described here matches the unrest of the Wei Chih chronicle, which seems to have prevailed until the middle of Late Yayoi.

In Late Yayoi, if hostile conditions recurred, or if large-scale war seemed a constant threat because of the weapon stocks at Karako Kagi and other sites, people became willing to give up their autonomy and subdue to the authority of a paramount leader, whose authority then started to undergo a transformation into formalisation. At the same time, a warrior class started to develop consisting of the fiercest warriors from the various allied villages, warriors, who obtained material rewards for their fighting skills and whose allegiance therefore lay with the leader rather than with their own village (Carneiro 1998:21-25). These supporters of the leader gained respect among the other residents of the village not only through their skills but also through their identification with him (Earle 1997:160).

The natural barriers made up by the mountains surrounding the basin would have inhibited the moving of groups; such circumscription tends to hold on to groups who would hesitate to subordinate in other, more open surroundings, and such an environment therefore promotes the emergence of centralised leadership. If the circumscribed area furthermore holds a concentration of resources, the incentive for competition and thus the impetus for creating a chiefdom are strengthened (Carneiro 1998:31-32).

Carneiro points to the presence in a chiefdom of a slave class, which, he says, develops parallel to the chiefly class, because war means war captives (ibid 1981:65). So, if unrest or

outright war prevailed in connection with incoming refugees from floods in Kawachi at the beginning of or during Late Yayoi, this may have resulted for the first time in a class of enslaved individuals, such as we know existed in Late Yayoi in the queendom of Yamatai (Tsunoda 1951b:11) that sent slaves as gifts or tribute to the Chinese emperor (ibid:14).

In phase V when the moated precincts started to reappear in the lowland, some of the sites in the southern part of the basin became larger, e.g. Shibu whose record of artefacts kept increasing all through Late Yayoi (among other things five raised floor houses, a large number of pottery vessels in the moats and paddy fields). This site has produced two pieces of picture engraved pottery from Late Yayoi (IDs 233, 242), and the highland settlement of Uenoyama south of Shibu also two (IDs 113, 232). In short, pottery picture engraving took place sporadically at sites that were placed far from Karako Kagi, and it seems that its relationship to the Karako Kagi cluster was vanishing. At the same time, engraved signs started to appear and outnumber the genuine pictures, which could perhaps be taken as an indication that some forces at sites away from Karako Kagi wanted to state their autonomy.

Just like a large part of the pictorial motifs executed in Middle Yayoi disappeared in Late Yayoi, and signs appeared instead, the technology of pottery production in Kinai changed after the transition to Late Yayoi. A high degree of standardisation can be seen within all types of pottery vessels, accompanied by large numbers of products. This indicates "a drastic change in the organization of pottery production towards centralised workshops" (Barnes 1991:35). The signs are thus perhaps indicative of a relatively substantial and perhaps abrupt social change in the shape of a sudden rise of population (which we see reflected in the colonisation of the south-western basin-part, and in the shape of an emergent central power bringing about social classes). Does this abolition of use of iconography reflect the development described by Raphael?: "The right to make wars and revolutions is based on the very fact that works of art, having been 'auxiliaries of freedom and morality', are now transformed into instruments of tyranny and debauch, symbols of exploitation and misery, and thus deserve to be condemned and dethroned" (Raphael (1933) 1980:11).

Something may have happened that induced a new leadership in the basin based in its south-eastern corner. Shiba shows certain signs of having already in phase IV secured its own role, probably because of its position at the Hase River. The moving of the precincts in Late Yayoi back to the basin may have accompanied lineages that were allies of, but subordinate to, the most powerful lineages in the south-eastern basin corner that hold most features. How large a part of the basin the new leader controlled is uncertain, and we know that another power

centre existed in the north-western corner of the basin, where large moated precincts were constructed at Saki (Barnes 1988:97, 186).

Also in Late Yayoi, Karako Kagi was in the lead of industry and trade, but its infrastructure had changed. In this phase a few moated precincts appear again at the site, and the satellite sites have completely ceased to hold them, some after their role as cemeteries had been played out by the end of phase III and after acting as habitation areas in phase IV. The two Late Yayoi moated precincts are located inside the large site but just outside the ditches delimiting the segregated area as if belonging to it (2.5.1.-fig. 9). It may be that someone had moved in there that controlled the 'outside' settlement.

Summary 3. Karako Kagi in the Middle Yayoi landscape of the Nara Basin

The chapter outlines the development of settlement pattern and the physical/architectural development of moated settlements in the Nara Basin, and it gives an interpretation of both as reflecting a growing awareness of culture versus nature as well as of leaders versus commoners. The leaders are seen as individuals whose power emerged in their personal capacities to influence others, but eventually came to be lifelong and hereditary when the strongest and most manipulative leaders developed self-preserving ideologies out of religious dogmas like the deer focus and the bronze bells. The leaders of Karako Kagi are regarded as having been capable of the most efficient exploitation of this development, and they are thought to have controlled, at least partly, the remaining settlements of the south-eastern part of the Nara Basin; i.e. the clusters of Byōdōbō Iwamuro, Ō/Nakazoshi and Tsuboi Daifuku/Shiba, from some point of time in phase IV. They are also thought to have regulated the production of picture engraved pottery in the basin by that time and to have dictated the sudden focus on humans instead of animals/insects in the iconography. The motifs of warriors and 'birdmen' are seen here as depictions of the leaders themselves, since feathers constitute a global symbol of religious and political power.

During Middle Yayoi, most settling in the basin was in its south-eastern part, but a group of small sized settlements existed in its northern part, and we find isolated sites in the western part and some in the mountainous areas. Three lowland clusters (Karako Kagi/Hozu Miyako, Byōdōbō Iwamuro and Ō/Nakazoshi) existed as well as a dryland complex (Tsuboi Daifuku/Shiba) and a single-standing site (Shibu) at the southern edge of the basin. Rivers of the Yayoi Period carried plenty of water, and the settlement concentration is where the rivers are most centripetal and navigable and overland traffic easiest. Tsuboi Daifuku at the river passing west of Hozu Miyako had close resemblance to Karako Kagi by mid Middle Yayoi in terms of satellite sites and number of moats encircling it. The two were placed respectively at an inner and an outer arc in the basin of communication and traffic.

The chapter states that the establishment and growth of the large moated settlements that each formed the centre of a cluster of sites was a consequence of the abandonment of a large number of small sized moated settlements at the beginning of Middle Yayoi. Three settlements at the very centre of the basin took part in this process, and agglomerated into what we know today as Karako Kagi. Also Tsuboi Daifuku and Byōdōbō Iwamuro are the results of the agglomeration of originally three settlements in each place. These agglomeration

processes and moving of population groups to new settlements are seen as dynamics of factional leaders recruiting new followers.

During the earlier phases of the Yayoi period, moated precincts were constructed at the habitation sites themselves or at satellite sites particularly designed for funerary activities. In phase IV, however, this function of the latter sites was given up and the moated precincts were no longer to be constructed in the lowland, rather, this visible type of monument had been moved to the basin edge. The movement took place at the same time as the pictorial engraving on pottery of settlement based motifs flourished, and when the moating of Karako Kagi was carried to its extreme. In the view held here, all three aspects point to a distinction between culture and nature: awareness inside the lowland sites of civilisation as contrasted to the forested areas and the grassland.

The satellite of Shimizukaze 600 m north of Karako Kagi is the lowest lying of all in the basin, and many floods have occurred there. One of these floods was the one that partly destroyed Karako Kagi at the end of phase IV, detectable from the waterway that connects them, and a large part of the picture engraved pottery from Shimizukaze – whose total number ranks second to Karako Kagi's – has been found in the sedimentation layer stemming from this incident. However, a lack of pottery in the waterway in the stretch between the sites indicates that Shimizukaze's picture engraved pottery is domestic and was not transported there from Karako Kagi during the flood.

As one of the few of Karako Kagi's satellites that previously held moated precincts, Shimizukaze was not abandoned in phase IV. Rather, it shows habitation and it holds raised floor houses in the phase, which may have substituted the earlier large buildings at Karako Kagi. Together with two other satellite sites it started to produce picture engraved pottery after these transformed from being cemeteries to habitation sites, and all Shimizukaze's motifs stem from phase IV.

From the evidence collected in this and the preceding chapters it appears that, as the basin moved from phase III to IV it witnessed a power concentration at Karako Kagi and its cluster. Tsuboi Daifuku that had so far followed suit most closely in terms of moat digging and in terms of number of trading partners, and at which site we find a picture of a fierce-looking 'birdman' stemming from the time of transition between the two phases, is regarded here as having been Karako Kagi's ally and partner up to the end of phase III, because of its central role in the mining and shipping of the rhyolite material from the neighbouring Miminashi Mountain.

By phase IV when Karako Kagi gained access to a more precious material, bronze, however, Tsuboi Daifuku lost its special status. In this phase, the basin saw Karako Kagi speed up its moating and it is thought here that the production of pottery pictures was regulated *by* Karako Kagi and that it is for that reason that almost all the picture engraved pottery from the phase is found in its own cluster. Most settlements beyond that do not show any pieces from the phase, and it is suggested that the ones that do held closer relations with Karako Kagi than those that do not. It is furthermore speculated that the settlement of Shibu, isolated by forest, and holding picture engraved pottery in phase III, but not in phase IV, may have suffered an attack from Karako Kagi due to its attempt to stay autonomous, and on the other hand that Shiba, located at the Hase River passing closely by Karako Kagi, and holding picture engraved pottery in phase IV *as the only site in the upstream arc,* may have enjoyed a special relationship with Karako Kagi.

The earliest moated precincts in the basin had been constructed in Early Yayoi, but the bulk stems from phase II and particularly phase III, thus also Karako Kagi's own three moated precincts at its entrance that may have signalled the presence of three population segments at the site. Owing to a lack of burials inside the Nara Basin's moated precincts, the suggestion is put forward that in the basin the moated precincts were not used for actual interment such as is the case in Kawachi and other areas, but rather as ritual alters or platforms meant for burial rites in connection with cremation. Secondary burial was the normal burying mode in eastern Japan starting immediately east of mountains in the eastern Nara Basin, and as a continuation from Jōmon times it still took place in the basin in the Yayoi Period alongside with interment in wooden and clay coffins as well as in simple pits.

The dislocation in phase IV of the moated precincts to the basin edge or even more remote areas was accompanied by a similar removal of bronze bells – interpreted here to have taken place *during* the phase – and an increased digging of some settlement moats, particularly Karako Kagi's. This is taken to indicate a newly established concentration of power on the hands of a smaller segment of the population who – as the leaders of the various settlement clusters – competed for physical extension and elaboration of their capital seat, the moated settlements, and in whose interest it was to remove existing communal religious symbols of a group oriented social organisation and annex and transform these into phenomena only to be accessed by themselves.

Contrary to the bells and the moated precincts, the picture engraved pottery stayed at the settlements, at Karako Kagi deposited together with the other grave types. It is speculated that certain graves at the settlement – between the moats – were selected and marked by the

picture engraved pottery. A focus on individual ancestors may have become essential and this could have been one of the reasons that the moated precincts – hitherto symbolising the group – were removed by the leaders.

Karako Kagi that was, from the outset of Middle Yayoi, the most prosperous site in the basin, formed the centre of the most tightly knitted settlement cluster, and this cluster had the most satellites. It was situated in the centre of the basin at the trunk of the Yamato River, where most traffic would pass, and from where most of the southern part of the basin with all its large settlements could be seen.

The physical surroundings of the lowland and the dryland sites would be considerably different, and whereas the latter were influenced or dominated by the proximity of forest and mountains, Karako Kagi was surrounded by grassland and characterised by its position in the absolute centre of the basin, and only the Nukatabe and Shimanoyama Hills and the Miminashi Mountain sprang up to block the view to the basin edges.

The large number of wells at Nara Basin Yayoi sites epitomises the significance of water, which would constitute a dominant part of the landscape, particularly in the central wetland, where it would rise easily wherever digging was executed, aided by the flow from waterways that often penetrated moats and crossed settlements. The abundance of the life-essential water is believed to have constituted part of the trumps of the political leaders at Karako Kagi, and the organisation and control of its flow to have been important to demonstrate their power, just as the water's magical qualities may have added extra power to the shamans of the place. The area between the clusters of settlements where vegetation and water reigned in an uncontrolled way would have been conspicuously different to the civilised world of the settlement, a conspicuousness that rose as one got closer to the edges of the basin where tall trees would obstruct the view. Moving the moated precincts and the bronze bells to this area at the decision of the leaders would include both in an atmosphere of seclusion, at the same time as it would meet an (ethnographically well-documented) innate religious sense in humans that environmental junction points are also junction points between the three worldly levels, and thus particularly sacred. It is likewise suggested that the difference between the culturalised settlement and the grass- and woodlands beyond was so significant in the minds of the Yayoi people that only initiated individuals could move around in the landscape freely. Such religious distinction between people would have induced a growing difference among them in social status and could have been used politically.

The Nara Basin is interpreted as having constituted a transegalitarian society until late Middle Yayoi, in which Karako Kagi was one of several similarly structured settlements,

although in the lead due to its temporal head start that led to the most strategic location and its large production of specialised tools. It was however, not in a hegemonic position, other large moated settlements of the basin followed the same temporal pattern of gradual extension of their moat systems, and Tsuboi Daifuku that was the largest settlement after Karako Kagi, even imitated the sectional division of the interior space by ditches.

The physical similarity of the moated settlements is believed to signal a condition of factional competition in which the leaders of the various settlement clusters organised substantial moat digging and filling as well as other constructions or events within their economical reach to gain advantages in terms of esteem in front of each other. This factional competition had begun already in late Early Yayoi between the various leaders of the many newly established moated settlements. According to this interpretation, the abandonment or agglomeration of these into a smaller number of large sized moated settlements in early Middle Yayoi demonstrate the success of a handful of ambitious leaders, whose capacity to influence others had attracted enough followers in order for them to set themselves up as petty chieftains or big men at their respective settlements. From their settlements they would continue to compete with feasting, elaborate moat construction and all sorts of available splendour. Feasting with lining up of objects and food, reflected by a growing number of open bowls, pedestalled dishes and cups during the later parts of Middle Yayoi, entertainment by dancers or parading people in conspicuous outfits would be an occasion to demonstrate the resources and strength of the individual leader and thus an efficient means of gaining respect and indebting leaders and important individuals of other settlements, both in- and outside the basin. As the central settlement, however, Karako Kagi controlled the transport ways. Prior to phase IV, it imported food items from the settlements on the Ōsaka Plain and exported the rhyolite rice reapers that it produced and whose raw material it obtained from Tsuboi Daifuku, which place, on the other hand, would have gained prestige and advantages in front of the other moated settlements.

In phase IV, Karako Kagi had grown strong enough to break into the exchange network of bronze material, which had so far not reached into the basin, and as a result of that and its initiating bell production to start trading with settlements outside the nearer region. This development solidified its leading position in the basin. Two new trends are thought to have accompanied this development: a hierarchical complication due to the existence there of highly skilled craftspeople, and the sprouts of inherited leadership due to the leaders' access to exotic goods and contacts that could be passed on to their sons.

As the basin entered phase IV, Karako Kagi's number of exchange partners increased, whereas *all other moated settlements* experienced their number shrink to one, also Tsuboi Daifuku who had apparently lost its previous status. Contacts to foreign areas out of reach and control of commoners is one of the strongest factors to legitimise the power of leaders, and it is suggested that Karako Kagi may have held contacts with settlements in Izumo from where its leaders imported beads and exchanged them with bronze bells. It is also thought possible that tradesmen from Karako Kagi fetched bronze material there and perhaps even esoteric knowledge, religious power. And just as this long distance contact would have had a political effect, also rituals carried out at moated precincts and at bell caches away from the settlements would have attributed power to the political and/or religious leaders who organised and presided over the travel there.

It is theorised that, although the leaders of phase IV apparently did not accumulate wealth to take with them when they were buried, those at Karako Kagi laid down restrictions and standards for the appearance of crafted objects. Thus, they banned the use of comb-pattern on pottery vessels and reserved the use of patterns for the bronze bells, where they made it appear highly formalised, suitable for the new secluded and elevated role of bells. Also, they are believed to have prescribed the execution of new human motifs on the pottery vessels, motifs relating to military and religious authority and to worshipping. The same way, they would have prescribed the execution of the house motif together with that of the deer. The deer motif was the only one to connect the new iconography to the old one on bells; it was the motif that even the leaders of the most powerful settlement did not venture to ban, instead they identified themselves with it and legitimised their own position by this strategic move. The connotation and semantic context of the deer motif thus shifted. It no longer expressed nature's most admired animal, instead it had become a cultural symbol.

The *execution* way of the pictures on pottery vessels however could be freely chosen, and we see many different styles and skill-degrees between the pictures. However, it seems that depicted motifs had to express the humanly controlled cultural world. The weapons that were depicted in phase IV are for fighting rather than for hunting like they were earlier on. Also other motifs than the warrior have aggressive connotations, thus the birds on top of houses are 'watchbirds' like those carved in wood, and the feathers on the heads of humans with raised arms resemble those of the warriors. The predominant motif of the building and the somewhat less obtrusive motif of the boat express dominance of culture over nature. This dominance would also include a dominance of cultivated, high ranking, powerful individuals over less cultivated people, commoners. However, the aggression that is here read from the pottery

pictures is generally not put to concrete evidence in the material data of Middle Yayoi in the shape of worn weapons and injured skeletons, and it is thought that the exchange – amply demonstrated in the records – together with giftgiving at large-scale feasts substituted physical war between settlement clusters in the basin and prevented raids here from groups around the basin. This, however, may have changed at the time of the great flood at the end of phase IV, and possibly warring conditions prevailed for some time after that, provided that this was the time of the "Wei Chih" unrest.

Religion and ideology are thought to have been the ultimate weapons of the political leaders and/or the shamans of Karako Kagi, who are thought to have been the most powerful chief-aspirants of the basin and thus to have won the factional competition in phase IV. The leaders controlled the economical exchange network by means of a self-preserving ideology, which they formulated as otherworldly knowledge and presented materially at public occasions. To impress the commoners and manipulate them in the direction most desirable for themselves, they would appear dressed with weapons and a feathery headgear that we see on the warrior pictures, wearing imported jade-beads and domestic beads of glass, and they would appear in bird costume, the epitome of shamanic power, which we see on pictures of 'birdmen', and this way demonstrate their unique access to and knowledge of the Otherworldly.

For as long as the moated settlements in the basin had owned bronze bells, these would have been rung. Towards the end of phase IV however, they would have been paraded (since style IV-1 bells show no clapper-wear) together with a wide range of other material or foods for giftgiving or for consumption. And all this would have worked out best at Karako Kagi, where most resources were concentrated. Such an occasion would reconfirm the 'natural order' invented by the leaders; a divine order according to which they had the right and the obligation to rule and administer resources.

Ritual life at the Karako Kagi settlement itself was also closely connected to the worshipping of ancestors, as the picture engraved pottery was deposited in areas with graves of earlier times. It is likely however, that the leaders were those who defined the relationship between the buried ancestors and the living, tying their own descent tightly to the ancestors that received the highest worship.

The social order would also have been expressed in the systematic digging of moats and ditches with which the leaders put commoners to work to make them experience the maintenance of the 'right' system and the necessity of their own inferiority in front of this enormous construction. At Karako Kagi this mechanism would have been very forceful in phase IV, and the moat maintenance may have involved part of the inhabitants of the satellite

sites. It is proposed that, to underline the difference between commoners who had to spend most of their time near or at the settlement – or at neighbouring satellite sites – and the leaders who would move around freely between their own and other villages in the basin and beyond, religious life split into two levels; a domestic cult with pottery jars for ancestor worship, decorated with pictures by second rank engravers, and an official cult with bronze bells for the leaders' exclusive rites, decorated with extremely formalised patterns by high ranking engravers, now working in the finest clay with minute tools in contrast to the stone moulds of earlier times. It seems likely that the mould engraver would not have to take care of any other step of the bell production than the engraving itself, since other people would build up the mould for him. He would be less of a craftsperson and more of an artisan. Each bell would be unique, although all were more or less similar in appearance. The patternised appearance of the bells grew to an extreme in Late Yayoi.

Bell caches were constructed during phase IV. A divine order away from the commoners was established with these caches, ensuring the leaders the necessary exclusive control of the precious bronze objects and avoiding any devaluation of the bells related to a continued daily presence of these in the community. The avoidance to import iron into the area may have been a similar precaution against inflation and the devaluation of the bronze bells in the eyes of the commoners, and this precaution may have caused the break in contact between Kinai and San'in that took place in phase V.

It is assumed in this thesis that the flood that occurred at the end of phase IV caused a massive rise in population made up by refugees (which eventually resulted in a peopling of the south-western basin in spite of the area's difficult conditions for logistics). Highland sites appeared in the western part of the basin, perhaps meant to be outposts with soldiers on the guard for attacks from the Ōsaka Plain. The chapter suggests that part of the inhabitants at Tsuboi Daifuku – previous miners and administrators – were transferred to one or more of these mountainous sites. Tsuboi Daifuku is known almost only as a cemetery in phase V. The idea is also proposed that the leaders at Karako Kagi exploited the 'water-chaos' in a 'religio-strategic' manoeuvre to gain control, and that it may have been in connection with such usurpation of control that Byōdōbō Iwamuro, Tsuboi Daifuku and Shibu filled their moats, according to coercion from Karako Kagi. It seems however, that in spite of Karako Kagi's advantageous position and enhancement of power during all of Middle Yayoi, this ultimate subduing of its former competitors did not last, rather, it led to the unrest mentioned in Wei Chih. If this unrest relates to the Nara Basin, and if it was as long – 80 years – as stated in the chronicle, or even longer, it would have lasted until some time into Late Yayoi, creating an

opportunity for a leader of one of the other settlements to oust Karako Kagi's and to attain the office of chief in the basin.

After the flood, by the beginning of Late Yayoi, goods production and exchange continued at an even larger scale than previously, and particularly at Karako Kagi, but an additional bell casting centre had appeared at Niizawa in the southern part of the basin. By this time, all the casting centres on the Ōsaka plain had stopped production, which would be a natural consequence of the destruction caused by the force majeure; the only place outside the basin where casting still went on was Higashinara. Indications are that power in the basin had now moved to its south-eastern corner, since large moated precincts are present here, larger than those that we can observe in the central basin where this type of feature had now reappeared. It could be a place related to Shiba, which site in phase IV had held a close connection to Karako Kagi, as judged from its possession of picture engraved pottery from this phase and made likely due to its location at the Hase River. This would make a fit with the power concentration in Early Kofun at Makimuku in Shiba's immediate vicinity.

It thus seems that the political control of the area of the centripetal rivers of the south-east basin was now in the hands of leaders around Shiba/Makimuku, although the size of their territory is uncertain. The population of the basin was now much larger than during phase IV, as the western part of the basin had become more densely inhabited. Thus, the western parts of both the upstream and the downstream routes of transportation had been formed, and it is feasible that both arcs belonged to an early chiefdom seated in the south-east corner of the basin.

Shibu grew into a large site that again held picture engraved pottery, a characteristic shared by Uenoyama, a highland site to its south. The possession of picture pottery at sites far to the south and also the appearance of engraved signs, the latter from the beginning not being related to Karako Kagi, fit into the picture of control being seated in the south-eastern basin corner. The two moated precincts outside Karako Kagi's segregated area – but inside its concentric moats – pinpoint the theory that the settlement itself was not the centre of power anymore.

4. The geographical relations and connections of Yayoi iconography

4.1. Introduction

In the following chapter I shall treat the geographical regions in western Japan of Yayoi Period pictorial engraving. I shall present overviews of the main traditions in northern Kyūshū, Kinai, Kibi and the San'in area. It is a crude categorisation, which relates the iconographies to the four political centres, something which could be discussed at length. However, this volume does not treat the political relations *between* the centres apart from suggesting the political importance of San'in esoteric knowledge to the Kinai leaders in phase IV (3.4.2., 5.9.), and the break in contact between Izumo and Kinai in phase V as a political strategy of the Kinai leaders to avoid iron import in their region (3.4.6.).

It is my overall purpose to interpret the pictorial engraving of the Nara Basin and the Kinai area and to assess its role in the society it formed part of. Thus, I do not discuss why most San'in pottery pictures are geographically detached from the political centre of Izumo, nor do I include the autonomous tradition in southern Kyūshū. I do, however, consider the pictorial traditions of the four areas and the way they interrelated, which makes room for wider comparisons and thus interpretations of the Kinai iconography.

In assessing the geographical relations of the iconography, the bronze bell imagery can only play a supplementary role, since bells were often transported over long distances and deposited in contexts without any reference to the area in which they originated. When the moulds do not exist such as is the case for most style III bells (since these were cast in clay moulds) assessing their origin is problematic. Pottery has a somewhat tighter relation to its area of production due to its fragile nature. Although high quality pottery vessels were also exchanged, we must regard bronze – being the most valuable and durable material of the day – as the most likely to be transported.

Imitations in unoriginal material of metal objects were common in the Yayoi Period and may have had ritual significance as discussed in chapter 2. Clay bells often carried pattern to enhance their resemblance to bronze bells (2.7.1.-fig. 23), and weapons were copied in various materials. Wooden swords and daggers have been unearthed, some with scabbards, and since they cannot have been efficient as real weapons, these can hardly be perceived as anything but ritual objects, and as symbols of authority. For weapon imitations it seems as if clay was the lowest ranking material, and only few examples of these exist. The probable

sequence was: bronze swords and halberds, stone swords, swords and halberds of wood or bone, and – below all those – swords made from clay as the least aesthetically pleasing, and also the cheapest and least time consuming material to use (Nakamura in Matsugi 2004a:361).

On the other hand, the unprocessed wooden planks with pictures or strokes in all directions have clearly been produced with less effort than pictures on pottery that have been shaped, burnished and fired, and I find it likely that these items represented lower economic value than their pottery counterparts. Thus, wooden boards with pictorial engraving seem unlikely to have been removed from their place of production. For these reasons assessment of iconographic traditions of the Yayoi Period is primarily based on evidence in the shape of pottery and wood.

Also, the genetic relations of the pictorial motifs are traced in this chapter. Some connections existed between the Yayoi communities and the Dong Son culture in Vietnam and other Southeast Asian regions, shown in the presence in Yayoi iconography of feathered sailors on pottery and large eyes on clay plaques and Fukuda style bells. However, artistic influence has also reached the Japanese Islands from the Russian Steppe and Siberia.

In its original Asian version shamanism stems from the European steppe of Central Asia and Siberia, the word "shaman" is Tungus; *Šaman*, and rules and regulations incorporated in the Siberian shamanism should not generally be expected to recur in all religions that involve the presence of religious experts practising trance and mental transgressions (Hayden 2003:46). In the case of the shamanism that operated in the earlier Yayoi societies, there is reason, however, to believe that traits of the Siberian shamanism were present. In my own search for the origin of pictorial motifs I have ended up with tracing the most important motif of all, the deer, to the nomadic art of the Russian and Chinese Steppe in the last millennium BC, and I consider the influence from there to have shared traits with reindeer and elk-hunting tribes of Siberia that have preceded the modern Siberian elk hunting groups (chapter 5). Finally, some traits found in Yayoi Period art were inherited from Jōmon times. These can be found among other things with the figurines of north-eastern Honshu, from which area they must have travelled south to the main areas of Yayoi iconography.

4.2. Identifying iconographic traditions

Yayoi artefacts decorated with pictures exist dispersed over all of western Japan, and it is possible to assess concentrations of pictorial industries in or near the four political centres that developed during the Yayoi Period; apart from Kinai those of Kibi, northern Kyūshū and Izumo (fig. 32). In the latter case, however, only few pictures are found in the genuine centre of the area (Lake Shinji in Shimane Prefecture), whereas most is located along the coast of Tottori Prefecture, and the term San'in is more precise when referring to this tradition.The four traditions differ from each other in time, material and motifs, but they nevertheless interrelate in the sharing of motifs though these are depicted in various modes (fig. 35).

The Kyūshū tradition was the first to emerge (in late phase I), while the San'in, Kibi and Kinai centres all developed their pictorial engraving in the middle of Middle Yayoi (phase III). The adaptation in Kinai was mixed with the local tradition of water pattern that had existed on the Kawachi Plain since the Jōmon Period. The pattern was engraved with comb and refined during phase II. In phase III the comb pattern often appears in the Nara Basin as straight or slightly curving horizontal bands on elaborately processed vessels. These are relatively often in whole condition and found in wells (chapter 2).

Figure 32: Western Japan showing centres of pictorial engraving and dispersed findspots.

(Centres of pictorial engraving (black text), dispersed findspots (blue text), Map after Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 2006:6 (modified))

Kinai pictures are those of the Nara Basin and the Ōsaka Plain, the latter including the area northwest of the Kawachi Bay in Hyōgo Prefecture, the Santō Plain and the Kyōto Basin. Kibi pictures are those of the plains of Okayama Prefecture, the northern Kyūshū tradition is based in the plain of Saga and Fukuoka prefectures, and San'in pictures are as mentioned above firstly from Tottori and secondly from Shimane Prefectures.

In between these are additional finds of picture production, notably the minor centre of Ehime prefecture in Shikoku, around Takamatsu City, halfway between northern Kyūshū and Kibi. And finally, many sites exist that have given a few pieces in the area connecting the San'in, the Kibi and the Kinai centres, mainly in the wide Hyōgo Prefecture that extends from coast to coast, and sporadic finds have come from the area between northern Kyūshū, Kibi and San'in, mainly the southern half of Hiroshima Prefecture. The two most substantial industries are the pictures on pottery vessels in Kinai and the human faces and bodies on clay plaques in Kibi (IDs 555, 556, 558, 565, 567, 584[79]).

Wood used for pictorial engraving has been recovered in all regions. Several of the engravings on wood are mostly executed on boards that are unworked in any other way than the engravings. These often look like sketches and may have been preparatory executions (plates 18 – 22). Still, some sketchy images also appear on pottery and even on bells, and this style may have been employed intentionally. And we have parts of wooden boxes and string instruments (jap. *koto* 琴) with sketches as well as one with elaborate engravings of deer or rams, almost all from Aoyakamijichi in Tottori (plates 23 – 27). These are from later phases of the Yayoi period, many from phase IV, and thus contemporary with the bulk of pottery engravings, and we should probably look to the wooden engravings in other parts of the archipelago for an explanation of the maintenance of motifs during the earlier phases of the Yayoi Period, from when we have only sporadic finds of pottery and bell pictures. A more substantial and stronger tradition must have existed for producing pictures than what we see at present.

Three dimensional Yayoi Period art does exist; and even if plastic sculpting of pottery vessels is rare in western Japan, we can observe some continuity of the Jōmon tradition. Human heads or whole bodies modelled in clay (IDs 557, 568, 575) (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1992:11) reflect parallels of the hunter period. These items belong in the Inland Sea area where they appear in late Early Yayoi. By mid-Middle Yayoi however, they are

[79] Two of these items are found outside Kibi.

substituted by clay plaques with facial features (see also chapter 4 -fig. 35. These are thought to have stayed within the Inland Sea area in Middle Yayoi but spread to the San'in and Kinai regions during Late Yayoi (ibid:10; Matsugi 2004a:360). However, as is the case for the clay heads a few clay plaques exist from the San'in area that are older than the Kibi items (4.3.3.), and both types of objects seem related to Jōmon art of the Katsusaka and Kamegaoka cultures (4.4.). Human figurines carved in wood (plates 28, 29) appear slightly later, in early Middle Yayoi, in Shiga Prefecture, where they are concentrated. (One item, however, perhaps the latest, is from Tokushima in Shikoku where it was found in a layer with MY/LY material.) In contrast to the indigenous clay faces, the wooden figurines were adopted from the Asian continent (4.4.). Phalli in clay or wood are continuations of the Jōmon Period stone items. Birds made from wood (plates 30, 31) were new in the Yayoi Period, adopted from the Continent as were the wooden human figurines, although perhaps slightly earlier, since the first wooden birds from Shimane and Ōsaka Prefectures are from late Early Yayoi. They became particularly attached to the settlements in Ōsaka, but are found in all of western Japan. From late Middle Yayoi they dispersed eastwards as far as Shizuoka Prefecture (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1992:23).

A preoccupation with the human face reduced the focus on the body to a degree that usually made gender attributes disappear as did limbs and the clearness of the bodily shape (Matsugi 2004a:360). This tendency spread to eastern Japan, where it met the Jōmon tradition of clay figurines, also with pronounced facial features (Naumann, 2000), and here jars with human faces modelled into the rim of the vessels appeared at the beginning of Middle Yayoi and were produced through the first half of Late Yayoi. Their heartland is Ibaraki, Nagano and Fukushima Prefectures (Matsugi 2004a:14).

4.3. The pictorial traditions of the four political centres

4.3.1. The Kinai tradition

The Kinai area was to become the centre of iconic production by the latest phase of Middle Yayoi, when bronze bell production was in transition to the new tradition of clay mould use. Whatever route the bronze material followed to Kinai, the idea of adorning the bells with pictures probably reached Higashinara and the casting places in Kawachi by the exchange route following the east-bank of Lake Biwa – the same route that the moated precincts followed back at a later stage (fig. 33). The Early Yayoi bronze bell find spot of Inomukai and

the bell casting site of Mikunichō Shimoya are located in the western Fukui Prefecture close to the sea and are thus both on the route (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 2002:79; ibid 1999:80). As a matter of course we see several of the decentral sites with pictorial engraving on pottery along the same route, e.g. Yōkaichijikata in Ishikawa Prefecture and Hiyoshigaoka in northern Kyōto prefecture.

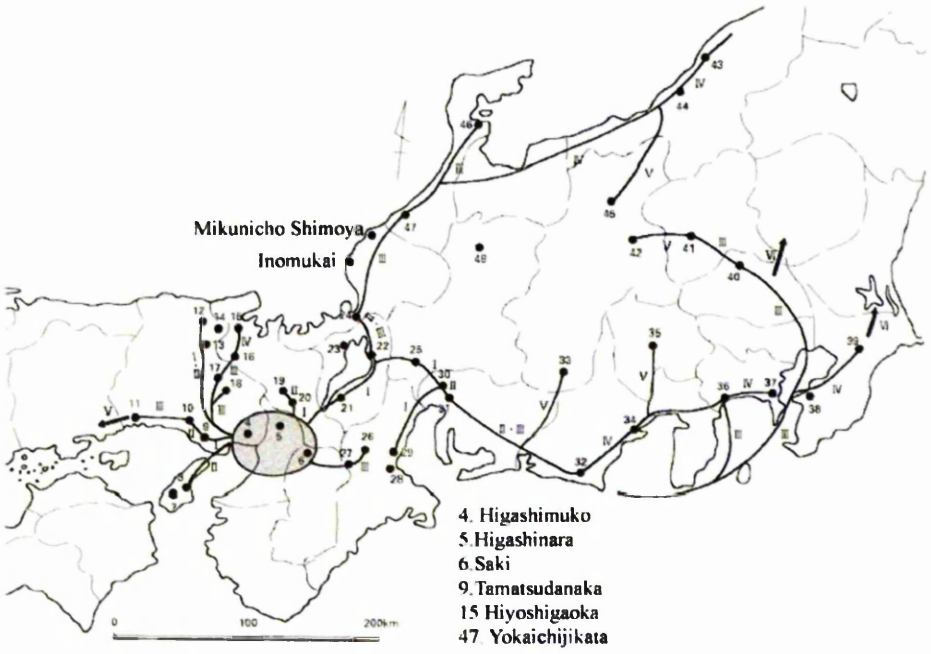

Figure 33: The diffusion route of the moated precincts reflecting the adoption of bronze bell casting and pictorial engraving in the Kinai area.

(Map after Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 2002:79 (modified))

One of the earliest casting centres in Kinai is Kaide in Kyōto (1.3.3.), where a mould of style I or II has been detected, reflecting an early contact between Kinai and the Fukui region via Lake Biwa. The idea to transfer pictures to pottery in the Kinai area, however, stemmed from Kibi, although it is debatable whether we can call the earliest engravings from the Ōsaka Plain images or whether these should be seen simply as variations of the water pattern of the Jōmon Period.[80] However, Funahashi, situated at the bank of the Yamato River where it

[80] On the Kawachi Plain the decoration of pottery vessels with water pattern had developed in Early Yayoi from the Jōmon Period tradition of using a resembling pattern on various media. Like the Jōmon Period arch pattern, the water pattern was employed not only on pottery, but also on wood, antler and other media (Sahara and Harunari 1995:115, 120-121; Barnes 1991:33).

leaves the Nara Basin and flows into the Kawachi Plain, has produced a few pots (IDs 146, 150, 151) with rolling line engravings dated from Final Jōmon to Early Yayoi, as has its neighbouring site of Miyanoshita (ID 152). Water patterned vessels existed at Karako Kagi from phase II. No pottery with pictures earlier than phase III have been recovered from sites within the Nara Basin, but the Kawachi area on the Ōsaka Plain was in contact with the western regions that produced images on pottery before phase III, and in phase III recognisably *pictorial* engraving reached – or was adopted at – Kamo, Uryudo and Nishinotsuji (ID 149) on the plain as well as Karako Kagi (ID 78) in the basin.

The most densely occupied south-eastern part of the Nara Basin, which came in touch with pictorial engraving, was, in a broader scheme, connected by the river system to the plain at the western foot of the Ikoma Mountains and around the Kawachi Lagoon where the main branch of the Yamato River had its course after leaving Karako Kagi. This area has the second highest density of picture engraved pottery after the Nara Basin. Inside the basin the sherds are found particularly at settlements served by the centripetal branches that carried most transport of raw material from the basin edge to the centre, and finished products and other goods in the reverse direction.

The pictorially engraved pottery from Kinai includes relatively many pieces with motifs in combination (IDs 11, 75, 111, 115, 145, 485) (fig. 35). From finds of complete vessels with only one motif on them (IDs 80, 113) it is evident that many one-motif vessels were produced, and from earlier pieces in other areas it can be understood that the original way was to depict only one or a pair of motifs on each vessel. Outside Kinai we see only sporadic cases of multiple figures on one vessel (IDs 161, 166, 221, 228, 234, 560), and only two examples exist (IDs 161, 234) of a true mixture of various motifs. It seems basically to be a Karako Kagi/Shimizukaze phenomenon to execute a series of different motifs on the pottery.

Karako Kagi and its closest satellite settlement, Shimizukaze, could be an organic unity, but Shimizukaze is located away from the moats of Karako Kagi, and a valley separates them, in which very few pieces of pottery have been found. Fujita has pointed out that it is thus unlikely that the pottery in Shimizukaze's waterway floated there from the larger site (3.2.2.), and slight stylistic differences of the depicted motifs and the presence of these on straight necked jars, pitchers, only at Shimizukaze, supports his statement. All together, differences exist between picture pottery records of the Nara Basin sites, signifying that the pictures were executed locally at their respective settlements.

The Karako Kagi group holds pieces from early phase III (IDs 78, 179) and has thus taken up pictorial engraving earlier than other groups in the basin, adopting the tradition from sites on the Kawachi Plain. The engraving spread north to the Santō Plain and the Kyōto Basin and south to the southern Ōsaka Plain in late Middle Yayoi. At Ikegami Sone, we find pieces from this phase (IDs 531, 550).

Engravings of deer at Karako Kagi were almost always executed on short necked jars with constricted necks, whereas Shimizukaze pictures are partly on these jars and partly on straight necked pitchers (ID 109). The short necked jars are assumed to have been used for containing and storing fluids and food, whereas the pitchers were used for pouring fluids. Most deer on Shimizukaze pieces have rounded rumps (IDs 118, 352) and triangular heads. The antlers, the legs and the neck are curved in a realistic fashion, while deer from Karako Kagi appear in greater stylistic variation. Some Karako Kagi phase III deer have square bodies with pointed rumps (IDs 78), others have bodies shaped like pea shells (ID 314), and a third type have straight backs and curved wombs (IDs 9, 179). As both Hashimoto and Fujita suggest, it seems that a limited number of people did the engravings (Fujita 1994b:30). The variation at Shimizukaze is less obvious, however, the deer shot with an arrow on the composition piece (ID 485) is half moon shaped, and finally there is the deer inside the 'birdman' (ID 111). This has only two legs and a bird head.

When entering phase IV, deer at Karako Kagi have rounder rumps (IDs 5, 145) like many Shimizukaze deer which are all from this phase. Shimizukaze has a drop-shaped deer (ID 118) and one half moon shaped (ID 485). All have very small heads compared to their bodies (including ID 76).

The composition from Shimizukaze of a deer with an arrow in its back, four fish with a possible fish weir beneath, two humans with halberds, shield and feathers and a multi-pillared house represents a seemingly local phenomenon that is rarely seen in other areas. It consists of seven sherds and was recovered from the waterway, where a large number of Yayoi pottery fragments had become mixed (3.2.3.), and there were no special circumstances to detect for the engraved sherds to distinguish them from the rest of the assemblage (Fujita and Tatsumi 1998:56).

As on the bells, deer are often seen in groups (IDs 5, 9, 75, 78, 108, 109, 136, 138, 143, 145, 166, 185, 221, 234, 314, 560), sometimes with another motif such as the boat (ID 75), but frequently, one or more deer are seen together with the building with raised floor (IDs 161, 234, 314, 485). The deer sometimes head away from the building (ID 118), but in more depictions they are turned towards it (IDs 99, 123, 480), and in one it is placed on top of it (ID

145). The pairing of the deer and the building is not particularly strong in the early phases, and a phase III piece from Karako Kagi shows a boat accompanied with several houses (ID 11). Already in phase III deer was placed together with triangles (ID 225), but it is in phase IV that there is a clear tendency to place the deer next to the house – or together with parallel patterned triangles (IDs 132, 166, 468, 550 – also seen outside Kinai: IDs 501, 545). The lattice combination continues in Late Yayoi (ID 242). Fujita sees the triangle as a symbol of the building (personal communication, October 2006), just as he sees the halberd on a Karako Kagi piece (ID 70) as symbolising the warrior.

Buildings are in both Karako Kagi and Shimizukaze depicted with trapezoid shaped roofs – in either direction – and many of them are lattice patterned. Tristan Arbousse-Bastide notes that there are cases of strong morphological similarity between the deer and the house. Both are lattice patterned, and sometimes the trapezoid shape of the house roofs are placed upside down approaching the appearance of the deer body, and the location of the house pillars and the curves of the eaves resemble the deer's legs and antlers (Arbousse-Bastide, personal communication 17th June 2006).

We have several examples of humans with raised arms at Karako Kagi (IDs 7, 10, 96) and only one at Shimizukaze (ID 111). Two separate pictures of warriors exist at Karako Kagi (IDs 95, 174). One of these is engraved on top of another – erased – warrior who carries his equipment "reversely" (4.3.2.). Again, there is more stylistic variety here, since the trapezoid shape of the human body seen at Shimizukaze recurs at Karako Kagi, but here other human bodies are rectangular and still others are round or triangular (IDs 145, 174). I thus see the records as related though produced at their respective locations. The fish are executed similarly at the two settlements. Many deer at both sites have triangular heads, and house roofs with curved eaves are represented in both places. The engravers at Karako Kagi and those at Shimizukaze thus must have had some connection.

Turtles are present only on Karako Kagi pieces – but there are very few of them (ID 102) – and in some cases it is difficult to assess whether a figure is a turtle or a human (IDs 42, 145). It is also almost only at Karako Kagi that we see any sexual attributes – again, there are very few – (IDs 100, 145 and perhaps the "turtle", which, turned upside-down, could be a vulva ID 42). There is however, one piece from Kariya (ID 140) on the plain showing a female person.

The humans with raised arms are often associated with bird features such as pronged extremities or feather-resembling headgear (IDs 10, 140, 145, 485). They are among the figures that are categorised as shamans, but their number is small, and they are in fragmented states. The shaman-theory can only be substantiated by comparison to pieces showing more

evident 'birdpeople', of which the most enigmatic from the Karako Kagi group is the bird dressed human from Shimizukaze with the deer or bird depicted inside his body (ID 111). Apart from this piece, we have the winged human from Tsuboi (ID 1), and the beak-dressed human with raised arms from Shinjōnoue in Okayama (ID 170) and perhaps the human from Yōhisayama Maechi in Hyōgo whose hand and foot is still visible (ID 234). It is possible that the indication of the vulva on the pieces from Kariya (ID 140) and Karako Kagi (ID 145) reflects a Jōmon cultural trait, as we have an Early/Middle Jōmon vessel from Niigata showing a man and a woman with their genitals indicated (ID 591). These figures are shown with outstretched arms and clearly marked extremities exactly as seen on the Kariya depiction.

The strict distinction at Karako Kagi to engrave pictures only on jars with constricted necks is not observed after the end of Middle Yayoi, one of the site's pictures of humans with raised arms stems from Late Yayoi, and this is – like the signs of the phase – depicted on the neck of a long necked vessel (ID 10).

From another of Karako Kagi's satellites, Yaokuhara, where large quantities of late MY pottery have appeared, four image carrying sherds have been recovered from a pit from the phase (Mametani and Oguri 1997), one of which with part of a building (ID 65) and another with a fish (ID 112). The building is large and of a character not known from anywhere else, a band with vertical bars appears on top of many pillars, and an empty space is left between the band and the roof with spiral winding. Although the strongly spiralling eave is partly reflected in pieces from Karako Kagi (IDs 74, 145), at Yaokuhara it swirls downwards and the building is less 'compact' and very different in style. The fish is a pointed triangle with imprecise lattice pattern.

In the southern part of the Nara Basin we find other examples of pictures that differ from the Karako Kagi/Shimizukaze record. The Tsuboi 'birdman' mentioned above is the only one of its kind depicted with a genuine wing. From Shiba in the same settlement group we find a unique depiction of a house-roof, since it is shown in three dimensions (ID 137). This is, to my knowledge, the only example of depth-depiction in a Yayoi Period drawing. It is lattice patterned like most house roofs at Karako Kagi and Shimizukaze.

Also, there are differences between Nara Basin pieces and pieces from the Kawachi Plain. Settlements in the latter area contained the second largest record of picture engraved pottery, and here, several engravings were executed on bowls (ID 125). A handful of pieces have been recovered from its largest site, Uryūdō, and there are two examples from here of engraved vessels with soot from a fireplace (IDs 126, 143), an indication that they had been used for heating up some substance. On the other hand, the engraving style is inconsistent at Uryūdō,

since one deer is depicted with a long straight neck from a shoulder part placed lower than its rump and unpatterned (ID 142). Another, a shot deer, has a plump, lattice patterned body shaped like a pointed oval, and neck, head, antlers, tail and legs are marked by strokes (ID 126). It has been suggested that the way the deer is proportioned and the way the whole figure leans forward stem from the posture of animals when they were slain and placed lying inside the settlement (Nakanishi 1980:81).

An actually lying deer (ID 149), the only one of its kind, is from Uryūdō's neighbouring site of Nishinotsuji. Two other deer are executed by rows of impressions by a pointed instrument (ID 143), a technique that is not seen inside the basin. Analyses of the clay used for some of the vessels from Uryūdō and Nishinotsuji indicate origin in western Ikoma (ibid:81), and confirm that the pictures were locally produced. The lying deer is from style III pottery and thus relatively early. A contemporary piece showing the latticed patterned roof of a building (ID 172) is from Kamo on the north coast of Ōsaka Bay (Hyōgo Prefecture).

On one sherd (ID 125) from Uryūdō a raised floor building appears that carries no pattern and has thatching on top of the roof, which is different from the Karako Kagi/Shimizukaze pieces. Pieces from Nishinotsuji have more internal coherence, since three lattice patterned deer exist (IDs 147 – 149) of which two have long, sausage shaped bodies, while the third is the lying animal. One of these is the only deer whose head is depicted from the front. A fourth depiction is a row of probably three deer holding their straight necks vertically in front of their crudely shaped pointed oval bodies and with the prongs of their antlers placed in various locations (ID 495). This piece does not tie in with the three pieces described above.

In the Kawachi area, pottery vessels with stamps of birds and deer occur in Middle Yayoi (ID 173).

Also on the Santō Plain some pictures are found on bowls. At Higashinara, the main settlement of the area, engraved pieces from the transition between phase IV and V have been recovered, meaning that this place took up pictorial engraving on pottery later than the Kawachi and Nara Basin area. We find here an example of deer and house combination (ID 123) as in the Nara Basin, here with the deer running towards the house. The deer here is parallel line patterned, whereas the house is lattice patterned as in the basin. This house however, has been partly erased upon engraving.

A piece without parallels in the Nara Basin is one with an assumedly four legged animal with strands of hair (ID 124). It is, however, reflected in the figure next to the warrior on the Kawayori Yoshiwara clay bell (ID 139). An interesting piece depicts the end of a boat with

the front rower visible (ID 120), seemingly reflecting exactly a piece from Karako Kagi (ID 100).

In Late Yayoi, the dragon comprised one of the few figurative motifs (IDs 119, 122, 230, 232, 236), and crudely shaped two- and four-legged animals appear (ID 113) in one case at Karako Kagi upside-down (ID 91).

4.3.2. The Kyūshū tradition

Entirely different from Kinai pictures are those from northern Kyūshū where probably the earliest record of images was produced, although these were perhaps preceded by the earliest bell-pictures from the Japan Sea Coast (1.3.1. – 1.3.3.) (fig. 35). The first northern Kyūshū pictures are from the latest Early Yayoi and the beginning of Middle Yayoi. From these phases we have wooden boards engraved with creatures that may be either deer or birds, and whose bodies are shaped like hooks[81] (plates 18, 19). The hook itself is depicted on the same pieces and also on contemporary burial jars for primary interment (IDs 114, 177). Both the burial jars and the hook icon are tightly connected to this tradition only, and the latter becomes a strong symbol in the northern Kyūshū area, a development not unlike that of the boat symbol, or sign, in Kinai in Late Yayoi.

Also from late Early or the beginning of Middle Yayoi stems a burial jar with a depiction of two deer (ID 138) and slightly later one with a stylised fish (ID 81). The former piece thus represents a very old type of deer picture, consisting of a crudely executed curved body ending in head with antler and four legs without hooves stretching forward and backwards respectively, not unlike a rocking horse. This adds a sense of movement to the animal. This early style, however, recurs later (phase III) much further to the north-east on the Japan Sea Coast at Yōkaichijikata in Ishikawa prefecture (ID 560), and both bear similarities to an even earlier deer representation on a Middle Jōmon vessel from Hokkaidō (ID 561).

On one of the wooden boards from Saga is a vertical figure of unclear nature (plate 18), it could be either a vertically depicted fish, or a human in fish- or bird-costume. A boar is depicted together with a smaller animal, interpreted as either a piglet or a dog. Whereas the former may be interpreted as an anticipation of Kinai depictions of bird-dressed humans later in the phase, the latter recurs on the Kagawa bell (plate 9.7) also in late Middle Yayoi. This

[81] The shared outline of birds and deer has also been observed on pieces of later dates and different geographical areas by Fukasawa Yoshiki, who thinks that generally, depictions of both animals were built on the same basic strokes (personal communication, October 2006).

piece combines many different motifs, which later becomes a characteristic trait – not of its own area – but of Kinai.

In the later phases of Middle Yayoi and in early Late Yayoi, the north Kyūshū area continued to produce depictions of the hook and the deer, they are still seen together on a bronze bell mould and a wooden board from Fukuoka (plates 24, 34[82]). This juxtaposition reminds us of the deer-house or deer-triangle pairing of the Kinai area, and around the transition from Middle to Late Yayoi the raised floor houses are introduced – alone or in combination with deer (plates 22, 24). Also at this time a human appears from whose head an upwards turned double curve protrudes, a headgear that we see on a wooden board (plate 36) as well as on a clay bell (ID 139), and which relates to the headgears we see on humans with weapons on phase IV pieces in the Nara Basin and other areas.

Both of the armed men on the northern Kyūshū pieces have facial features. In contrast to the people shooting deer on bells from early Middle Yayoi, engravings of humans in the later part of the phase are often, but not always, provided with facial features. Isolated faces are also seen from this point of time, in northern Kyūshū as small emblems executed upside-down on the tangs of bronze halberds showing large eyes separated by clear eyebrow lines continuing to form the nose of the face (plates 37.1, 37.2[83]), an emblem which recurs in San'in on one of the bells from Kamo Iwakura (plate 12) also from late Middle Yayoi.

The focus on the human face also ties much tighter relations between northern Kyūshū, where the eye and eyebrow motif is also executed on some of the Fukuda style bells (plates 8.1 – 8.3), and Kibi, where a strong tradition of human facial features – especially eyes and eyebrows – developed during Middle and Late Yayoi with clay plaques (Matsugi 2004a:360). The clay plaques, on the other hand, spread to the San'in and Kinai regions (but without facial features in San'in).

The north Kyūshū tradition thus rises from a focus on the hook motif in late Early Yayoi, a motif that remains throughout the phase. It includes in early Middle Yayoi the deer and in late Middle Yayoi the raised floor house motifs, the latter two the most used motifs in

[82] The dating of the mould-fragment from Akōnoura constitutes a challenge to the dating of Fukuda bells, since it definitely carries horizontal bands pattern and stems from the region where these bells were produced. It is thus possible that Fukuda bells will eventually be recategorised as style III (see also footnote 4). In my opinion however, the Akōnoura mould may represent a hybrid between the Fukuda tradition and "mini-bells" (*jap. shōdōtaku* 小銅鐸). This suggestion is based on the fact that, whereas its pictorial decoration of a deer is rather untypical for the Fukuda style, it resembles another mould-fragment – from Momokitsuki in Hiroshima (ID 41). The latter measures 5 × 7 cm (Ito 1980:66), which would make the size of the finished bell not too different from that of the largest mini-bells whose height varies from 7 to 13.5 cm (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1999:55).

[83] One is only allegedly from Kyūshū.

contemporary Kinai, but at the same time Kyūshū concentrates much more on the representation of the human, both the armed man, which it shares with Kinai and San'in (4.3.3.) and the face that connects it with Kibi.

In Late Yayoi, apart from the armed man, animals are still seen in the Kyūshū record (IDs 156, 491), at a time when the Kinai tradition abandons them, although also in north Kyūshū a local type of the dragon is depicted (ID 553). Here, some pieces have been found inside pit houses such as the jar from Komogura in Fukuoka City (ID 156). It is a mid-late Late Yayoi jar, broken into many fragments and almost complete (Komogura site investigation committee 1980).

The area around Yoshinogari was densely inhabited in the Yayoi Period. Curiously, there is no picture engraved pottery from Yoshinogari, but a clay bell exists with a depiction of a warrior (ID 139) from the very small site of Kawayori Yoshiwara close to the bay of the Ariake Sea to which Yoshinogari was also connected by a river. The clay bell was found in a posthole in a pit house together with early Late Yayoi pottery. A human is depicted flanked by figures that may be very abstract renderings of animals. In his right hand he holds a "spear" that curves like a bow, but is crossed by something that looks like a spear point. His left arm is a bit bent and holds a "shield" –looking like a stick. It could be an arrow, but usually, when bow and arrow are represented, the arrow is held in the right and the bow in the left hand. Having the shield in the left and the weapon in the right hand thus fits to the normal depiction of a warrior, and so does the posture of the person and the bending of his arms. A sword or dagger is suspended at the person's hip. Left of the person are three strands of hair sticking up from a "boar", right of him is an unclear "animal" (Takashima 1980:47).

4.3.3. The Japan Seacoast (San'in) tradition

The occurrence of picture engraved pottery in areas east of Lake Biwa is receiving increasing attention, and research is initiated on pieces in eastern Japan (Goda Yoshimi, personal communication, March 2007). In Ishikawa and Fukui Prefectures at the Japan Sea Coast east of Tottori there is a small but important concentration of pictures on bells and pottery of significance to the Kinai tradition.

At Yōkaichijikata (see 4.3.1.-fig. 33) north-east of the Wakasa Bay and close to Fukui Prefecture, picture carrying pottery of styles III and IV has been found with depictions of deer and humans with raised arms next to pattern (IDs 84, 237). The jar with the single stroke deer with curved body (ID 560) is assessed to be late phase III (Miyashita and Hashi 1997:44), and

is thus much later than the Kyūshū urns whose deer resemble these strongly. However, since this type carries some similarity to the above mentioned Middle Jōmon deer engraving from Hokkaidō (ID 561), both may well derive from such Jōmon Period depictions, and the style would have been maintained on wood in the area of Yōkaichijikata. It is very different from the early bell deer of Inomukai in Fukui and the Jūrokuchō in Gifu (plates 1 – 3), even if the two are geographically close. The provenance of the bells is likely to stem from the casting site of Mikunichō Shimoya in Fukui Prefecture. A strong tradition of engraving drawings on wood could have arisen along the Japan Sea Coast of the San'in area, as seen at waterlogged settlements (fig. 35).

The main district of picture engraving on pottery on the Japan Sea Coast is located to the west of the pieces just mentioned, closer to the political centre of Izumo, but dislocated to the east compared to its bronze bell concentration. The pottery is concentrated in Tottori Prefecture that possesses some bronze bells, whereas the substantial bell occurrence is in Shimane, concentrated around the Shinji Lake (fig. 34). Two areas have presented most pottery pieces, situated in similar ways at Yayoi Period lagoons; one is the Aoyakamijichi site, the other is the outskirts of the present Yodoe Town, both in Tottori Prefecture.

The record of engraved objects from the Aoyakamijichi site (excavated since 1988) includes pottery and wooden planks engraved with boats and sharks/dolphins and deer/rams (plates 21, 23, 25, 27, 32, 38, IDs 32, 33) but many of the pottery engravings consist of abstract figures and patterns. The deer motif – if it is a deer – is profoundly different in style from that in the Kinai area. An elaborately engraved piece (plates 27.1, 27.2) bears indication of modification of a "ram" into a "deer" (Kitaura, personal communication, June 2005). One clay bead among several hundred undecorated ones[84] carries miniature depictions of a dolphin (or shark), a deer and a long necked bird (ID 32), the two latter of which may have arrived from the easterly area of the Inomukai bells. Since 24 of this type of beads were found in a late Middle Yayoi jar, the bead with pictures seems to stem from around this time.

There seems to have been forces in San'in to establish an autonomous iconographic culture also reflected in the pictures on the Kamo Iwakura bells (plates 11 – 14). Bell casting traditions competing to the one in Kinai arose in late Middle Yayoi during production of bell style III (Oksbjerg 2002:50), and one of these was based in the Izumo area.

[84] They were all similarly sized (ca. 2.5 ×2 cm) and in a scatter of which some were attached to bracelets (Tottori Prefecture Educational Corporative for Cultural Assets 2002a:6,118, 147-149).

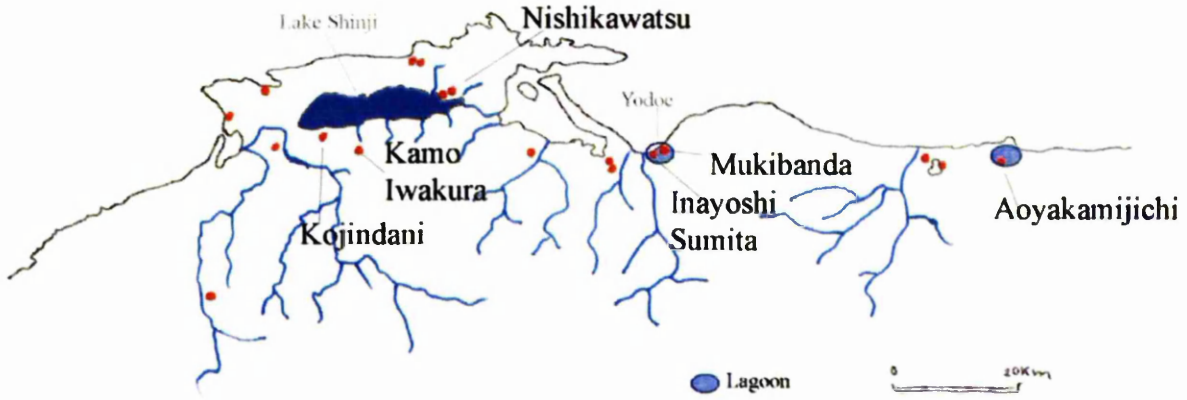

Figure 34: The San'in region with its three main areas of pictorial tradition:
Izumo at Lake Shinji with its bronze caches, the Yodoe Lagoon and the Aoyakamijichi Lagoon.

(Map after Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1999:709)

Unfortunately, several of the Aoyakamijichi pictures have been found in layers with a very broad temporal horizon, so only a few are dated precisely. Still, it is possible to state that they are generally from later phases of the Yayoi Period.

The Yodoe lagoon, presently a plain, is known from other excavations to have held a good harbour in Yayoi times (Sasaki 1981:97). The Inayoshi Sumita site would have been one of the settlements at the shore of the lagoon facing the mountain on the opposite shore, on whose various peaks the widely extended site of Mukibanda is located. The mountain would thus have risen in immediate proximity to the water. Even today, Mukibanda is easily viewed from the seaside,[85] as the promontory with storage houses reconstructed on a location that protrudes into the plain is visible from a far distance. Just behind the Mukibanda site other giant mountains such as Japan's tallest mountain, the Daisen rise adding further attraction and awe-inspiring immenseness to the nature of the spot. Another promontory located behind the Inayoshi Sumita site was in the Kofun Period turned into a grave area.

The Inayoshi Sumita giant vessel (ID 161), measuring about 1.5 m, stems from phase III and its frieze is among the earliest pictures on pottery in the area. On the 21 × 80 cm large frieze, feather decorated people are rowing a boat towards a raised floor house. It is contemporary with the earliest engravings of deer, boats, and raised floor houses from the Nara Basin and the Kawachi Bay (IDs 11, 78, 149, 172, 179, 225, 226). It depicts a gondola shaped boat with curved stem and stern rowed by probably four people dressed with feathery

[85] Kimijima Toshiyuki, Mukibanda Museum, personal communication 22nd October 2006.

headgear of which only two remain. To the left are two raised floor houses, one is extraordinarily tall and with a ladder, the other carries the same sort of hipped roof as that on the Kagawa bell. Further to the left is a tree with two hanging objects, and both the tree and the hanging objects comprise motifs that have no counterparts anywhere. There is also a fourlegged animal, probably a deer. The circular figure consisting of concentric circles, thought to be the sun is part of the reconstruction of the composition here. It is seen on pieces from the Nara Basin (IDs 359, 455) and from Kibi (ID 131).

Like some Kinai pieces, and contrary to its own and other traditions, the Inayoshi piece shows a combination of various motifs, the frieze depicts a tale rather than just a single manifestation. It shares its composition of a boat accompanied with several houses with a phase III piece from Karako Kagi (ID 11). The Inayoshi frieze is thus closely connected to the Kinai tradition. Two pieces from Mukibanda, also dated to early Middle Yayoi,[86] depict an end of a boat (ID 38) and a person with a large headgear, something that may be a shield in its right hand and a lattice patterned figure to its left (ID 40). If the latter piece is a genuine style III piece, this is the earliest warrior depiction, and the warrior motif may stem from this region. The style of the boat is similar to that on the engravings on wood from the area (Aoyakamijichi), however, the person with headgear resembles the armed men on Kinai pictures, and the lattice patterned figure (perhaps an awkward house) includes it in a tradition of several motifs on one picture as is the case for its contemporary piece from Inayoshi. The pieces from the Yodoe area thus seem to have a certain connection to the Kinai region, whereas the Aoyakamijichi record, most of which is later than the Yodoe record, does not.

The shark motif from the wooden boards at Aoyakamijichi recurs on a late Middle Yayoi jar contemporary with the wooden boards, and a stone from the same phase and place (ID 33, plate 39). However, the fish on the clay bead resembles the Kinai fish rather than a shark, and the same is true for the two fish from Chabatakeyama (ID 542), and it could be another piece from an earlier phase of Middle Yayoi during which there was a stronger connection to the Kinai area. The combination of motifs is another indication of this. Still, the bead is also decorated with a row of punched lines, which is a characteristic of the local clay plaques. We see a few pieces of engraved phase IV drawings at Hiyoshigaoka in the Tango Peninsula (2.5.3.-fig. 13), one of an eye with long lashes (ID 57), which ties in with Kibi and northern Kyūshū, and one of a deer with a rectangular rump (ID 89), resembling those on the bronze bells from Kamo Iwakura in the Izumo area. In Izumo itself a small clay head of a human has

[86] Nakahara Hitoshi, Mukibanda Museum, personal communication 10th October 2006.

appeared at Nishikawatsu (ID 575) (fig. 35). The deer and dragonflies on some of the bells from the Kamo Iwakura bell hoard (plates 11.1, 11.2, 14) are significantly different in style from those on bells produced in Kinai (plates 9.1 – 9.8) and indicate local production. A human face on one handle (plate 12) however, resembles faces shown on the tangs of two halberds stemming from Fukuoka from Middle or Late Yayoi (plates 37.1, 37.2)[87], and the connection between the iconography in central Izumo and Kyūshū may have been stronger in that phase than between Izumo and Kinai.

It is likely that in the San'in area, images were predominantly executed on wood throughout Middle Yayoi, since almost all known pictures from late Middle Yayoi were executed on wooden boards[88] (from Aoyakamijichi) with images of sharks, deer and boats from late Middle Yayoi (plates 21, 23, 25, 26, 27). But unlike the contemporary Kinai pictures, these compositions consist of series of repetitions of one motif. The only exception is an item (plate 38), which shows deer together with some figures that may be sharks. A small bowl with a deer engraved on it (plate 32) and an oar with sharks on it (plate 33) are also from Middle Yayoi. The boats on one board from Aoyakamijichi (plates 21.1, 21.2) are depicted without ores or people rowing them contrary to the Kinai depictions on pottery.

San'in holds its own record of clay plaques, of which the earliest pieces stem from the transition between Early and Middle Yayoi (ID 576), even if the theory is that they originated in the Kibi area (4.2.). They continue in a relatively unchanged style during the rest of the Yayoi Period and later (IDs 577, 578). The San'in pieces only carry pattern and no faces, but the pattern recurs and develops in the clay plaques of Kibi. Even if this artefact type belongs first and foremost to the Okayama region and only secondly to the Japan Sea Coast, the number of items from Aoyakamijichi is the largest from any one site (ID 53) (Kitaura Hiroto, personal communication, June 2005).

In San'in, Izumo itself thus holds a mixture of motifs shared with Kyūshū and Kibi (the face, the eyes), at Yodoe stylistic traits and motifs that it shares with Kinai in mid-Middle Yayoi

[87] Some bells from Kamo Iwakura and some weapons from the nearby located Kōjindani bell and weapon hoard are provided with a large X, which phenomenon recurs in the Kinai area, where a clay bell from Uryūdō has been provided with a giant X on its body (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 2006:fig 187) and a mould for an Ōsaka Bay type halberd has been found at Higashinara inside which the tang carries the X.

[88] A substantial record of three-dimensional carvings in wood exists from Aoyakamijichi. It consists partly of figures carved from flat boards in the shape of humans and a squid the general dating of which is late Middle Yayoi like the picture engraved wooden boards and partly of plastic representations of wooden swords (one is late Early Yayoi-early Middle Yayoi (Tottori Prefecture Educational Corporative for Cultural Assets 2002b:396), boats and a serpent produced throughout the Yayoi Period (ibid 2001:206-7). The squid is engraved with a picture of a shark (ibid 2002:345-8; Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 2006:fig. 95).

(motif combination and the house) and local stylistic traits at Aoyakamijichi in late Middle Yayoi (punched lines and particular animals (rams, sharks/dolphins).

San'in (Yodoe) is perhaps the region in which the warrior motif originated.

4.3.4. The Kibi tradition

The Kibi industry is concentrated in the heartland of the old Bizen and Bichu provinces on the plains of Okayama Prefecture facing the Inland Sea. As is the case with some examples of pottery engraving on the Ōsaka Plain, the earliest pieces in Kibi carry rolling lines that cannot strictly be termed images. An early Early Yayoi pot exists with this type of decoration (ID 165), and the vessel as well as the engraving resembles the earliest items from Funahashi in Kawachi. The main characteristic trait of this area is constituted by the clay plaques, generally thought to have originated here in mid-Middle Yayoi, but perhaps arriving from the San'in area, whose earliest items are dated to the transition between Early and Middle Yayoi (fig. 35).

The temporal peak of pottery vessel iconography in Kibi is in late Middle Yayoi, such as it is in Kinai. The typical Kinai motifs are not very predominant in Kibi, but the deer (ID 132) and the boat (ID 539) are there from late Middle Yayoi, and pieces with the raised floor house is somewhat better represented in both late Middle and Late Yayoi (IDs 141,154), connecting it to the Kinai area, that is the main area of house depictions (Shimizu, 1997:28). A clay plaque has appeared with a raised floor building on it (ID 171) resembling the house on the Kagawa bell that has had its thatching drawn upside-down (which should perhaps be regarded as the projecting rafters that are still seen today on the roof of Shinto shrines – (comment, Barnes, 20th March 2009)). Most roofs on Kinai pieces are 'correct', although upside-down examples exist. The boat motif (ID 539) appears with oars like in Kinai (IDs 75, 120).

It is difficult to assess the degree to which the combining of different motifs took place in Kibi, since the record of genuine pottery vessel pictures is not nearly as large as that of the clay plaques, and most sherds show only one motif or a fragment of one. However, examples of combined motifs do exist, such as the Shinjōnoue depiction of a human figure next to a raised floor house (ID 170); also from late Middle Yayoi, but there are no widely varied combinations such as we see them on some Kinai pieces. The depiction style can be very different from that of Kinai, as can be seen from the Tsudera Nakaya piece showing deer and birds together (ID 166), but some connection is reflected in the house depiction. Also, the person next to the house (on ID 170) is represented with a bird beak and raised arms at whose

extremities are shown bird claws, and it is thus one of the few examples of a person in bird attire outside Kinai (one other is ID 234).

Although the record on wood is modest in Kibi, examples exist, here with the deer motif on a beautiful wooden sword (plate 40) preceding the raised floor house motif (plate 20) slightly (mid-MY contra late MY).

The development of pottery engraving in Kibi was thus related to Kinai in terms of both motifs and media, whereas the clay plaques' sole motif was that of the human face (IDs 555, 556, 558).

It appears that the Late Yayoi pottery engravings in various regions that show human faces belongs to the tradition originating in Kyūshū and elaborated in Kibi, rather than to the pictorial engraving of a wide range of motifs that originated sometime before that with the earliest bronze bell motifs in Fukui and was later recovered, cultivated and developed in Kinai. However, in Kibi the face motif met the heritage of the Jōmon Period, since the dominant eyebrows of the clay plaques unmistakably derive from Jōmon times (IDs 592 – 594), which I shall return to below (4.4.).

From Kibi stems a tall bowl with two faces consisting of eyes, nose and mouth (ID 167) from Late Yayoi. The faces are decorated with tattoo lines around the eyes such as we see it on the engraving of a man with headgear on wood from northern Kyūshū (plate 36) (that may be a bit earlier). Depiction of facial tattoo became widespread in the phase and is seen in two and three-dimensional representations in various materials; clay, wood or stone (IDs 135, 557, 568).

The facially focused iconography diffused from Kibi to Kinai and to a wide geographical region beyond it during Late Yayoi. Whereas this iconography within Kibi was represented up to Middle Yayoi by the stereotypical production of bodies and faces on clay plaques, in Late Yayoi it took various other shapes in- and outside the region (IDs 135, 574). In Late Yayoi, the "dragon" also appeared here (IDs 157, 158, 160).

In Kibi, the development of the clay plaques was accompanied with its pottery with bird stamps that appeared in Okayama at the beginning of Late Yayoi (Kōmoto 1992:553) arriving from Kawachi. This tradition also reached San'in (ID 155).

Ehime Prefecture in Shikoku held an autonomous tradition of pictorial engraving. Here a late Early Yayoi vessel has been recovered with a sign resembling engraving under its bottom (ID 579), which could have been inspired by the Kyūshū tradition of hook engraving.

Deer pictures are more common here (IDs 133, 134, 502, 504) than in both Kibi and Kyūshū, and in Ehime also the raised floor house gained ground from late Middle Yayoi and on (IDs 530, 532). So did the boat with oars (ID 129) connecting it with the Kinai tradition. Ehime seems to have had its own contact with the Kinai area in late Middle Yayoi independent of Kibi as was the case with the San'in region. Some of the Ehime deer are shown with arrows in their backs (IDs 134, 504), tying these pictures in with one of the oldest motifs of the Yayoi pictorial record, and continued in the Kinai repertoire as an essential icon.

Also in Late Yayoi the Ehime district may have had strong connections to Kinai, since here Late Yayoi pottery is dominated by a standardised sign looking like a pair of cat's ears (ID 544).

4.3.5. Finds from the Hiroshima region and mid-Hyōgo

The record from Hiroshima Prefecture is sparse, but has given some pieces with deer on them, including a piece of a bell mould (plate 41). It ties in with the Inland Sea Coast tradition of engraving on pottery stands (ID 573), but the deer types are not consistent. A transitional Middle/Late Yayoi piece carries a crudely engraved deer with a banana shaped body (ID 572), and the stick style is also seen here (ID 566).

Also in Hyōgo do we find pictures on pottery stands, one phase IV example shows deer and triangles (ID 501). Whereas this piece connects the region to Kibi and Hiroshima, another, from Yōhisayama Maechi, with deer, raised floor houses and a human (ID 234) from late Middle Yayoi connects it to Kinai. The latter piece is another rare example – apart from the Inayoshi Sumita frieze and the Shinjōnoue piece (ID 170) – of combination of various different motifs outside Kinai itself. Whereas the Inayoshi Sumita piece is from phase III, this example is from phase IV and thus contemporary with the engraving boom in the Nara Basin. Also here, we see a possible 'birdperson', although only hands, a foot, shoulders and head of the human are visible.

From Late Yayoi stems a strongly abstract deer on top of a lattice patterned figure that may be a raised floor house (ID 545), thus reflecting the Kinai tradition of combining the deer and the house. On the other hand the lattice patterned figure may be a band like on the contemporary piece from Shibu (ID 242), whose deer this resembles closely.

Engravings on pedestalled bowls and the bowls and stands individually are related to the coastal sites of Hyōgo-Okayama-Hiroshima as is the combination of parallel line patterned triangles and deer (IDs 132, 501), the latter of which it shares with Kinai. Also, in this region it is not uncommon to find picture engraved pottery in pit house relation (IDs 154, 572).

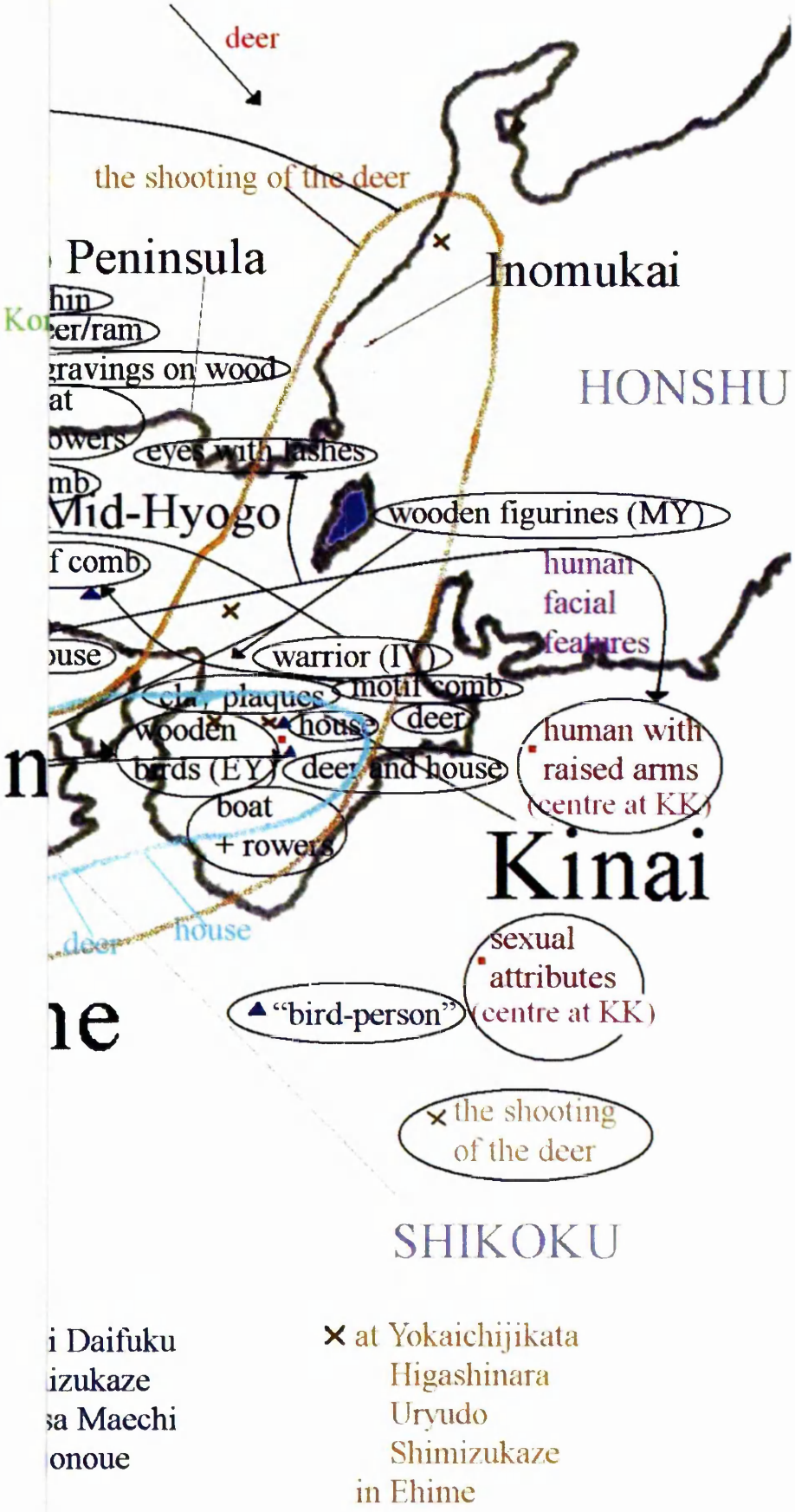
deer
the shooting of the deer
Peninsula
Inomukai
HONSHU
Mid-Hyogo
eyes with lashes
wooden figurines (MY)
human facial features
warrior (IV)
motif comb
clay plaques
wooden birds (EY)
house
deer
deer and house
human with raised arms (centre at KK)
boat + rowers
Kinai
deer
house
sexual attributes (centre at KK)
"bird-person"
the shooting of the deer
SHIKOKU
i Daifuku
izukaze
sa Maechi
onoue
at Yokaichijikata
Higashinara
Uryudo
Shimizukaze
in Ehime

Figure 3

4.4. Genetic and geographical connections of figurative art

There was no strong tradition of two-dimensional pictorial engraving in the Japanese archipelago prior to the Yayoi Period. But many of the motifs had been executed before the Yayoi traditions were initiated. Two engravings on stone stem from the Palaeolithic Period, one maybe depicts a woman with a skirt (plate 42). From the whole Jōmon period, we know only about 20 engraved pieces, either stone or pottery. Motifs are humans (ID 591), deer, fish (plate 64), water birds and buildings. A pottery vessel engraving of a deer from Hokkaidō (4.3.2.) seems to represent the predecessors of the earliest deer engravings in northern Kyūshū and the Japan Sea Coast (ID 561). What is to my knowledge the earliest engraving of a deer being shot by a hunter stems from the Late/Final Jōmon site of Yama no Kami in Fukushima (plate 66) (Naumann 2000:44), and the same theme without the hunter is seen on a Late Jōmon vessel from Nirakubo in Aomori (ID 562).

During the Jōmon period, particularly Middle Jōmon, plastic art was highly developed.[89] Fantastic shapes were modelled into the rims of pottery in some areas, and patterns and sometimes naturalistic figures were executed in high relief, e.g. a double figure of a man and a woman with distinctly indicated genitals (ID 591). Also, three dimensional images manufactured in clay, animals and therianthropics were produced (plates 43 – 47) (Hashimoto 1994:168-169). In the later phases of the Jōmon Period however, we witness in the western part of the archipelago a decrease in and size reduction of the three-dimensional tradition, leading to the miniature human clay heads in the early phases of the Yayoi Period. In the eastern part of Honshū three-dimensionally processed images continued to be made, since secondary burial vessels, a feature of the eastern Yayoi communities, were sometimes adorned with facial features modelled on to the neck of the vessel (plates 48, 49).

The decrease of three-dimensional figurative art on pottery in the new culture that spread into the western parts of the archipelago was connected to the adoption of undecorated pottery from the Korean Peninsula, but new types of three-dimensional representations were then introduced from the same area, executed in wood. One other type of decreased size figures were the Final Jōmon 'pocket-edition' or 'abbreviated' figurines (IDs 588 – 590) (Naumann 2000:21; see also Habu 2004:143, fig 5.1.19) of easten Honshū, from which the clay plaques

[89] The tradition of producing imitations of objects in alternative material could have originated in the Final Jōmon Kamegaoka culture, in the shape of stone copies of Continental bronze daggers and lacquered wooden swords, which have been discovered in Hokkaidō and Aomori respectively (Naumann 2000:46, 50). From the same phase stems a wooden spatula from Shiga (plate 65) that seems to have functioned as a string-instrument, but which bears some resemblance to the wooden swords of the Yayoi Period.

in my view must derive. As mentioned earlier (1.4.), the earliest clay plaques represent whole bodies, and only gradually they transform into representing faces only; faces that are equipped with exactly the same kind of pronounced eyebrows (IDs 565, 576) as the figurines of the Katsusaka and Kamegaoka cultures (IDs 592 – 594), thus carrying the same "crescent" symbol (see below) as their predecessors, the figurines.

Not only on clay plaques but also on the human figures engraved on pottery do we see facial features. Particularly at Karako Kagi do we see human faces with indented holes for eyes and mouth (IDs 7, 10, 15, 69, 96), also a trait inherited from Jōmon times (IDs 592, 594). The brows are also often very pronounced as they were in Jōmon cultures – even the Kinai area had seen them on the claymasks of Late and Final Jōmon (see Habu 2004:156, fig. 5.8.h) –, but most fail to form brows that meet (only example in the basin is the 'birdman' from Tsuboi (ID 1)), which I take as a sign that eyebrows were not related to the same set of beliefs as they had been in Jōmon times. They may have been assigned a new significance in the Yayoi Period, or in the Nara Basin they could have been added for the sake of convention.

In my view, these observations constitute good guidelines for the understanding of the variation of belief systems in the archipelago in the Yayoi Period. Considering the clay plaques once more, the items from San'in show a pattern that imitates accurately the Jōmon figurines' front head "crescent" (IDs 576 – 578), and this area may have been a geographical 'pocket' where traits of the old religion (see below) were maintained for longer than in the Inland Sea cultures in spite of the fact that also new influences from the Continent landed there. Where to place the Kibi plaques in terms of religious significance compared to San'in and Kinai iconography is thus an interesting question, but this topic will not be pursued here.

Although the concept of the deer's religious connotations is universal, the animal had not gained particular focus during the Jōmon Period; rather this reached Japan from the Korean Peninsula. We see very few representations of deer in Jōmon art; the animal 'pantheon' consists of small clay figures of boar and dogs and of vessel decorations of frogs and snakes. Why do we then see an insicion of a deer being shot (plate 66), the leading motif of the Yayoi Period, already in Late/Final Jōmon? An explanation is available by a detour into the religion of the Jōmon Period, such as it is presented by Nelly Naumann. According to Naumann, figurines and decorated vessels of the Jōmon Period reflect a religion devoted to the moon, and expressed in lunar symbolism, which is known from many areas of the Eurasian continent and in the New World, and which originates in the Ancient Near East. A recurrent symbol of the moon is the ram's horns, whose shape resembles the lunar crescent – also thought of as a bowl –, but a range of other objects or figures resembling this crescent are also seen. In the

Jōmon case it was among other things the faces of the figurines that came to symbolise the crescent (Naumann 2000:118-128).

We may ask ourselves whether the deer's antlers would not sometimes be seen as substitutes for the ram's horns (which were apparently represented on one of the Aoyakamijichi boards (plate 27) before these were 'corrected' into deer antlers). Returning to the motif of the hunter shooting the deer, Naumann, and others, finds its origin in the mythical tale of Prince Yamato-takeru shooting a mountain deity, who has transformed into a white deer. The deity dies, but regenerates (Aston 1972:208). Naumann's interpretation however, goes behind the pictorial representation where it is the deer's rump that is shot and reminds us that in the tale it was shot in the eye. She refers to the many occurrences in mythologies worldwide of one-eyed deities who appear this way because one-eyedness – or an open and a closed eye – is also related to lunar symbolism, to the light and the dark phases of the moon (Naumann 2000:143-149). I do not think however, that lunar symbolism constituted any conscious part of later Yayoi religion, which I shall returnto below (5.4.).

The geometrical patterns that cover the walls of the bronze bells and recur in selected areas on pottery are universal (5.2.), but were also parts of the Jōmon heritage. We find lattice pattern, parallel line pattern as well as spiral pattern on the figurines, and Naumann relates them all to the lunar symbolism. While she has no suggestions for the meaning of the parallel line pattern, she assesses the spiral as a symbol of the movement or revolution of celestial bodies, particularly the revolution of the moon; a double spiral symbolises the ongoing waxing and waning of the moon. The lattice pattern designates darkness/death and the new life that emerges from it (Naumann 2000:155, 169-170, 186, 224).

The deer became the leading motif of Yayoi Period representative art, and both the bronze bell and the burial jar that had originally formed part of the Peninsular material record were only decorated with the deer and hook motifs after being imported to the insular region.
We have reason to believe that part of the idea of the deer's great significance was imported from the Korean Peninsula, where assemblages of deer scapulae used for divination purposes have been recovered from contexts immediately preceding and concurrent with Early Yayoi, when the first examples of similar pieces appeared in the archipelago. Also engravings of the deer exist from the Peninsula, noticeably an enigmatic bronze object from North Kyŏngsang on the east coast of the Korean Peninsula, adorned with two deer with lattice pattern of which one has been shot by an arrow (plates 50.1, 50.2), exactly as is the case in the Kinai record, but the motif of the shot deer probably stems from Honshū, where examples are more

abundant. Southern Peninsular groups migrated directly to the Kinai area in Early Yayoi, where their leaders were buried in moated precincts at Higashimuko site (4.3.1.-fig 33) stemming from mid and late Early Yayoi. In a precinct from the later phase, pseudo Sŏngungni pottery - Sŏngungni being a site in the Honam region in the south-western part of the Peninsula (fig. 36)) from which region also the precincts stem – was found together with a lacquered comb in a wooden coffin. From late Early Yayoi alone there were 10 precincts at Higashimuko (Baba 1999:22; Watanabe 1999:82). Such wealthy groups in Kinai may have been ready for industrial challenges in the shape of bronze bell casting, just like they may have welcomed the new trend of engraving of pictures in moulds as well as the new significance of the deer, which both arrived from Fukui Prefecture.

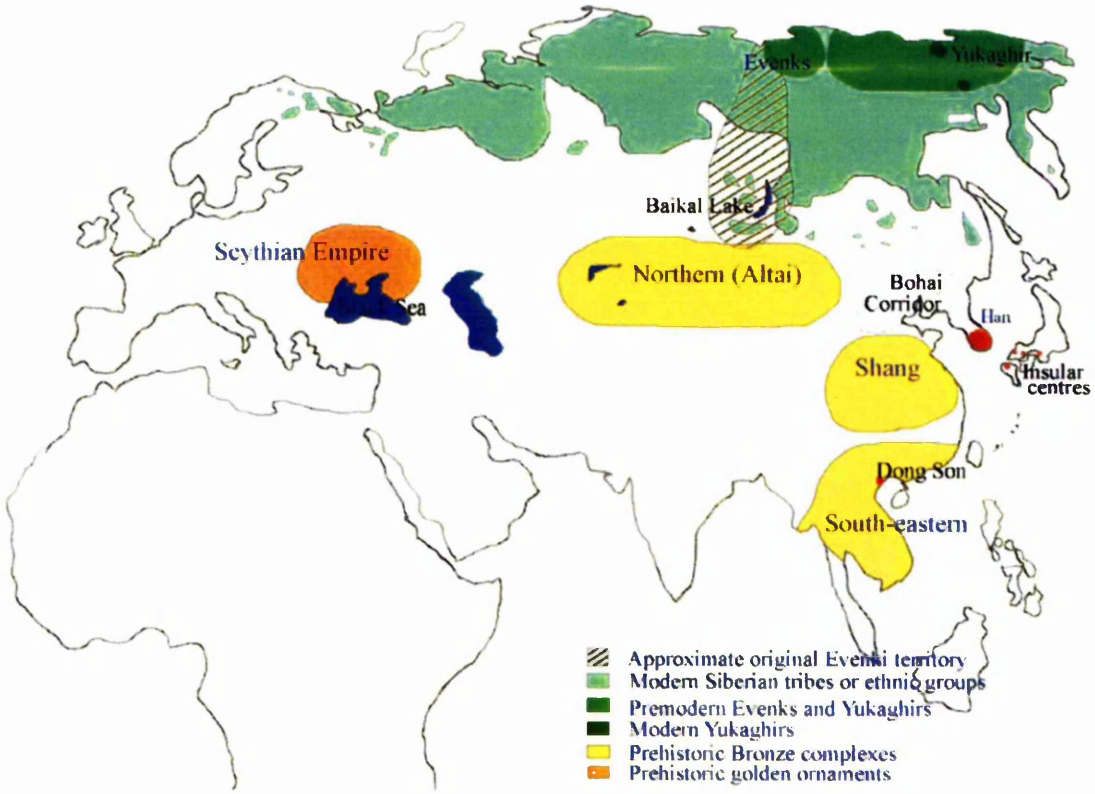

Figure 36: Areas of genetic origin of Yayoi Period figurative art.

(Information after Barnes 1993:9,122; Barnes 2001:28; Hayden 2003:47; Higham 1996:19, 47; Seyock 2004; Vitebsky 2006:4-5, internet Wikipedia)

Although the deer is found on wooden boards as well as on pottery in the Kyūshū region, it never came to hold the same importance there as it did in Eastern Seto, particularly Kinai. This situation is in accordance with the distribution of deer scapulae used for divination purposes, of which there is little trace in northern Kyūshū. Thus, the deer motif, as well as most other motifs – apart from the hook, the human and the human face – seems not to have gained any strong foothold in the area. The use of perforated boar mandibles for ritual display however, is known from northern Kyūshū.

The deer motif thus appears to have arrived, rather unnoticed, in Kyūshū across the Korea Strait. However, an introduction of the motif at the Japan Sea Coast directly from the Asian mainland is highly likely as well. An adoption north of Lake Biwa of the deer motif at a very early stage may be what is reflected in the Inomukai bells. These bells' origin cannot be assessed, but an early casting centre existed at Mikunichō Shimoya in Fukui Prefecture. The deer was already a depicted motif in the Jōmon Period, but it would have gained new connotations and thus new significance by the influence from the Continent, and in the Yayoi Period it is in the stretch starting in Ishikawa Prefecture that we find the depiction of the shooting of the deer (fig. 35), echoed by the North Kyŏngsang piece mentioned above.

The deer motif seems to have originated in the Scythian empire in southern Russia where we find depictions of deer with elaborate antlers and in Siberia where it was the elk (moose) and the reindeer that were in focus. The latter area however, has not produced any representations of the animal. The Scythian animal art of the 7th to 3rd century BC that travelled through Siberia to the coasts of Alaska (Campbell 1983:38) could very well have travelled directly to the Japanese Islands as well. In any case, it arrived in modified shape in Kyūshū via the Korean Peninsula where deer are depicted on a moderate number of bronzes. The Scythians made golden figures of deer and deer-resembling creatures with oversized and elaborate antlers (plates 52, 53), but they also produced many other animals, particularly felines. Their works of art influenced the herding nomads on the Northeast Eurasian steppe[90] – "the northern complex" – who took over the many different animals of the Scythians in their bronzes, but from here the motifs filtered through the non-nomadic Upper Xiajiadian culture of the Bohai Corridor, and it was by influence from this area that the Peninsular Bronze Age was initiated around 700 BC (Barnes 1993:121,153; 2007:61). For this reason we do not see other animals than deer and birds on the initial Peninsular bronzes. Later however, the Scythian influence resulted in figures of horses with upright manes in the shape of bronze belt

[90] The Scythians themselves were originally horseriding nomads (Campbell 1983:38).

buckles that started to appear in the Proto Three Kingdom Period in the northern part of Chinhan (Seyock 2004:83-84, 223-224).

It seems likely that the deer focus reached Honshū independently of the Peninsula, and developed in the island before the motif of the shooting of the deer – in a merging with the tradition of the Jōmon Period – moved back to the continent, i.e. the southern Peninsula. The bird also gained its importance from the Asian mainland, but it seems that this influence reached the Islands via the Peninsula rather than directly.

Whereas the deer motif's original area of the Scythians is Central Asia, north of the Black Sea, the shortnecked bird motif originated in a more easterly region of the Steppe, but arrived in the archipelago via the same route. The home area of the bird motif is closer to the Siberian area, and is found in its original context carved in wood. In this shape it was taken over in the Peninsula and later in the Japanese Islands, whereas a Chinese example exists of the bird engraved on bronze (plate 51).

From the Northern Bronze Complex the Peninsular and later the Insular casting industries also took over the use of bivalve stone moulds (which is why we do not find Chinese style clay piece-moulds in Pen/Insular contexts). The Korean Bronze tradition is as such uninfluenced by the Shang bronzes and their abstract *taotie* designs. Rather, it is the Eurasian bronzes holding realistic depictions of animals and humans together with their geometrically patterned mirrors that formed the basis of production in the Peninsula. However, with the Han Chinese invasion in northern Korea and the establishment of the Lelang Commandery in 108 BC, the fluorescence of the Peninsular Bronze Age came to a halt at the same time as the area's internal political development was suppressed – albeit mostly so in the northern area. And although Chinese bronzes started to move in large quantities from the empire to the emerging chiefs in the northern Kyūshū area "virtually no court prestige goods flow[ed] to these acephalous groups" (Barnes 2007:59) in the occupied Peninsula, a phenomenon entirely in accordance with Han China's normal distinction between 'outer' and 'inner' barbarians, by which the former were treated with diplomatic respect and gifts bestowed on their leaders, while the latter – among these the Peninsular chiefs – were often just conquered and exploited for labour and taxes (ibid:51, 59).

At the Yayoi Period site of Yamanoguchi (山ノ口) in Kagoshima a ritual place has been identified where human busts as well as male and female sexual organs were found, all of stone (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1992:32). The Chinese chronicles

mention agricultural rituals in areas of the three Han in the southern Peninsula; the Mahan (馬韓), Chinhan (辰韓) and Pyŏnhan (弁韓) in details, which confirms the connection of the art and the religion of the Yayoi Period to this area. The similarity in the material record to that of the Early and particularly Middle Yayoi makes it likely that the ceremonies and religiosity of the latter originated and derived from the southern Peninsula. The Wei Chih says about the Han countries that their central settlements included a special place, called a *sodo* – a "shelter for resurrection". Here a large tree or pole was placed, where hand bells and drums were hung and rung to invoke the spirits. Criminals who took refuge to this sacred area could not be arrested (which was heavily exploited). The chronicle also says that the Han people believed in spirits (Seyock 2004:48, 95-96), speculated by some to have been ancestor-spirits represented by wooden male and female figures found at altars in each house. It is also speculated, but not supported by the written records, that worshipping artefacts in the shape of wooden birds on poles may have been present inside the *sodo*. The name Mahan that is written 馬韓 = "horse area" (jap. *Bakan*) in the chronicle, may be a copying mistake or derivation of 鳥竿= "bird stake(s)" (jap. *Chōkan*), and is thought to refer to the special ceremonial areas of the settlements (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1992:33).

Traditionally, these pieces of information in the Wei Chih have been related to the Mahan area that is recorded in the chronicle to be placed in the western part of the southern Peninsula. Contrary to some of the locations mentioned for the part of Chinhan and Pyŏnhan, however, it has proved impossible to identify any place name of alleged Mahan provenance (Seyock 2004:88-98). Seyock, who has translated the Wei Chih into German, points to the fact that in the chronicle there is no part particularly dedicated to the description of Mahan, in contrast to the other two Han (ibid:92). Rather, Mahan is mentioned first of the three and the descriptions of agricultural rites a.s.o. have therefore often been taken to relate to the Mahan region, whereas Seyock states these as relating to the Han in general. Furthermore, the material cultures of the northern and southern edges of the usually assumed Mahan area differ considerably, the northern part seemingly belonging to the Chinhan sphere as demonstrated by the presence of the horse shaped bronze belt buckles (ibid:98).

Another problem when trying to interpret the Wei Chih is its seeming merging of information from various points of time, since only phenomena described in the sections about Chinhan and Pyŏnhan can be identified as actually belonging to the Proto-Three-Kingdom Period. The "Han" section appears to describe phenomena of the preceding time frame of late Bronze- and early Iron Age (450 – 100 BC) (ibid:98), which fact however, is of

great value when studying the earlier Yayoi phases. In fact, most archaeological finds in the south-western part of the Peninsula, whose relation to the Kinai area is particularly conspicuous – this is where we find moated precints and Sŏngungni pottery – have been demonstrated by Choi Mong-lyong to stem from the late Bronze- and early Iron Age (ibid:88), i.e. many sites in the southwestern Peninsula are contemporary with late Early Yayoi and early Middle Yayoi sites. One of the sites is Kun'gongni, whose shellmidden's earliest layers date to this time frame. They contained commashaped beads, some made from boars' tusks referring to the origin of this bead-type that exists only in this part of the world (ibid:79), and some from clay. Also there was a bone comb decorated with the same parallel patterned hatches and a lattice patterned band such as we see it on Middle Yayoi bronze bells and pottery pictures. And not least, the lower layers contained scorched deer scapulae, oracle bones. In the higher layers, dated to the first half of the Proto Three Kingdom Period, i.e. 100 BC – AD 100, appeared two small bird shaped pottery vessels (ibid:78), which suggests a connection to the Late Yayoi clay chicken head at Karako Kagi (fig. 26). Oracle bones are not mentioned in the descriptions of the Han people (ibid:95), and may in the Peninsula belong only in the earlier time frame. If so, they disappeared in this area at the same time as they disappear from Karako Kagi, around 100 BC at the beginning of phase IV, but it leaves us no explanation for the fact that they reappear at the latter location as well as at other Japanese sites in Late Yayoi.

At the cemetery of Shingch'angdong, dated to the 1st century BC which corresponds to phase IV of the Yayoi Period, jars assumed to contain secondary burials were interred and stone arrowheads distributed over the area as grave gifts (ibid:81), echoing the unused stone arrowheads found at Karako Kagi (fig. 25).

At Taegongni, safely dated to the Bronze Age, an eight-armed bronze hand-bell has been found, which may be what is referred to in the Wei Chih in one of its paragraphs on the Han people: "They believe in spirits. In [each] country and town they install a 'master of the worshipping of the Heavenly spirits', whom they call *t'in-chün*. Furthermore, each country has an isolated town which they name *su-t'u*. [There], they raise a great tree[trunk], hang handbells and drums on it and serve the spirits this way...." (ibid: 48, 96). This brings us back to the sodo, which thus may have existed already in the late Bronze Age in the southern Peninsula.

These ceremonial areas seem to have their origin in Siberia, and drawings of the Evenki nomads show the tent of the shaman inside an area separated from the surroundings by rows of wooden birds on stakes, interspersed with standing wooden human figurines and

accompanied by horizontal trunks of slim trees resting on forked poles. The shaman's tent is erected in the centre of the area, and systematic arrangements of wooden figurines and birds lying and resting on trunks are placed at the tent's front and backsides.

In the Steppe area where the deer figurines of bronze originates as well as in areas of China further to the east and in the northern Peninsula, wooden birds on stakes and wooden human figurines have been recovered together. In northern Thailand of today, wooden birds are placed on top of the beam of the entrance gate to the village, and in Borneo the wooden birds are located at cemeteries (Ōsaka City Museum 1987:40). Also, the wooden birds on stakes as well as wooden anthropomorphic figurines –male and female – are still seen at the outskirts of Korean villages (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1992:35). A bronze piece from Taejŏn dated between 4th and 3rd century BC actually depicts birds on stakes (plate 54.2) (Seyock, comment, 20th March 2009), again demonstrating an influence from the Peninsular Bronze Age culture to the Middle Yayoi Kinai area.

With the Kmer People in Thailand wooden human figures represent the ancestors, whose spirits people address through the figures. Female figures are smaller than male figures, and they are always placed together. People pray to them and serve them food and alcoholic drinks (ibid:10).

The whole complex of bronze deer and wooden birds and human figurines thus reached the northern Peninsula and subsequently the Japanese archipelago, and it seems likely that segregated areas of settlements, such as we see them at Karako Kagi and Byōdōbō Iwamuro, would have religious function such as was the case in Siberia and later in the southern Peninsular area in the Bronze Age as well as in the Period of the three Han.

On the pottery there is an equal share of birds with long and with shorter necks. Harunari suggests that the latter are geese and ducks, and that they may have been earthen deities. These birds hide in tall grass and shrubberies, but fly up when people or anything unfamiliar get close. Harunari sees them as watch-keepers warding off disasters, and he thinks that these birds are the ones placed on poles that were erected in or at the moats of settlements (Harunari in Sahara and Harunari 1997:79). If Harunari's assumption of the identity of the short necked bird is correct, this bird is much less connected to agriculture than to defence of the settlement.

Pictures of birds, however, are not nearly as numerous as the wooden birds, and the long necked bird is not very frequent on bells. On pottery there is a certain relation between birds and deer; they appear together, or the birds appear in pairs as is often seen with deer, sometimes the birds are connected with houses, and sometimes a motif's identity as either

bird or deer is hard to assess. But on bells there are not very many long necked birds and here, their connection is with fish or they are alone. It seems to be an indigenous motif.

Pottery pictures of humans with wings or bird beaks have been found at Tsuboi and Shimizukaze in Nara, at Shinjōnoue in Okayama and at Yōhisayama Maechi in Hyōgo, and pictures of unarmed people with feather head gear stem from Karako Kagi and Inayoshi Sumita in Tottori. On image stones from the Chinese Han culture, otherworldly people, and people in the process of becoming such, are depicted with wings; socalled 'birdpeople'. Kanaseki thinks that the picture of the winged human and the concept of the 'birdperson' arrived from the northern bronzes and the Shamanic culture in the northern area (Kanaseki 1986 in Shitara 2006:26). However, the shaman with wings or feathers does not originate in Siberia, where it was the horned animal that flew, but where there may have been traditions in some places of the shamans wearing horns when performing (Vitebsky:261). It seems to have been somewhere in South- or Southeast Asia that the wings "were moved" from the animal to the human, since the winged shaman and variations of these characters are found in prehistoric contexts over wide areas of Asia, notably in Southeast Asia where they are depicted as rowers in long boats (plates 55.2, 55.3, 55.4).[91] The 'birdpeople' engraved on pottery in the Yayoi Period show characteristics to be related to various types of shamans in China, Korea and elsewhere (plates 54.1, 55.4). The representations that stem from the Yayoi period do not comprise any overwhelming number, but they all stem from phase IV and must relate to some significant phenomenon present at the time.

Bird-dressed humans as shamans and priests relate to people taking on these roles in traditional societies often being characterised by adornments and attributes related to birds. A Chalcolithic vase from Iran shows a person with raised arms and a bird beak (plate 61), exactly as we see in Yayoi phase IV pictures. A picture on a Korean bronze shows a feather-dressed person – not unlike the men armed with spear and shield – treading on a spade (plate 54.1). The person is perceived as a priest or shaman related to the feathered, winged shaman (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1992:27). It is likely that there was a belief in Yayoi society that deceased people had flying capacities, since the Wei Chih reports about the Pyŏnhan people that they bury their dead together with feathers from large birds in order for the dead to use these for flying (Seyock 2004:97).

[91] This does not mean that the concept of the winged shaman was 'invented' in this area. The idea of the flying shaman is widespread, and shamans with bird-wings or feathers are known from many regions (Campbell 1983: 156, 164, 176, 177, 184).

The boat motif may also stem from Southeast Asia, but the relation is not substantially supported. The boats on Inomukai I carry people who steer them, but these people do not wear any attire. On several bronze drums from the Dong Son culture there are pictures of longboats carrying people adorned with feathers and sometimes wings (plates 55.2, 55.3, 55.4) reflected in the people rowing the boat on the Inayoshi Sumita piece. However, although the boat and rower motif on the Inayoshi piece appears to be copied from the motif on the Dong Son drums and must thus be connected to these, it is a rather unique piece. A few other examples exist of people rowing a boat (IDs 100, 120), but they are not dressed with feathers and in one case not all of the ores are manned. Furthermore, most of the pictures we have of boats on pottery are with ores only and no rowers. In fact, the number of these depictions in Kinai based Middle Yayoi context is not very high compared to that of buildings, and the religious significance of the boat may not have been as great as in the Kofun Period.

Relatively many more depictions exist of boats in the Japan Sea tradition – carried out on wood – but without ores, and we may assume that the boat was more important in this region, but whether the influence here from Southeast Asia was responsible for their depiction, apart from that on the Inayoshi vessel, is doubtful, and the focus on boats in the coastal area is natural. In any case, depictions of boats may have been part of the heritage at the coast from Jōmon times, as is shown by the Late Jōmon clay boat from Hokkaidō (ID 595), and a much earlier (Early Jōmon) boat-pattern engraving on a nutshell, stemming from Akita (plate 63). Both show parallel lines on their side, interpreted by Naumann as representing side-boards (2000:51), which may be what are represented on the Japan Sea Coast boat depictions in the Yayoi Period (plate 21, ID 38).

Some stylistic iconographic aspects were likely imported from the Dong Son culture in Southeast Asia (fig. 36). A connection between the Dong Son artistic tradition and that of Kinai may have resulted in the appearance in the latter area of the panoramas on style II bells, and in the boat motif in the earliest Middle Yayoi from the bands of deer and birds on the drums and bronze vessels (plate 57).[92] However, boats are not very predominant in Kinai, and their rowers do not carry feathers. In contrast to this, Western Seto may have had strong connections to the Dong Son culture, since the eye motif of the Fukuda bells recurs in Southeast Asia as three dimensional plaques or 'masks' in bronze (plate 58). The Inayoshi Sumita vessel from phase III is thus a late example of the influence from Dong Son art.

[92] Evidence of reverse influence is seen in the scattered finds of bronze bells on some South Asian islands decorated with the water pattern of the Yayoi style II bells (one is kept at the British Museum, Chinese Gallery).

The two storied building on the sherds near Karako Kagi's entrance (ID 74) may reflect some influence from China. It has been compared to raised floor buildings shown in art from the Han period (plate 59) and related to the mentioning of a tower in *Gishi Wajinden* (魏志・倭人伝). The influence of China on the Kinai area was weak in Middle Yayoi, but immigrants may have drawn it from memory, and it does look like the Han structures in terms of both height and building technique, so a connection to Han culture cannot be denied (Shitara 2006:26).

Pictures of raised floor buildings appear early on the Inomukai 1 bell, and remains of real structures have been unearthed at Toro and Yamaki Sites in Shizuoka Prefectures, but the latter are of a type originating in Southeast Asia, which clasps with the idea that such storage houses were introduced together with Yayoi culture from the Korean Peninsula. Here, Kanaseki has pointed out that ancient pictures exist from northern Korea of raised floor buildings (Kanaseki 1985 in Shitara:26), supporting the idea of *iconographic* diffusions from the north of the Peninsula and southwards to the Japanese Archipelago, on which route this motif may have joined those of the shaman and the deer.

The halberd appeared suddenly in the Yayoi period, and disappeared again suddenly during the same period. In ancient China, from the Spring-and-autumn period (770-403/453 BC, is also Middle Zhou period) to the Warring States period (403/453-221 BC, is also late Zhou period), people added scenes of fighting and of ceremonies on bronzes. Among these images are many depictions of humans carrying halberds, a weapon type probably stemming from the Peninsula and also exported to the Yayoi societies (Okauchi in Fukasawa 1998:54). The warrior pictures of the Yayoi Period show people – in all areas – with similar appearances and postures to the ones on the continent (plates 60.1 – 60.5). Feather dressed warriors equipped with halberds with short shafts may have played a role both in real battles and also at mock battles taking place inside settlements (Nakamura in Fukasawa 1998:56).

The dragon of Late Yayoi was definitely brought into the Yayoi culture from Han China, where it originated as a fabulous animal in the Chinese Neolithic period 6500 years ago. It was used as a design on bronzes in the prosper of the Chou Period (ca. 1000-221 BC, Barnes 1993:24), and by Han times it had developed into a waterborn creature that periodically transcended into the sky or the earth, and as such a mythological animal it was depicted on image stones (Shitara 2006:26).

Summary 4. The geographical relations and connections of Yayoi iconography

The four main areas of pictorial engraving correspond roughly to the four political centres in western Japan in the Yayoi Period; Kinai, northern Kyūshū, Kibi and an extended Izumo area: San'in. The most substantial records are those of Kinai and the clay plaque industry of Kibi. We may think of the Takamatsu record in Ehime as a smaller fifth centre, and finds have been made at sites in Hyōgo and southern Hiroshima.

Picture engravings on wood is likely to have been very common – most substantially documented in the San'in area – and the various traditions were maintained using this media in the earlier phases of the Yayoi Period, before metal and particularly pottery were substantially used. Three dimensional sculpting and carving of human heads, human figures and birds existed alongside with the engravings in regions north and west of Kinai as well as in Kinai itself. Some grew out of the previous Jōmon Period's tradition of sculpting; others were imported from the continent.

The human focus in pottery vessel pictures is thus anticipated by small clay human heads and wooden boards sawed into human shape, and it is accompanied by the human faces and bodies on the clay plaques. As for the bird in the art of the Yayoi Period, it is much more substantially represented as wooden carvings than as engraved pictures, and as such it is a phenomenon with stronger connections to the Ōsaka Plain area, a centre of wooden birds, than to the Nara Basin. In the first place, Kinai may have received the 'tradition' of picture engraving from the north-easterly casting centre in Fukui Prefecture. It travelled along the east-bank of Lake Biwa to Kaide in Kyōto and then to Higashinara. Stylistic differences can be observed from one settlement to another in the Nara Basin – and also on the Ōsaka Plain – even between Karako Kagi and Shimizukaze, showing that the pictorial engraving was made locally on the settlement where it is found. However, whereas some of the Shimizukaze characteristics recur at Karako Kagi, indicating that there must have been a strong connection between the engravers of the two settlements, finds from some of the other basin settlements with very small records are stylistically remarkably different from the Karako Kagi-Shimizukaze complex.

Combinations of many different motifs constitute a Kinai phenomenon, although it is seen in rare cases elsewhere. The combination of boat-house is seen in phase III with a Karako Kagi piece (ID 11) and the Inayoshi Sumita piece (ID 111), the latter of which strongly relates to the Kinai tradition. In phase IV the combination of deer-house becomes predominant in the

Kinai record. Triangles or triangle-pattern apparently sometimes replace the house and is combined with the deer. Both deer and houses are usually filled out with lattice pattern and their connection is underlined by the occasional upside-down placement of the trapezoid shape of the house-roof.

The northern Kyūshū tradition started perhaps as early as that of the first bell pictures in Fukui, but although a wooden board from Saga demonstrates that motif-combination was practised in the area before it was taken up in Kinai, pictorial engraving there stayed at a rather sporadic scale. Hooks that were the earliest motifs remain the most recurrent until early Late Yayoi, sometimes in combination with a deer or replaced by houses. The earliest deer style in the early Kyūshū record recurs later in Ishikawa Prefecture, and both may derive from the rare engravings during the Jōmon Period of the animal. At the transition between Middle and Late Yayoi the human with headgear emerged, and that and the human face became the predominant motifs in the area. The former is universal, whereas the latter connects it to Kibi.

In San'in, whereas bronze bells are concentrated around Lake Shinji in the proper Izumo centre, picture engraved pottery mainly stems from settlements at protective lagoons on the coast of Tottori. From the Inomukai motifs, however, coastal traditions of wood-engravings may have generated. Among these the one at Aoyakamijichi appears to be local with indigenous motifs of sharks or dolphins and rams. The long necked bird from Inomukai recurs, but also a large record of locally appearing clay plaques without faces has turned up there.

The headgear motif itself may stem from the San'in Yodoe tradition, as the Inayoshi frieze (ID 161) is from phase III. However, in late Middle Yayoi, the headgear becomes related to humans holding halberd and shield, rather than to the boat in San'in (ID 41) as well as in northern Kyūshū and Kinai. The boat becomes a frequent motif only in Kinai, but in isolation or in combination with the raised floor house (ID 11) and here the person with halberd and shield appears separate from boats on pottery as well as on a bronze bell (plate 15). The warrior motif with one or two people holding shields and weapons seems to be present in all areas during phase IV, whereas the humans with their arms raised constitute a Kinai phenomenon.

In contrast to the long-necked bird motif that seems to be indigenous, the short-necked bird motif appears to derive from the wooden birds that may have entered Japan via Izumo, which area together with Ōsaka holds the earliest carved wooden birds of the Archipelago.

The sites at the Yodoe lagoon – although the record here is modest – hold the iconography with the closest resemblance to Kinai pieces. In central Izumo west of Yodoe pottery and bell pictures as well as a few pictures on halberd-tangs together show connections to Kyūshū and

Kibi (eyes and faces), whereas deer and dragonflies are of indigenous style. Iconographically, this area is thus not very strongly connected to Kinai, in spite of the fact that it received a large number of bronze bells from that area.

The record in central Kibi on pottery vessels is rather meagre. All the Kinai motifs can be found as can the deer and bird motif combination, but the occurrence is sporadic. However, one of the few depictions of a human in bird attire stems from here.

Kibi's main contribution to the general record of pictorial engraving is its large occurrence of clay plaques with human faces, a motif migrated from Kyūshū and cultivated in its new homeland in merging with the Jōmon tradition of marked eyebrows. The minor centre in Ehime Prefecture on the other hand shows a relatively large record concentrating on deer – also some with arrows in their backs – and raised floor houses, apart from its indigenous Late Yayoi motif of a pair of "cat's ears".

Conspicuously Kinai resembling engravings are: The Shinjōnoue piece in Okayama (ID 170), because it shows a person in bird attire, the Inayoshi frieze in Yodoe, Tottori, because it shows several motifs in combination, and the Yōhisayama Maechi piece in Hyōgo (ID 234), because it shows both.

The deer, the leading motif of the Yayoi Period, had been depicted before, but with the increased contacts to the Korean Peninsula and influence directly from the Eurasian Continental area, it gained a previously unknown significance in religion and artistic representation. The use of its scapulae for divination that underlines this significance can be traced to the Peninsula. The deer motif itself stems from the Scythian region from where it travelled east and reached the archipelago as well as the Peninsula. The motif of the animal with an arrow in its back originates in Jōmon context, but new religious connotations are thought to have developed in Honshū when it spread to the southern Peninsula. From the Peninsular south-western area stem Sŏngungni pottery and moated precincts, both of which recur in the Kinai area in late Early Yayoi, lending credit to the theory that a large segment of immigrants from the southern part of the Peninsula with an abundance of resources inhabited this area. Such Kinai groups may have been quite susceptible to the new industries of bronze bell casting and engraving of pictures in moulds when these later arrived from north-east, from Fukui Prefecture, where the significance of the deer was, according to interpretations here, already starting to change into a Yayoi culture animal.

Even if the motif of the deer with large antlers emerged in the Scythian empire, its religious significance and the shamanism that is assumed to have been connected to it seem to have

arrived in the archipelagi as well as in the Peninsula from Siberia. The motif of the bird – or rather: the carved wooden bird – originates in the east edge of the Central Asian Steppe and Siberia. The deer motif recurs in the Han area in the southern part of the Peninsula and also in the western part of the archipelago with close resemblance and the wooden bird as an exact copy, as does the wooden carvings of humans that stem from the same area and context as the bird.

Based in archaeological finds and written documents respectively, segregated areas of settlements are accepted here to have been connected in Siberia as well as in the Han area with the shaman and the location of religious artefacts; the wooden figures, the birds on stakes, and the shaman's tent in the former case; bells and drums as well as a large tree or pole in the latter case, all for the sake of invoking and interacting with ancestors and other spirits. In present East Asia, birds on stakes for protection and communication with the Otherworldly and wooden human figures representing ancestors can still be observed. It thus seems likely that the segregated area of Karako Kagi, and later Byōdōbō Iwamuro, emerged as an area for religious activities such as we see it in Kagoshima Prefecture in Kyūshū where sexual symbols were found in a segregated area of a settlement.

Birds seem to have been attributed the protection of the human society in Yayoi times connected to their ability to fly, and an idea of birds as protectors is suggested to have arrived from the shamanic home area of the wooden bird on a stake in Siberia. In contrast, the concept of the winged *shaman* that spread over large parts of Asia seems to have arisen as a merging of the bird-belief and the shaman focus somewhere in South or Southeast Asia, a merging however, that has happened in many other areas of the world. Wings were particularly important as burial gifts for the flight of the deceased into and in the next world in southern Korea, and by inference – but not substantiated – they may have been so also in Yayoi societies. But within the archaeological record, the feather carrying humans are best represented in the Dong Son Culture of Southeast Asia, where they appear as rowers of long boats on the sides of bronze drums. In this version the motif is seen in the Yodoe area of San'in. The boat motif existed already in the Jōmon Period in eastern Honshū, which seems to have determined the appearance of Japan Sea Coast boat depictions during Yayoi times. It also arrived in a foreign version from the Dong Son culture, but this connection is weak in contrast to the eye motif of Western Seto that recurs on Dong Son masks.

The motif of the raised floor house may have been inspired by northern Peninsular storage houses, but the possibility should not be ignored that the boat and the long necked bird could be indigenous motifs.

5. Pictures in their cognitive context

5.1. Introduction

In chapter 3 I have treated the development of settlement clusters in the Nara Basin. The growth of larger settlements was based in the presence of strong factional leaders in the beginning of Middle Yayoi, leaders who were able to attract population groups from the original small settlements. These settlements were thus abandoned as their inhabitants gathered with the charismatic leaders at Karako Kagi, Ō, Byōdōbō Iwamuro and Tsuboi Daifuku.

In the following I am going to expand on the cosmology that changed from the presentation of a wide range of animals to one of humans and their cultural surroundings, reflecting a more political religiosity sprung from ideology and probably with only reminiscences of the animism that in my opinion was expressed in the earlier cosmology.

The motifs depicted during the Yayoi period indicate that people practised a religion – or religions – with shamanic traits. In this final chapter I will outline how shamanism is at the core of practically all religiosity, and that its universality makes it usable in very different social contexts. I shall thus claim that the Early Yayoi people in the Nara Basin practised an animist religion, and that the shamanism that prevailed in the earlier period was more original, more integrated in nature and probably the result of a more egalitarian society than the shamanism that came to dominate in the later period. I believe that the later Yayoi societies depended much more upon rules and regulations stemming from communities with a sharper labour division and social stratification, and the operation of these traits within the process of the settlements' alienation from nature is explored together with the affect of the process on the pictorial record. Just as I have argued earlier that religious considerations played important parts in import and trade, I shall argue here that shamanism in the later period was connected to political considerations.

I have earlier talked about political and religious leaders without making statements of these individuals' internal relationship. Here, I shall argue, based in ethnographical evidence, that universally, the two leadertypes are originally one person who splits into two at some time during a possible political process of decreasing egalitarianism. I shall thus claim that there were likely both a political and a religious leader at Karako Kagi in phase IV, that they were probably related in some way, and that both positions were moving towards hereditary status. The religious sentiments of the time and the most established pictorial motifs were exploited by the leaders, claiming special connection to the symbols and insisting on exclusive access to

esoteric knowledge; an overwhelming strategy in front of the commoners to make them accept their leadership.

This final chapter of my thesis contains the ultimate conclusions based on my collation of data and my own results to the theoretical material. For this reason part of the argumentation put forward here is itself highly theoretical – some may say speculative – and in contrast to the preceding chapter it may not appeal to proponents of genetic comparisons. The chapter should be regarded, however, as an introduction to a new way of looking at Yayoi Period religion, an interpretation that leans more on ethnographical parallels than on folklore, but which takes seriously the mythological evidence; it contains many hypothetical suggestions that will hopefully be taken into consideration and their statements tested in the future. As I have argued in my prologue, research into cognitive archaeology makes up a short tradition, and only by a continuous process of putting forth suggestions, followed by discussion, testing and adjusting of these, the field can develop.

In accordance with my earlier interpretations concerning the intertwining of religious life and exchange (chapter 2), I argue in this chapter for the intertwining of politics and religion in transegalitarian societies. It will thus appear that my definition of religion is very broad.

5.2. Understanding Yayoi Period art

Yayoi imagery and plastic art developed from a merging of Jōmon hunter-gatherer representations of animals and patterns, and motif-imports from Central Asia and Siberia, some via the Korean Peninsula, and the Dong Son Culture. Part of the religiosity related to these motifs would have accompanied them on their way to the Archipelago, and shamanic traits of Siberia, the Peninsular Han area and Southeast Asia filtered into western Japan and met with the indigenous religiosity there. The gradual shaping of religion and iconography in the new area must be stressed, and the first pictures definitely created in a Yayoi environment (IDs 146, 150 – 152, 165) are based partly in a hunter-gathering perception of the world.

People who crafted the patterns and pictures in Initial and Early Yayoi at Funahashi (Ōsaka) and Hyakkengawasawada (Okayama) may have had new, but not necessarily entirely different religious ideas from the people inhabiting the same spots in Late Jōmon. So, the decoding of patterns and pictures could have taken place in much the same way in the two types of societies. It is characteristic for hunter-gatherer art that simple geometric motifs can have a wide range of possible meanings, and the meaning of one motif depends on its

association with other motifs. In the agricultural Yayoi Period geometric motifs were continuously made on the bronze bells, but patterns grew pompous and formal from phase IV (3.5.3). Naturalistic images can likewise carry several meanings ranked in a still more metaphorical sense according to the stage of maturity and initiation of the viewer (Mithen 1996:157-159). This way, a picture of a deer would just represent a deer to the youngest, least experienced and as yet completely uninitiated children, whereas meanings are added to the image as the viewers advance in terms of maturity of age and initiation, such as is the case for the Australian Aboriginees among whom the advancements means knowledge of the ancestral world (ibid:159). Thus, in the Yayoi societies, the combination of deer and house, deer and triangle or birds and house probably had particular significance apart from their meanings as separate motifs.

André Leroi-Gourhan, in his work with the European Palaeolithic cave paintings, claims that the lack of realism indicates an "irretrievable lost oral context" and that Palaeolithic art rose from abstract figures expressing rhythm rather than form, figurative art in its origin being "directly linked with language and...much closer to writing (in the broadest sense) than to what we understand by a work of art". It was symbolic transposition, not copying of reality (Leroi-Gourhan 1993:190, brackets in original).

The rolling lines engraved on the walls of the Final Jōmon/Initial Yayoi pots at Funahashi could thus be seen as rhythmic or oral expressions. However, it is also true that a tradition of drawing arose from one single simple figure; the Kyūshūan hook, a shape which was eventually elaborated into deer and long necked birds respectively, a theory put forward by Fukasawa (personal communication, October 2006).

It is possible that the sketchy simplicity of some of the phase IV pottery and all of the bell-cuff pictures should be seen as specific and phonetic[93] just as the signs on Late Yayoi pottery vessels may have been, as symbols containing the semantics of specific words or sentences, religious prayers or mantras. Contrastingly, the realistic depictions of humans, buildings and deer could be "mythograms" (Leroi-Gourhan), perhaps depicting rituals, whose meaning was related to a whole story. In my interpretation, the "mythograms" were political icons, and the "story" was ideological.

[93] Another, more cynical interpretation of this is that the upside-down depictions of some motifs, which we often see on the bottom cuff of bells, are simply mistakes (Harunari, personal communication, November 2004).

In the modern industrialised world art is often equalled to aesthetics,[94] and the experience of art should be as "...a feeling one has not experienced before. The experience can be elusive...[or]... stabbingly intense, so that it stays in one's consciousness.....You have to... become absorbed in what you see..." (Favrholdt 2005: 42-43, *my translation*). The aesthetic approach implies that art-pieces are all different, that each one is unique, which is not the case with the iconography of Yayoi Period pictures. Unlike pictures belonging to the autonomous art-category as relatively self-dependent objects,[95] we have to examine the Yayoi pictures from a point of departure that lies before this category (Wamberg 2005:60-61). Functions beyond aestheticism can be "1) the *religious,* in which the picture enters a cultic relation (altarpieces, icons or votive offerings) 2) the *political,* in which the picture serves as propaganda for a humanly based power or ideology (battle scenes, portraits of rulers or panoramas of possessions) or 3) the *practical* in which the picture serves as a tool for utilitarian purposes (topographical maps, architectonic sketches or botanical illustrations)" (ibid:60, *my translation*). The view taken here is that pottery pictures in the Nara Basin served the first as well as the second of Jacob Wamberg's categories.

Distinguishing types of art as belonging to each of Wamberg's domains depends on understanding how each of these interplays with its development. "The economic foundations which are the substructure of a society, and the ideology which is its superstructure, determine its art" (Raphael 1945:10), but both the distinction and the understanding of art pieces become still more complicated as we move back in time, since we have still thinner evidence of the function of a picture, and because functions seem still less differentiated (Wamberg 2005:61). As Wamberg states: "To distinguish between religious, practical or political functions of a cave-painting seems absurd" (ibid:61, *my translation*).

Art was not created in prehistoric societies in times of leisure and for its own sake as a consequence of an innate urge to produce aesthetic representations says Lewis-Williams (2002: 42-45). It was a social activity (ibid: 44), much as image making was linked to religion "and facilitated the formation of stratified societies" (ibid: 99-100). Both statements seem to be confirmed in the iconography of Yayoi phase IV.

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[94] The concepts of aesthetics and art are inventions of the industrialised world. In ancient Greece, the term referring to a carpenter's skill when making a piece of furniture was the same as that employed for a painter's skill when producing a picture of the furniture, namely "tekné"; technique. It was in the European Age of Enlightenment in the 18th century that the idea of art as something different from craft appeared. Until that happened a painting was priced according to the monetary value of its materials, and painters were organised in guilds like other craftsmen.

[95] This category of art has been rejected very early by Marxist theoreticians such as P. J. Proudhon in 1865: "The purpose of art lies beyond itself, for everything depends on everything else; all things are linked in solidarity with each other; there is purpose in all things touching humanity and nature" (Raphael 1933, chapter XIV).

Many of the Yayoi Period pictures on pottery and on bell cuffs appear as sketchy and simple as motifs of the Scandinavian Bronze Age. In the early 20th century, archaeologists thought that Bronze Age pictures had lost their religious significance on their way from the Near East and the Mediterranean region to the North, and to have been only decorative art with no actual meaning in the latter area.[96] This theory has been thoroughly refuted with the comprehensive ethnographic record telling of the very common use of "weird" objects and of pictures without much realism, both categories with a lack of immediately comprehensive semantics.

The two-dimensionality of the Yayoi pictures lacks depth, and the figures have unnatural proportions. One of Sahara's points is the tendency in children's drawings to enlarge and diminish motifs according to relative importance or subordination in the mind of the artist and the viewer. This aspect recurs in the depictions of human and animal genitals – in Palaeolithic cave paintings and in Scandinavian rock engravings as well as in a few of the Yayoi Period pottery engravings (IDs 100, 145) – unmistakably alluding to fertility, physical strength and thus the endurance of the world and continuation of order. Exactly the same can be said about antlers and horns, which is why we find them to be so significant in Yayoi pottery pictures as well as in many other prehistoric or traditional societies, e.g. on the Scythian gold figures. Thus, the 'birdman' or shaman with the animal – deer or bird – inside him is larger than the impersonal humans in the same picture (ID 111). Deer (ID 99), humans (ID 485) and even birds (ID 480) can sometimes be larger than houses, and the extremities of humans (IDs 58, 140) as well as the spiral winding at roof-eaves enormous (ID 65). The deer on top of the house-roof (ID 145) demonstrates the mental connection or even merging of the two in the mind of the engraver.

[96] The religious meaning of elaborately executed imported bronze figures of birds, wheel-crosses or the horse pulling the solar disc was readily acknowledged but it was assumed to have been lost when the same motifs became entangled in the Nordic style with which they came to be shown over time. As horses depicted on razors were given multiple legs and became merged with serpent-figures, or as the horse-head at the stern of ships had dissolved, they were thought to have become decorative art with no actual meaning. "Thoughtless art prevailed at the execution of these pictorial representations. In case the picture of the horse had had a higher significance as sacred or in any other way had been connected to the deity, it would have asserted/claimed its position more securely" (Müller 1920 in Kaul 2004:37, *my translation*). In other words; "if a picture does not resemble in a naturalistic way it has no significance, but is rather thoughtless decorative art – everything stylised has been reformed into ornaments without any particular meaning" (ibid:37).

5.3. The shamanic foundation

The existence in late Early Yayoi of shiny bronze bells and their decoration with pictures of a human shooting a deer is taken in this thesis as evidence that shamanism was present in the earliest Yayoi societies. Understood in its broadest global term, shamanism can be described by such a wide range of objects and activity phenomena, all focusing on the mental transcendence of people from their own selves to someone or somewhere else, that it is best understood as the ability for humans to enter *alternate states of consciousness*. This rather stiff academic term refers to concepts which were – and still are in some areas – perfectly natural until modern times.

Some researchers of shamanism claim that the urge in humans to "shamanise" is the very core of religious drive. Hayden defines religion as an innate emotional foundation in humans involving an "ability to enter ecstatic states via a number of techniques and to create strong, emotionally binding relationships associated with those states" (Hayden 2003:3). It is from this foundation that religion has developed and branched out, according to the cultural ecological conditions existing in various societies of the world, and according to the changes within each of these. Sets of religious rules and norms change according to the ecological terms of the society that they are adopted into (ibid:13).

Hayden distinguishes between "traditional religions" and "book religions" as systems of practicality and morality respectively. In "book religions" (Judaism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity) it is endeavoured to keep the individual's contact with the "otherworldly" under control, so that it should not lead to "ritual cults, political instability or uncontrollable behaviour" (ibid:5). In contrast to this, in traditional religions, there is not such fear. On the contrary, it is often the ecstatic experience that is *the* religious experience.

Whereas book religions transcend ethnic groups, but recognise only one "Otherworld" (Paradise, Heaven, Nirvana), and thus tend to be intolerant to other belief systems (Hayden 2003:10), the "traditional religions" at the base of book religions exist in societies of a size within the measurable, whose members recognise other belief systems than their own as a matter of course. In fact, it would not make sense to share these systems, since each society and its "otherworldly" is closely related to the society's origin as a people and usually includes the individual society's ancestors.

Shamanism is a "religious technique" existing because of people's need to deal with sacred forces. An incisive definition of a shaman is "a social functionary who, with the help of guardian spirits, attains ecstasy in order to create a rapport with the supernatural world on

behalf of his group members" (Hultkrantz 1973 in Hayden 2003:46). Shamans negotiate with otherworldly forces due to their qualifications to go back and forth between the natural and the supernatural worlds. When they enter alternate states of consciousness, they can "transform" into various animals, especially the animals that are their "spirit helpers". These spirit helpers protect the shaman when dealing with the sacred force, since they are conceived of as possessing high supernatural powers themselves (Hayden 2003:60).

Shamanism seems to apply to the religious currents of almost all traditional societies since in its broadest sense it refers to a physically as well as spiritually practicable interaction between the religious specialist and the otherworldly. It consists of a variable complexity of rituals involving inexplicable actions and apparently meaningless objects, intoxication and monotonous rhythm, all in order to entrance the shaman and enable him or her to communicate with human or animal ancestors, deities, spirits or whoever reside in the given communities' Otherworldly. As a matter of fact, these techniques work within any religious context, and shamanism can be met also in context of socalled book religions in the shape of revelations, enlightenment etc., and we may regard such figures as Joan of Arc and Julian of Norwich as shamanesses, even if of completely different types than those encountered in traditional societies. It should be noted that the alternative state of consciousness provoked by intoxication and monotonous rhythm can also be reached by lack of food or sleep, sensory deprivation, isolation/seclusion, pain, meditation or high fever. In some traditional societies, individuals who want to obtain skills and/or status as shamans undergo one or several of such trials for their initiation. But far from all societies imply initiation for their shamans.

Also Davis Lewis-Williams states that shamanising must be an innately human characteristic, since even if religious ideas do of course disperse from one region to another, "the widespread occurrence of shamanism results not merely from diffusion", but is also due to the "ancient, human neurological inheritance" and our nervous system's "capacity" of entering altered states….. "There seems to be no other explanation for the remarkable similarities between shamanic traditions worldwide" (Lewis-Williams 2002:206). A wide range of conceptions of "the sacred" and "the otherworldly" are shared by many traditional societies. Also, to a wide extent there is accordance in specific phenomena, and even in the material records, associated with traditional societies' religions.

In these societies we find physical evidence telling of shamanism as it works when inside the individual community. The symbols of the horned animal and of the bird are recurrent. It is also not uncommon for the horned animal to take on the birds' flying capacity – such as we see it in Yayoi pictures by the merging of bird and deer – in its relation to the shaman, thus

"flying horses, stags, deer or reindeer is a typical means of magical or shamanic transport" (Halifax 1982 in Hayden 2003:80; Vitebsky 2005:6-13), and here we see a mergence of the two most essential shamanic animal-types (plate 62).

In the old world, many depictions and myths exist of the "horned god" in anthropomorphic, theriomorphic or mixed shapes (Murray 2005:17-33), and the focus on horns recurs in masks, costumes and pictures in the archaeological and ethnographic records of southern Africa, the Americas, Australia, the Eurasian Subarctics and many Pacific Islands (Campbell 1983:11, 66, 93, 157; Vitebsky, 2005:8-9).

The horned animal is also connected to the Norse god of Odin. It is seen on a Scandinavian gold bracteate from the era of The Great Migration in Europe (3^{rd}-4^{th} century AD) that probably depicts Odin with his spirit helpers; the bird, the "large animal" and the snake. The large animal is a horned animal resembling a horse or a deer (Hedeager 1997:115-118). Propositions have been set forward that the first depicted images of gods like Odin, Osiris and Orpheus, i.e. the 'main characters' of the mythologies recent enough to be known today – or the most recent versions of mythologies – are in fact depictions of shamans (Hayden 2003: 50), and on the bracteate mentioned above, Odin is depicted with a long beaked bird placed on his head, leading also Lotte Hedeager to term him a shaman (Hedeager 1997:115-118). As in Yayoi iconography – as elsewhere, e.g. in the Dong Son Culture (plate 57) – we experience the combination of deer and bird.

Also in Judaism we notice the significance of the horned animal. Originally, blowing a ram's horn was used for asking Jehova for forgiveness. The ram symbolises the sacrificial victim, Isak, hence an animal – a scapegoat – was thrown into a precipice carrying all the sins of people. It was also a ram that was sacrificed in the temple for cleansing it (Marianne Schleicher, Århus University, lecture 1st April 2008).

Many depictions exist from past or present communities of horned animals being killed or captured (Lewis-Williams 2002:174; Hayden 2003:148, 167), thus also from the Yayoi societies (plates 4.3 – 4.7, 6, 9.2, 9.8, IDs 75, 126, 134, 153, 240, 485, 548, 560) and from the Peninsular Han area (plate 50.1), and antlers and horns are widely used since they are associated with wisdom, strength, regeneration, potency, and wealth. The San people in southern Africa would hypnotise an eland before it was killed and its blood mixed with a special kind of sparkling red haematite pigment used for painting. This pigment that could be obtained only in certain mountains, protected people against lightning, and eland blood contained potency that could be kept in a "reservoir" by including it in pictures. The same way the fat of the eland brought well-being and fertility and protected people. It was used for

scarifying boys during their hunting initiation and for anointing the bride before a wedding (Lewis-Williams 2002:159, 161-162).

At Yayoi settlements, we have finds of scapulae of boar and deer with scorch-marks comparable to those on turtle shells used for divination in Shang China. The tradition stemmed originally from northern China where it was in fact animal shoulder blades that were used during the third millennium BC (Chang 1983:48). Bundles of these scapulae have been recovered at Aoyakamijichi, and 150 specimens of divination bones have been found from 32 sites in Japan (Miyazaki 1999:58).[97] There are particularly many in the Kinai and Kanto areas, with one of the earliest being the Early Yayoi specimen from Karako Kagi and possibly another one from that phase at Kōra in Shimane (Hudson 1992:150-151).[98]

The killing of the animal and the following sacred meal is "one of the most common concepts in traditional religions of all times and places" (Hayden 2003:53, 106) since its sacred force is transferred to people this way; while the body is eaten, the soul of the animal goes to the spirit world from where it returns in a new body. This idea implies in its origin an understanding of life after death as temporary and therefore a relatively weak ancestor concept – tying in with Naumann's characterisation of secondary Late Jōmon burials as expressions of a "cult of the dead" rather than of an "ancestor cult" (2000:75-76). Also, the idea implies a weak consciousness of creation myth, which, as we shall see (5.5.) seems related to non-farming communities, and which may have dominated religious thinking in the beginning of the Yayoi Period. This is also what is reflected in the use of the bones in other rituals that took place because the bones represented the power of the animal itself. Bone manipulation rituals took place in the archipelago also in the Jōmon Period, as circles of dolphin skulls have been recovered from two Early Jōmon sites in Hokkaidō and Ishikawa respectively, indicating that the cultures here shared the wide-spread belief that an animal's "free soul" is connected to its bones, particularly to its skull (Naumann 2000:65-66).

At Karako Kagi antler was used for processing arrowheads, needles and other tools, and whole deer antlers have also been recovered. At moated settlements elsewhere in the archipelago the deer scapula was the preferred bone for divination, but here, most oracle

[97] Biased by better preservation in alkaline conditions like shell mounds, most (but not all) are from coastal sites.
[98] The tradition of animal bone divination had its roots in hunting related rituals in China during the Neolithic Longshan period (2700-1700 BC). The nomads in the northern region had spread the practice into the Northeastern parts of the Chinese area, and like the depictions of large-antlered deer, divination by animal bones entered Japan via the Peninsula in the beginning of the Yayoi period, even if the practice of divining did not intensify until the Middle Yayoi. No evidence of oracle bones from Jōmon contexts have been found, and divination had already transformed from a hunting related practice into agricultural ceremonial when it reached Japan (Miyazaki 1999:58).

bones stem from boar. Boars seem to have played a dominant part in rituals in the earlier Yayoi Period, possibly due to their tusks. Still, we have only one example of a tusk used for divination (in Early Yayoi); whereas mandibles were displayed on bars or poles at Karako Kagi and elsewhere.

There are only very few depictions of boar, which does not accord with their ritual importance. However, such depictions may have been subject to a taboo. The taboo of depicting what is essentially important is thought to have prevailed also in Nordic iconography. Here, a wealth of animals appears, but there are no bears in spite of the fact that in the Scandinavian area we have bear burials resembling human graves, and bear-claws appear in rich Iron-age graves. Perforated bear-claws and bear-teeth in graves appear like amulets, but bones of bear are practically non-existent from settlements and so are pictures of bears (Hedeager 2004:243-4). The significance of the boar in Yayoi context may have been of a similar kind, and its depiction thus restricted. A few bell pictures of boar exist, and some of the unclear pottery pictures may be distorted boars as well (IDs 124, 139).

In any case, the bone remains constitute clear proof that boar – or pigs – must have been subject to special considerations in the earlier phases of the Yayoi Period. It is not unfeasible that this interest was inherited from the Jōmon Period from when small clay figures of boar exist (plate 46). Still today, an emphasis on pigs is prevalent in many areas of the Pacific region.

The mixing of the horns and the wings is seen at the initiation ceremonies of the Orokaiva of Papua New Guinea, where the hunters of the village who "attack" the candidates are dressed like birds, but carry tusks of boar. They are hunted by actors who represent the ancestral spirits of the village, and they are ritually "killed" like pigs, thus losing their individuality. They are now in a sense "spirits" themselves and are during the rest of their initiation period taught secrets, and particularly they are shown the feathers that they can wear on masks at ceremonies as initiated adults. A number of Oroikava myths deal with the uncertain differentiation between pigs and humans, and they are generally conceived of as very similar, especially because all pigs (who live under the houses of people) are ultimately to die like humans (Bloch 1992:8-9, 11).

Generally, on the islands in the Pacific (and on the Andaman Islands) the pig is crucial in people's ritual life. The Melanesian focus on the pig took the shape at the Vanuatu Islands of artificial growing of tusks of hermaphrodite pigs by knocking out their upper canines, and in Malekula the value of a boar was estimated according to the length and curvature of its tusk. In the latter case, time could be measured in a pig's tusk.

As we have seen, in Yayoi phase IV the focus on animal bones vanished and divination by deer and boar scapulae seems to have been abandoned at Karako Kagi. Instead, picture engraved pottery was deposited in grave sections, exotic imported objects increased at the place, and bronze bells were produced that – according to interpretations in this volume – would be paraded in conspicuous processions leading from the moated settlement trough the grass- and woodland and into the mountains where they would be deposited. I believe there can be no doubt that the intensity of feasting increased during Middle Yayoi and that it constituted an essential factor in political strategies in phase IV.

Rituals and communal feasts in both hunting and agricultural societies include materials and behaviour which tells that shamanism works in religions of both economic systems. However, the shamanic *performance* and *display* tends to be more substantial in agricultural than in hunting contexts. The historian and philosopher Mircea Eliade has suggested that agriculturalism, domestication and sedentarism as a rule motivates an adoption of a religious outlook focused on sexuality, fertility, and the mythology of woman and earth (Eliade 1993: 88 , *my translation*). However, the focus within Yayoi material on human sexuality or myths of women and earth seems not to have been dominant. Again, domestication itself cannot explain such intensification of ritual display, we need to include in our considerations the "competition using economic surpluses" which Hayden sees as "the key development" (Hayden 2003:174), plus the opportunities for the wealthy members of a community to display their surplus at feasting occasions. Also in this context the horned animal appears on stage, since in many traditional societies horns of cattle killed at feasts are displayed outside the houses of the owners (ibid:192). This way, horns do not only signal strength but also wealth, likely the wealth of a leader, which is why its significance increases rather than decreases in hunting societies that become agricultural; here the horns symbolise the economic surplus, and its meat is typically displayed at large feasts before being eaten. In developed agricultural societies, the killing and eating of the sacrificial animal thus tends to be related to debt-creation rather than to soul-transference.

Ethnographers report the existence of shamans in egalitarian as well as in more hierarchical societies. Thus, a shaman can be a community member whose role is solely to provide for the community's well being in the shape of food supplies, recovery from illness and good weather, a "social worker" for the benefit of the community. Shamans can be either secretive

or open,[99] and they can be sub- or co-ordinate with a possible political leader, just as they can either hold power or be in a strong position due to tight connections with powerful leaders. Shamans sometimes begin to specialise and create hierarchies between them (Hayden 2003:46, 50-52, 132, 151).

5.4. Animals, animism and shamanism in the early cosmology

I shall now turn to explore the type of shamanism that could have prevailed in early Middle Yayoi in the Nara Basin. In phase II, there was still no picture production inside the basin, but bells with pictures would be produced at Higashinara and at the casting centres on the Ōsaka Plain. In the first iconographic record that the basin people encountered – the record on Kinai style II bells – we see animals and insect, and a few people.

But to begin with, we shall look briefly at Early Yayoi, when the cosmology – as judged from the iconography – may have been rather unclear, which is a common trait among egalitarian people (5.5.). Compared to the richness in details of especially Middle Jōmon art, Yayoi art seems in some respects to have started from scratch. Nelly Naumann makes out a good case that the lunar symbolism – visible in objects from many parts of the Jōmon cultural sphere – was highly conscious. The decrease in size and number of art objects on the step to the Yayoi Period however, may well mean that at that stage the old and hitherto established belief systems were being shaken.

New and sporadic in Early Yayoi is the combination of bells and pictures, and the whole complex of material and decorative elements from phase I reflects initial stages of an immature religious complex. The depictions on the Inomukai bells of boats and houses were not to recur for a while, indicating an initial experimentation of bell mould engraving. These initial images may well reflect an unestablished world concept mixed of indigenous religious elements from the preceding hunter-gatherer culture and imported elements of still rather mundane significance to indigenous people, or vice versa to immigrants. The variety of small creatures was a significant trait in Jōmon pottery art (plates 43 – 47), and frogs, turtles and dragonflies make up parts of a record of insects and reptiles together with the deer and the birds, representing natural spirits to people living in close interaction with nature, be it forest or more open areas, as had been the case in Jōmon times.

[99] Thus, an informative shaman of San Africa repeatedly checked on the ethnographer to make sure he/she wrote everything down correctly, whereas the taciturn North American shaman was feared by other members of his community (Lewis-Williams 2002:178).

The boats and houses played their parts in iconographies on the continent (4.4), and boats were represented in Jōmon times as well (plate 63, ID 595), but likely in profane contexts. The Inomukai and the Jūrokuchō imagery are thus expressions of an indiscriminate approach to motifs. If we can speak of a record, it is indeed a record containing preferences but its choices are unstable and signal perhaps a vague sense of cosmology.

The record from the next phases of bell pictures, phases II and III, corresponding to early and mid Middle Yayoi when bell production was started and took place in Kinai, would stem from Higashinara and the casting centres on the Ōsaka Plain. These pictures represent animals; the deer and the small creatures. The hunter whom we see shooting the animal on style II bells is not altogether new, as he has been detected in Late/Final Jōmon context in Fukushima as well (plate 66); however, he is not seen on the contemporary vessel from Aomori, where the bow shooting the animal is depicted alone (ID 562). Generally, we see very few naturalistic humans depicted in Jōmon art, and it is safe to say that the *importance of depicting the killing and the hunter* is new in Yayoi phase II.

Built features like boats and buildings are omitted, and pictures on style II bells could mark the beginning of an independent tradition in societies that seemingly did not attain any religious significance to humanly constructed features. People were not in their ritual life occupied with phenomena that belonged to their own activity sphere, and boats and buildings would have been of only profane significance in Kinai by the beginning of Middle Yayoi. Deer, on the other hand, had gained enormous importance there, and they are represented in an overwhelming number. This animal's role in Yayoi Period religion as the sacred prey and the centrality of its killing is obvious and telling of shamanism. This central animal feels at home in the forest as well as on grassland, and on the walls of the bells it is set in combination with the other living creatures, many of which belong in watery surroundings, either at paddy fields in open wetland or at forest ponds and streams, like dragonflies, mantis(es), spiders, frogs and turtles. The myriad of creatures surrounding the hunter/shaman tells that human interacts with nature itself when performing the ritual killing of the deer.

Some strange animals or fantasy figures are also included in the cosmology on some of the bells from this phase, (e.g. the long legged creature that hangs upside-down on the 5 sibling-bells) (plates 4.1, 4.5 – 4.7) that may belong to an unexplored world. Like the frog and the snake they may refer to Jōmon Period symbolism, the meaning of which however, was probably forgotten and replaced by new interpretations (5.5, 5.7). But by all means, it is essential to acknowledge that pictures and the religion they represented were actively integrating into the living world of physical surroundings of the settlement. A human

existence with nature merged into daily life is generally more pronounced in societies whose economic foundation is hunting or a mixture of hunting and agriculture rather than in predominantly agricultural societies. Central to people's world view in communities that cooperate confidentially with nature is a close practical interaction with animals, lending the animals a prominent place in the human religiosity, but not always worshipping them as specific deities in a systematic cosmos.

Theriomorphism – animals as supernatural creatures – is observed with both the African Malawians and many Siberian groups, where hunting plays an important role.[100] Importantly, none of these groups see any nature-culture dichotomy, they perceive of themselves as part of the world in much the same way as their prey or other species form another part in it. Neither with the Malawi people, who are partly agriculturalists, nor with the hunting Yukaghirs in eastern Siberia do people conceive of any sharp dualism between the human and the animal world. The Malawians have no word for terms that separate animals and plants from humans (Morris 2000b:35), and the Yukaghirs have no word that means "nature" (Willerslev 2007:19, 85). In both these societies people intentionally seek to merge mentally with their prey animal when hunting, a merging that is the epitome of animism.

Human communities existing without any significant degree of agriculture or animal husbandry, but rather depending on *catching* animals for food create the bond felt by hunters between themselves and their prey, the prerequisite of which is the assumption that the prey animal is a being capable of thinking. This is why hunting is the framework within which to understand animism (ibid:xii).

Merging with one's prey means that they hunter tries to think like it in order to catch and kill it. During the hunt, the Yukaghir hunter confronts the animal and mimics it in a seductive mirroring of it, and he flashes back and forth between his own and his prey's consciousness in order to make the animal respond in the right way. But *in* this flashing back and forth, he risks undergoing a real metamorphosis – becoming the prey (ibid:98-99, 108). The hunter "is" his soul but sees the world from the perspective of the body within which he – as his soul – resides at any given moment.

Rane Willerslev thus states that hunting in its essence contradicts the Western philosophical tradition of the dualism between body and soul as well as that between nature and culture (the Cartesian idea – ibid:24); nature-culture dichotomy is not a truism (ibid:18-20). The basic mechanisms of hunting in an animist context is the intentional transference of one's own soul

[100] This view opposes another view that perceives of all religion as inherently anthropomorphic – animals as innately "human" (Mithen 1994 and Guthrie in Morris 2000b:38-39).

back and forth between one's own body and that of the animal – i.e. a shamanic technique – in one's attempt to create a situation in which one can kill the prey.

The Malawians also practise some degree of merging at specific ritual occasions during feasts, whereas the Yukaghirs do not engage particularly in feasting. Yukhagir hunters deal with spirits and ancestors individually in a very direct and 'non-performative' way that does not represent any specific world view, and is not accompanied by any wide range of symbols.[101] The word for shamanism in this society means "to do" (Willerslev 2007:125).

Shamans with their ability to transcend their own bodies mentally in order to interact with "otherworldly" powers are not necessarily unique individuals in their communities. The significance of *non-shamans'* 'shamanic' relationship with animals is part of shamanism. An animist world view does not assume that the whole natural world is animated; rather, only animals that play essential roles in people's lives are ascribed personhood. Since personhood is ascribed to animals in order for humans to try and figure out *what it is like to be those animals,* only higher mammals, whom we assume possess mental consciousness can be person-animals (ibid:107).[102] In both the Malawi and the Yukaghir societies however, the person-animals are *not individual persons,* each elk that the Yukaghirs encounter is a representative of the elk-species, and dancers in animal costumes at Malawi rituals are un-gendered for the same reason; they are only *representatives* of certain animal species (ibid:75; Morris 2000b:150). In relation to Jōmon Japan, Naumann speaks of the whale being worshipped as an individual animal, whereas there may have been a belief in the "spirit of the species" for salmon (2000:69).

An atmosphere like this may have made up the foundation for the multiple depictions of deer seen on the early bells together with a few humans who are shown in interaction with them. The deer are shown moving forward as in their natural element, and so are the hanging creatures at the top of the frieze. These animals would be representatives of their species, available for humans to prey on and to interact with.

On style II bells, the representation of two people threshing is the only motif relating to life inside the settlement, and it still deals with the processing of the 'cultivated nature' (although it reveals a beginning change of focus in religious life from the omnipotent role played by nature to cultivated life inside the settlement borders). I thus think that the nature-culture dichotomy was rather weak in Early and early Middle Yayoi; labour division was only just

[101] In fact, their "shamanising" does not involve the use of horns or wings, nor drums.
[102] Thus, birds, frogs and insects are not persons. The same way, the Malawians do not conceive of a mountain as a person, since a mountain does not think (Morris 2000b:40).

starting to emerge, particularly among indigenous people who started farming but also among settlers. A rice field need not have been more obviously a cultivated element than was the forest to the people who lived in the beginning of the Yayoi period, and hunting was not necessarily carried out by a specialised work force. Thus, at the beginning of Middle Yayoi the mental distinction between nature and culture could have been vague, which was however to change radically in the later phase.

The reflections that I read from style II bells would refer firstly to the areas of their production, north and west of the Nara Basin, and it is doubtful whether any of the settlement clusters in the south-east basin received any bells, as items found in the basin seemingly ended up at locations closer to their alleged production places.[103] It would seem however, that the use in the basin of animal bones in rituals ties in with the interpretation of a strong animist aspect of religious life also here. And particularly in the beginning of the Yayoi Period – if I am correct in my assumption that labour division was not yet much progressed, and that many different individuals hunted and collected wood and food provisions at a distance from the settlement – an integration of human life in nature would have prevailed in the basin as well as on the plains.

I thus assume it a plausible scenario both in- and outside the basin that shamans existed at the settlements both before and after the agglomerations. However, the motif of the shaman shooting the deer may origin in a reality like the one I have outlined above, namely in a society that was partly hunting and where all who hunt, disregarding of sex and age, use shamanic techniques in front of the game, and the motif is thus likely to simply show 'man the shaman'. In this scheme, shamanship would not be reserved for one person, rather it would be accessible to all who have the interest and show the skills.

We should note however, that shamanising can be competitive, and that such competition may have been part of the early factional competition in the Nara Basin of phase II. Whereas the shamanism of the animist Yukaghir hunters is completely integrated in the hunt itself and religious rituals are not public events, the role of the shamans of the Wana in the Island of Sulawesi, Indonesia is highly performative. The Yukaghir and the Wana shamanisms are very distant in their content, the former private and immediate, the latter official and political. In neither of the two societies that I refer to here are shamans initiated to their role (Willerslev

[103] From phase II there are bells (style II-1) at Akishino (秋篠) near Saki (north-western corner) and at Kamimaki (上牧) at the western side of the Mami Hills (western edge), and from phase III there are bells (style II-2) at Hayata (早田) near Morimoto Kuboshijo in the north-eastern corner, Hakkoyama (初香山) near Nishisato (western edge) and Nagara (名柄) (south-western corner) (Matsumoto and Adachi 1996:444-445).

2007:124; Atkinson 1989:218), and people who are not labelled shamans are not exempted from using shamanic techniques. There is as such no strict line of division between shamans and non-shamans; rather it is a matter of degree to which people know how to 'shamanise' successfully. Among the Yukhagirs successful shamanising is getting the elk, whereas among the Wanas it is getting praised for one's performance (Atkinson 1989:292).

In other – more hierarchical – societies however, there is only one shaman, or if several exist they are ranked. In Siberia at present, the loose organisation of the Yukaghirs' social and religious life is contrasted by more strictly organised – although not agricultural – groups, in which shamans are often in possession of an office (ibid:134-135). I would regard it natural that such organisation emerged as a result of competition in exactly the same way – and in the same process – as the process of political factional competition (chapter 3) that starts by charismatic and influential individuals attracting supporters and subsequently trying to outdo one another. How far this process had developed by phase II is hard to say. At Karako Kagi, the three settlement segments still existed enclosed by separate moats, and it is not unlikely that one or several shamans existed at each of these. The shamans would be in charge of the killing of the sacrificial animal, sometimes a deer, but more often a boar, at special occasions of great ritual importance.

When considering the shamans' position and the degree of religious organisation in the Nara Basin, we must remember that at least one aspect here does not match with my interpretation of the iconography of style II bells, i.e. the religious insignificance of human constructions like houses and boats. At Karako Kagi, we see the first large raised floor building already in phase II-2, and since it is replaced by a similarly looking one in phase III-1 which is related to ritual depositions, I have proposed (2.5.2., 2.7.3.) that these buildings were ritual. This would mean that either the bell-iconography of phases II and III were 'delayed' in their reflections of the religious truth of the time (a mythological mechanism) or large buildings were looked upon as ritual inside the basin at a point of time when they were not in the areas outside.

In any case, it is in the basin that we see the first pictures of buildings – in phase III-3 (IDs 11, 226) as bell style II was waning. This means that at least by this time, the building had gained ground in religious life, and I consider it quite possible that the central ritual act, the killing of the sacrificial animal, was executed outside or beneath it.

5.5. Consciousness of symbolism, time and space by phase III

- Hunters, agriculturalists and their Otherworldlies

Let us dwell shortly on the implications of a world view that had inherited the animism of hunters, but on the other hand was starting to depend more on the seasonal cycles, such as was the case in the beginning of the Yayoi Period. It is not intended here to postulate an absence of pictures or symbolism in hunting societies, as art of the Jōmon Period has been emphasised in earlier chapters. However, there seems to be a certain increase in the level of symbolic information when a society takes up agriculture. This information springs from both art and architecture, and it is related to a new deep sense of time which is necessary when crop-growing, but which also influences people's relationship to their ancestors and to the otherworldly. Humans have no innate need of symbols; the use of it is an intentional choice, a choice that seems to be related to an agricultural way of life, since it binds people to "prescription, proscription and hierarchy" (Wilson 1988:77).

It is essential to note Morris' statement that cultural representations of cosmologies are not complete in agricultural Malawian society, and that they never are. He also states that the creation myth of a given community is not the source of symbolical order, thus we cannot 'read' myths from symbolism (Morris 2000b:162-163). Meanings of symbolism are constantly generated and reworked individually. Although some meanings are generally held – like the association of British henge monuments with solstice – these meanings often exist separate from the acts of people and thus their experience of the ritual and its symbolism. Some meanings are vague and inconsistent even in communities with large-scale ceremonies (Inomata 2006:191). However, religious *cosmologies* are generally less diffuse in agricultural societies that are also often more closely connected to the settlement than primarily hunting societies (although the Yukaghirs constitute a sedentary community, a large part of the men's lives – the part that they spend hunting – is spent away from the village).

Another point is that architecture materialises structure, and the spatial organisation of villages facilitates the unification and division of people in a controlled way. Even if spatial patterns inside villages may arise for completely practical reasons, they can be seen as representing an idea of spatial appropriateness (Wilson 2988:60-64) that is virtually absent in the hunting Yukaghir community.

The hunting Yukaghirs use wooden statuettes, *ioyä,* appearing like human faces with elk horns. Such a statuette is the reflected image, the shadow of oneself and can protect one against evil spirits when one is asleep etc. (Willerslev 2007:177). But they do not produce

pictures, and they also have no large-scale initiation-, birth- or funeral rites. The rituals they execute take place between the hunters who are going to participate in the hunt (ibid:150-151), so to say *ad hoc* rituals immediately next to and before the hunt. This semi-private ritual life is accompanied by an absence in their community of specialised shamans with particular status, both reflecting the egalitarian condition of their life-style. With the agricultural Malawians on the other hand, we find pictures of the many animals and smaller creatures, the *inyago,* and we see theriomorphic figures as well as large-scale rituals with masked dancers.

The individual spirits of the Yukaghirs *can be* distinguished, but people put no effort into identifying which spirits they are addressing in individual situations. This is to say that the identity of the spirit for whom the ritual is carried out is not determined and thus unclear. Each spirit has its own qualities, but they are not considered, and the participators in a given ritual do not need to agree on the identity of the spirits addressed. Thus, there is no fixed or organised spiritual cosmos among the Yukaghirs. They have vague ideas about their spirit-pantheon, and their reviews and explanations of the spirits' identities are filled with contradictions and confusion (ibid:142-143). In the agricultural Malawian society spirits are less diffuse. They are cosmologically organised to some degree, and this is reflected in the pictorial representation. Since existing animals are representatives of spirits, they can be related to in a number of ways (Morris, 2000a:168) which gives rise to symbolic depiction of them.

Since figurative representations in Yukaghir community are seen as concrete embodiments of their own shadows (≈ "souls"), and because individuals identify only very few but different spirits, symbolism is neither needed nor wanted. Different species of animals are conceived of as having different characteristics, but there is no valuation of the various animals and thus no symbolism is attached to them. In contrast, to the Malawians, certain lizards, frogs and snakes etc. as well as mammals play crucial roles in their creation myths, and they are depicted in outline – socalled *inyago* – at important ceremonies (Morris 2000b:129-130, 177-185).

The Yukaghirs do not know of any creation myths, only myths of how each species got their physical appearance (Willerslev 2007:88), since they perceive of the human species as only one of several possible embodiments of a given soul between a variety of types. These bodily types range from the prey- and predator animals to larger mammals and are altogether species that are of some significance to the Yukaghirs. There is a "pool" of souls belonging to each species, these souls recurring in an endless string of reincarnations; meaning that upon one's

death one's soul will relatively soon after be reborn in another body belonging to the same species.[104]

Connected to an increase in symbolism and spatial structure is a growing valuation of linear time, memory. Agriculturalists, who are more markedly concentrated on seasonal cycles than hunters transfer this emphasis into their concept of human life. Thus, because generations come and go and take over the house and the fields, life becomes "eternal" in contrast to the life of the Yukaghirs (and the Malawians), which is "immortal".[105] Because of the continuous reincarnations from the constant "pool" of souls of the Yukaghirs, it is uncommon among them to remember or have any considerations for ancestors more than a few generations back. The dead will return anyway (ibid:32-34, 51, 160), and ancestors are not generally worshipped. With agriculturalists, because spaces (the house and the fields) become connected to individuals or groups of people and the output of the fields is delayed, people develop a sense of linear permanence of life. Houses and fields are passed on from one generation to the next and spatial marking becomes essential at the same time as people's relationship to ancestors becomes more conscious, such as can be observed by the burials beneath the floors of the houses at Çatal Hüyük (Hodder 2006:128, 138, 144).

Such space-time connection fosters symbolism. The house in Ancient Greece "serves as the symbol of the perpetual lifeline that connects ancestors and descendants and as the spatial focus that binds generations". And the symbolism is materialised in the enclosing of the hearth within the house as well as the enclosing of the fields beyond the house with a band of soil that was itself *sacred* (Wilson 1988:71). Such enclosing became, as treated in this volume, very forceful in Yayoi period symbolism. Enclosing of spaces expresses people's hope and intention of permanence, "that [they] will always remain in the same spot" (ibid:71), just as the repeated construction of houses in the same spots at Çatal Hüyük express and therefore symbolise people's memory (Hodder 2006:144).

The agricultural publicity of rituals and importance of symbols and cosmology are also observable in the physical appearance of settlements of agriculturalists. These are characterised by architectural design. While "[mobile h]unter-gatherers create for themselves

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[104] This is unless careless interaction between species (usually between people and animals) results in transference of one's soul to the pool of another species. The time of such transfer, however, is usually during hunters' mental interaction with their intended prey animals.

[105] "Whereas learning among hunter-gatherers is left mostly to observation and imitation, sedentarists place greater emphasis on instruction by prescription, proscription, initiation, and the insistence on traditional, conventional ways of doing things 'at the right time in the proper place' " (Wilson 1988:64). The first observation is verified by Willerslev's description of the upbringing of children among the Yukaghirs that is carried out almost without any explanations (Willerslev 2007:161-162).

only the flimsiest architectural context, and only the faintest line divides their living space from nature..... the house and the village are not only an order constructed out of walls, boundaries, and fences; they also serve as smaller-scale reproductions of the structure of the universe" (Wilson 1988:57-58). The building in human societies of permanent (or longer-lasting) houses instead of temporary camp huts does not only mirror certain social and economic conditions but is also accompanied by a very developed degree of cosmological thinking because of its immense symbolic richness (ibid:58).

I believe that such process was under development in the Nara Basin in phase III when we see the beginning of the systematic multiple moating of the core settlements of each of the south-eastern clusters, and at the end of which picture engraved pottery was being produced, reflecting a very conscious cosmology, e.g. the 'birdman' at Tsuboi Daifuku, deer with or without triangular pattern, houses and boats, a human face, a halberd, a fish and a warrior (IDs 1, 9, 11, 15, 70, 90, 137, 174, 185, 225) at Karako Kagi, Shiba and Shibu.

Spatial symbolism is often very direct in traditional societies, e.g. houses in the Atoni community whose different parts symbolise various elements of cosmos, do not form a representation of it, it *is* cosmos (Wilson 1988:69), in contrast to the modern Western understanding of symbolism according to which symbols are the short version of the things or phenomena which they represent. This means that basically, symbolism means the same to the Yukaghir hunters who produce wooden embodiments of souls and spirits and the Atoni people whose house is cosmos, the difference lies in the degree of consideration for cosmology, the depth of consciousness of cosmic elements and their mutual order, and it is one of the reasons why we find a wider range of pictorial and figurative motifs among agriculturalists, thus – as I am trying to point out here – also within the Nara Basin Yayoi groups, to whom each moated settlement as well as the basin itself may well have been a complete cosmos.

Hunting in agricultural societies is often a highly sacred undertaking. The activity can be much more ritualised here than in hunter-gathering societies, and its significance far greater than its economic and subsistence-related role seems to justify (Morris 2000b:23). This statement is reflected in the comparison of the Yukaghir and the Malawian hunting. Whereas hunting is important with the former for the sake of subsistence it is much more publicly ritualised in the latter society, and seemingly, it was also the case in Yayoi phase III, from when we have good evidence of boar and deer being ritually killed, and their bones and body parts employed for divination and display.

Brian Morris states that it seems to be agricultural communities that hold rituals with masked dancers representing animals or spirits. *It is agriculturalists who are preoccupied with wild animals* (ibid:87), a claim echoed in Hodder's analysis of the frequent depictions of leopards in Neolithic Çatal Hüyük (Hodder 2006:19). At Karako Kagi, we see such preoccupation with boars increase during the earlier Yayoi phases until the end of phase III.

Rituals in agricultural societies take place on a seasonal basis and are therefore often large-scale, while rituals in non-agricultural societies occur on a situational basis and are therefore often small-scale. Large scale rituals are often executed after long time's preparation. Harunari has noted that it is hardly the case that the Yayoi people killed the deer right before or during the ceremony at which the oracle bone was used (1991:469), which means that the killing and the divination took place at two temporally separate rituals.

In the 1960s among the Tsembaga and other people at New Guinea, periods of hostile conditions and attempts to expand territories interchanged with periods of self-enforced taboos against fighting as well as a number of other taboos related to food items, cooking methods and the sharing of cooking fires, which were imposed on individuals according to an intricate system. The length of time before the groups could abrogate their various taboos and root up the "rumbim" – a pole that had been planted at the end of their last fight – depended on how fast they could increase the number of pigs and reach the number needed for the appropriate rituals connected to the uprooting event. An average of 8 to 12 years prevailed, but it might sometimes take considerably longer time, because pigs would have to be sacrificed every time death or illness occurred in the group, resulting in a loss of ritual "capital". Eventually though, when enough pigs had been raised or collected, and the uprooting ceremony had taken place, a full year's festival started with large meals, people visiting and exchange of women and goods, dancing and entertainment, ritual performances etc. The culmination of the year was the killing and sacrificing to ancestors of pigs (Rappaport 1968:153-157, 168-174, 202-210).

The same way, the sacrifice of a pig or a deer within phase III Yayoi society may have taken place within ritual complexes of prolonged duration of several months or even a year; a ritual cycle. If we accept the idea that the killing of the animal took place beneath or in front of the pillared building, the meat would have been displayed and eaten, after which all or part of the bones were buried temporarily and after some time dug up and taken into the raised floor house. There, the scapulae would be treated for ritual scorching and used for fortune telling.

As I shall argue below I think that the degree of organisation, foreign area contact and labour division reflected in the material data of phase IV took place when religious as well as political power had been concentrated on the hands of a few individuals. Also, I shall argue that this power was permanent and hereditary, and that shamanship would thus likely be connected to an office by that time.

Even so, I consider it likely that during phase III, which I see as including individuals that were competing, also for religious power, a shaman like the one we see depicted on the Tsuboi Daifuku piece (ID 1) may have been one of the 'winners'. In such connection, apart from having been the supreme performer at feasts, he may have demonstrated the best abilities to endure the trials imposed on him for initiation.

In some societies a shaman's recurrent entrances to "deathly" states come subsequent to an initial occasion where the person has gone through severe illness or extreme conditions from which most people would not recover. The reward that the candidate eventually gains is access to and knowledge of the other world. The Tungus word *ša* that means *to know* is thought to be the origin of the word šaman, the shaman, who has access to the other world. In the Nordic mythology, Odin hangs wounded and fasting in *Yggdrasil,* the World Tree for nine days, before he can "seize his power", consisting in the runic letters. The word rún/rúnar meaning "secret, secret knowledge" and the runes containing the secret knowledge thus associates directly to the nature of shamanism (Hedeager 1997:112), when this is connected with powerful skills. I would suggest that such shamans emerged during phase III at the Nara Basin settlements, but that perhaps their office had become hereditary by phase IV. In the latter period they may have resided and ruled in or near the segregated areas like they did in the southern Peninsular Han region. Their influence on society would be considerable, and like political leaders they would perform at public occasions to consolidate their power.

5.6. Religious and political power in phase IV

-The shaman and the warrior

I will now turn to the religious developments in phase IV and attempt to describe the conditions of shamanism that I think eventually prevailed during this time of strong labour division and beginning stratification. As in the previous paragraphs my assumptions are based on the imagery and the physical features.

The identification of the religious specialist in a society can be the first step to labour division. The religious specialist is often the first specialist to appear in a community even if in egalitarian societies there will often be several individuals with skills to interact with the Otherworldly, and these people will also usually not be full time specialists. It seems a fair assumption that religious specialists had existed from the beginning of the Yayoi Period in some shape, although we don't know how prominent or independent from primary production they were. It is also likely that the iconography of the early Middle Yayoi with few humans and many animals was based in a religiosity with shared access to shamanship, and that shamans were basically "social workers" working in a communal context.

In chapter 3 I have argued that the physical appearance of the moated settlements was due to the competition of political power in the basin (3.5.1.). Tying in with that I have argued above (5.4.) that competition for religious power is also likely to have taken place, just as I – on an overall basis – see an intertwining between the two types of power. Doubtless, the casting and distribution of large bronze items like the bells could only have been organised in societies with a relatively high degree of political leadership, and certainly, regulations existed on the bells' apperances, on the cosmos that they represented in terms of both pictures and patterns.

In their analysis of the bell motifs of late Middle Yayoi, Sahara and Harunari suggest "a syntax of the thirty-four scenes"; i.e. that the artisans creating the pictures on style III bells had to observe certain rules to create a cosmological order in which the upper row of panels symbolizes the sky and the lower the ground; the former incorporating dragonflies and other insects, and the latter subsistence related motifs respectively of storage houses, threshing people, the person with an I-shaped stick, assumed to be fishing, and the hunter holding the antler of a deer.

There is also in the scenery of style III bells a hitherto unseen 'posing' of the figures, even if some of the motifs employed are basically *the same* as on style II bells. We still see the frog and the snake, the deer and the hunter, but here, the deer is alone with the hunter and it does not move. The picture of the hunter who shoots the deer or holds its antlers has turned into a still life, and the lone deer has lost some of its sovereignty to the hunter; the human and the shaman. This human expresses power over, not interaction with nature and the animal. The killing of the horned animal, although maybe accompanied by a performance of transcendence, has become exactly...*performance;* a reminder to the people of the special power of the shaman.

The changes that occur during Middle Yayoi in cosmological composition took place with the transition from phase III to IV, when also the locus of engraving was transferred from the

bronze bells to the pottery. And simultaneously we see the moat-digging at the largest and most central sites speed up. With the new focus on the human, often with raised arms, sometimes with feathers and in a few cases in bird attire, it seems that the religious human itself has gained increased importance. Thus, it is likely that by phase IV the access to shamanship was not free, but had become restricted according to certain rules. This would also mean that there was now only *one* shaman at each settlement, and that shamanship had become an office.

In the phase, pottery pictures represent an exclusive preoccupation with the human activity sphere inside the boundaries of settlements, pointing to a progressed distance to nature. Whereas the early Yayoi society represents a fairly recent break away from the Jōmon hunter-gathering life style in which a large part of people's working hours were spent at distances further away from the settlements, many more hours were spent inside the settlement as Middle Yayoi progressed, and a different and strong distinction between the natural and the cultural sphere came to prevail in later Yayoi society. The meaning of the deer and other animals had changed, and it no longer made sense to perform rituals including boar heads on stakes. Also, the relations of religious life with fixed times correlates with the existence of fixed positions.

Furthermore, when discussing the nature of phase IV shamanism, we must keep in mind the connection between birds and aggression in the Yayoi iconography. The shaman equipped with large birdwings could well have made a very stern and fierce impression, and his bird-power may have been frightful. It is worth noting that the halberds on stakes held by the warriors are not too far in appearance from the wooden birds on stakes, a similarity that is even more conspicuous if we look at some examples of Chinese iconography (plates 60.1 – 60.5) in which halberds are placed on stakes together with feathers; in one case a bird on stake is carried by a warrior (plate 60.4). We may thus wonder whether the halberd which in Kinai is a typically Middle Yayoi weapon (1.3.3.), furthermore appearing and disappearing again abruptly within the Yayoi Period (Fukasawa 1998:47), was not actually a symbol of the bird and origins in this figure. This would explain the strange looking birds in ID 218.

However, are the armed men with feather headgear real warriors or warrior shamans? And if they are warrior shamans, is the warrior aspect real or symbolic? In short: Was supreme authority combined in one individual or were sacred and combat – i.e. political – affairs led by different people, a religious and a military leader? There are no graves in the Kinai area to indicate whether the religious and the political leader were one or two individuals, no graves

have been found similar to the ones in northern Kyūshū containing swords or other warfare symbols. Also, no graves with bird-wings, deer-horns or drums have been recovered to indicate the presence of a deceased shaman, whereas bird-wings were used as burial gifts in the Korean Han area (4.4) and, as we shall soon see, shamans' graves are known from the southern Peninsula.

If the political situation at the moated settlements were at a stage where sacred and profane power had been separated, it is likely however, that they would still be mutually deeply entangled, and the political and the religious leaders interdependent.[106] Two models are available here of such "double-leadership". One is that of the political leader who appears in the shape of a religious expert and who is accompanied by a great warrior in charge of military affairs. Such "twin" leadership may have prevailed in the Nordic Bronze Age from when the richest males were buried with hats symbolising both rulership and "twinness".[107]

In a twin grave, one of the graves presented a full hilted sword, costly in terms of use of bronze material, and with rich decorations of spiral-patterns. A wide range of other types of swords are known, the most solid one among them being the flange-hilted sword whose hilt was made from organic material. Such a sword was found in the other of the twin graves. Thus the twin grave represents two levels of elite males; chiefs and individuals just below the chiefs. Whereas most full-hilted swords carry no wear and many have blunt tips, heavy traces of wear and resharpening are found on the flange hilted swords, meaning that those who carried them were certainly warriors.

The warrior twin had no other objects at discovery than the sword whereas the grave with the full hilted sword held other elite objects as well as artefacts assessing his ritual rank. A purse with amulets and the burnt bones of a female, suggesting that human sacrifice had been part of the burial rites. These markers are common in chiefly graves from the period, and it is also in this type of graves that some of the most spectacular finds have been made, like the horse-drawn solar-disc from Trundholm in Denmark. The full hilted swords are thus probably

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[106] The merging of the secular and the religious sphere has been experienced by many ethnographers (Andersen 1998). The degree of entangledness of secular and esoteric power is illustrated well by the differing understanding among observers of the relationship between warriors and shamans in the various Jivaroan communities in the Amazon area of South America. Jivaroan war leaders have to be great shamans and in their society warfare is "a sacred undertaking" (Redmond 1998a:9-10), and possessing shamanic knowledge is the best way to identify enemies (Redmond 1998b:75-7). For a young man to be acknowledged as a great warrior, he has to -- apart from killing many enemies – endure hard physical ordeals and consume a hallucinogen in order to experience supernatural visions. Both the visions and the killing will give him sacred strength and enhance his skills as a possible war-leader, though not necessarily a political leader (Carneiro 1998:29-30).

[107] The same kind of hat appear on small-sized bronze figures of males found in hoards in southern Scandinavia and the Baltic area and stemming from or copied from the Near East, where hats have been demonstrated to have been a symbol of rulership (Hedeager and Kristiansen 1985:102-103).

ritual paraphernalia, perhaps to have been carried in processions, and the total content of the grave indicates that the deceased person was "a ritual chief and priest with special magical equipment and special dress, suggesting magical and even shamanistic functions..." (Kristiansen 2001:93) whereas the person buried with the functional flange-hilted sword was the warrior chief, the subordinated twin of the chiefly priest, who was the political leader (ibid 1983:22-25, 2001:88-96).

A reverse situation is that of the religious leader subordinate to a political leader, but this development may have taken the same point of departure, namely that of the chiefly priest needing an assistant. In this case he sheds off his religious duties in order to concentrate on keeping his secular power, also during religious ceremonies.

Such a situation is illustrated by Bloch who thinks that the essence of political leadership is a balancing of the two conflicting roles, the secular and the sacred. He refers to the breathtaking performances of the Luapula elders when they are speech-making. Earle also points out that leaders are often great speakers, and when speaking to their subjects they can convince them of "the advantages and necessity of conforming and following"; they use their oratorical abilities to ascertain their own right and might to hold on to power in front of their co-villagers. Speaking occasions will often be turned into or held at ceremonies, and here the leader convinces and instructs people of the necessity to execute social labour, demonstrating his coordinating abilities, and later he uses the same sort of occasion to thank them (Earle 1997:9-10).

With the Luapula however, such speaking takes the shape of inexplicable communication with the otherworldly, in a language formalised to the extent of trance, during which the speaker "disappears". This mechanism, which Bloch thinks is universal, gives him his authority, but on the other hand doing the performance makes him lose his secular power and his ability to ward off possible enemies. For this reason the political leader appoints a person to substitute him and to speak for him on formal occasions (Bloch 1989:44-45).

Bloch's analysis of the origin of the bipartite roles of leadership thus has opposite implications from Kristian Kristiansen's. However, both models lean on the originality of the religious power, a power that can only be present when access to otherworldly knowledge has become restricted.

It is quite likely that by late Middle Yayoi the role of the community leaders – i.e. the faction-winners at the individual nuclear settlements – had already crystallised and split into two, and at the larger settlements a religious leader existed apart from the political leader. I

thus think that pictures of warriors and pictures of people in bird attire can be seen as depictions of political and religious leaders respectively. However, the feathery characteristics of both show their common origin as shaman-warriors.

Yayoi period art does not leave us with many clues in order to execute gender archaeology. As mentioned, the focus is on the face and not on the body, and we have no figurines with gender attributes like breasts. However, a few pictures exist of humans with genitals, one is a man depicted with phallus (ID 100, person at the extreme right), the other is a representation of the lower part of a body with vulva symbol and two legs, plus with figures that look like the lower parts of two wings (ID 145). It resembles the 'birdman' (ID 111) enough to be called a shamaness (Ōsaka Prefectural Museum of Yayoi Culture 1992:26; Tatsumi 1996:29).

Thus, shamanesses existed in the Nara Basin in phase IV, and we know that certainly in phase V some women held positions as religious specialists. It has been suggested that the legendary Queen Himiko of the latest Late Yayoi was in fact a shamaness and shared the leadership with her brother who held political and administrative authority, again a split leadership. Hayden notes that in entrepreneur societies, in which warfare has typically been replaced by exchange, women's status is often higher than in other types of prehistoric societies. This is particularly true if obtaining marriage partners is the major object for exchange, in which cases origin myths and cults focused on women are likely to emerge as are matrilineal kinship groups (Feil in Hayden 1995:55). Wives are investments, and many wives are prestigious, and it is in communities like this with "relatively elaborate transegalitarian political organizations" that women rank relative high, elite women higher than commoner men (ibid:55). Also, rare cases of Big Women exist in this type of society; women that participated in exchange and maintained their own exchange channels even if this was uncommon and did not involve public roles (Hayden 1995:55).

Research in recent years point to the crucial role of shamanesses in East Asia in general in pre- and protohistory (Nelson 2008). Also, with the existence in the Shilla Kingdom in Kyŏngju in southern Korea of a double grave – man and woman, husband and wife? – in which the woman is buried with a golden crown and her identity interpreted by Lee-Kalisch Jeong-hee as a shamaness (Seyock 2004:97), twin-rulership seems likely to have existed in that area during the Three Kingdom Period. Seyock notices that the seemingly habitual practise in the Three Kingdom Period of a couple as religious and profane leaders respectively is likely to have been rooted in the later part of the Proto Three Kingdom Period, which is contemporary to Late Yayoi in Japan. This means that Queen Himiko of Yamatai (Yamaichi according to Seyock) and her younger brother, who was the only man she socialised with,

represent the double-ruler phenomenon of the time in question (ibid:97). How far we can trace back the split leadership is unclear, but at some point of time religious leaders started to hold offices in segregation from the political leaders.

To conclude my interpretations on the new iconography and settlement structure of phase IV, I shall dwell shortly on the emphasis on dichotomies that arises from the new cosmological emphasis reflected in these. Apart from the nature-culture division dealt with in chapter 3 and also mentioned above, arise, out of the many important cosmic elements, ordered pairs like day-night, earth-sea, left-right etc. – which is in sharp contrast to the vague cosmic ideas of the Yukaghir hunters during ritual. It would seem that it is during this process of development of opposites that ideas arise of something opposite to humans, resulting in the concept of deities. Deities are, unlike the spirits of the Yukaghirs and the Malawians, physically separated from humans, and they demand the attention of humans in the shape of prayers and sacrifices. The physical segregation of deities from humans is materialised in sacred spaces constructed by humans. Referring to the Atoni house again, "the attic is ritually proscribed and access is allowed only to certain persons…the Divinity… [is]… isolated from man and approachable only through prayers and sacrifice at designated places" (Cunningham in Wilson 1988:69).

We may say that ancestors who are likely to be 'spirits' in a hunting or early agricultural society became 'deities' – i.e. separated from the human sphere in developed agricultural societies, and gained the right to dwell in their own space, which humans had the obligation to construct for them. We may note the difference in burial location between some Jōmon settlements where the burials were gathered at the centre of the site, whereas in Yayoi times burials were moved away from the centre of daily activities and placed between or inside moats in the periphery of the settlements.

And the moated precincts which seem in the Nara Basin not to have contained burials, and that may have been stages for rituals acts or depositions, were in phase IV moved even further from this periphery of settlements to areas away from them. The precincts then came to share their remoteness with the bronze bells that were buried in the same kind of locations at the same time. Thus, ancestors had come to dwell in designated spaces between the moats, and important and conspicuous rites were removed from the human daily sphere into the mountains.

Separation of the human and the otherworldly space is accompanied by a distance in the relationship between people and the Otherworldly. This relationship is illustrated by Bird-David who states that whereas hunter-gatherers live in a child-parent relationship with their

ancestors in which the ancestors are expected to share [food] with them unconditionally, the sharing offered by the ancestors of agriculturalists is reciprocated, i.e. they give if they get something back (Bird-David in Willerslev:43-44). Thus, Willerslev recounts an incident in which a hunter curses the master-spirit of the river for not giving him the prey he had been promised in a dream (Willerslev 2007:43). One explanation of this difference is of course that whereas the hunter will have another chance of getting an elk soon, the agriculturalist whose crop has already been destroyed is not going to get a second opportunity for a while.

We have now returned to the relationship of debts usually observed in transegalitarian societies described above (3.5.2.), and we see that it refers to relations between humans and deities as well as between people of different social status.

Symbolism became even more important in the late Middle Yayoi societies. The extraordinary digging of moats at Karako Kagi speaks for itself, but the pictorial symbolism also seems to have increased. Perhaps because of the increased emphasis on symbolism, the merging of humans and other species – which technique in itself is otherwise very much a characteristic of hunting societies – is often more visible in material and iconographic records of agricultural communities. We thus see theriomorphism in Yayoi Culture at a time when the psychological merging with animals seems to have been changing from being the obvious and ordinary way of providing for one's subsistence to being a conscious religious force appropriate for performance. Apart from the 'birdperson', the shaman, we have seen the 'fish/birdperson' on wood in Kyūshū already in phase II (plate 18) and it appears in the basin in phase IV/V (ID 569). Also, we may see allusions to something like a deer-person or another horned human in the marked eyebrows of the late Middle and Late Yayoi clay plaques, echoed on both the Fukuda style bells (plates 8.1 – 8.3) and the Kyūshūan halberd (plates 37.1, 37.2), as well as they recur in engraved depictions of human faces at Karako Kagi (IDs 7, 15, 69). Although the genetic origin of the eyebrows is unquestionably to be found in Jōmon context (4.4) it is interesting that the preoccupation with eyebrows in the Yayoi Period has an analogue in the Zapotec fire-snake (Marcus and Flannery 1994:63), whose stylised depiction in profile makes it clear that its eyebrows are as prominent as small-sized horns. Furthermore, the supernatural being of Cociyo has very marked eyebrows which are thought to have developed from the earlier fire-serpent, thus, the anthropomorphic figure derives from an animal figure (ibid:66). Such connotations may have come to be connected to the human faces of the Yayoi Period as well. In Kibi, deer are rarer than in neighbouring Ehime prefecture of Shikoku, which may be because it has merged with the human figure. The merging of the two most powerfully symbolic animals, the bird and the deer continues in

Late Yayoi (ID 113), and its reminiscence is perhaps still seen later in Kaya in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula, where birds represented on bronzes wear impressive crests (Seyock 2004:128) whose appearance is not unlike that of horse manes – or antler.

Another, well-known example of a cosmos of therianthropic gods is that of Ancient Egypt, where the gods from prehistoric time were depicted with a human body and a head of the animal whose qualities the god possessed. Alternatively the god was shown as a naturalistic animal, but it is only from the beginning of the historic era that gods were sometimes shown in pure human shape (Holm-Rasmussen 2003:197-198).

5.7. Mythology, ritual and pictorial representation

- The role of the deer

It is likely that naturalistic pictures related to stories and myths (Harunari) and that the choice of images varied between areas accordin to local myths and ceremonies (Hashimoto 1994:173). Perhaps the pictures depicted rituals of the time (Fujita).

Harunari has suggested that because deer depicted on bells do as a rule not have antlers, the bells should be associated with rituals in the Spring season, when stags shed their antlers and the rice was planted; and that picture engraved pottery, on the other hand, was related to harvesting rituals, since the deer here carry antlers. He thus claims that the antlers on a deer on the Kamika 5 bell were made by mistake (1997:76). Far from rejecting this theory, I nevertheless need to point to the fact that the two types of depictions are from different phases, and that the antlered deer on Kamika 5 belong to the same time frame as the pottery deer. The difference, however, is obvious and enigmatic, and this thesis offers no explanation of it.

Myths change. By Middle Yayoi, a myth or several myths were probably connected to the origin of the deer motif in the Japanese Islands. However, the stories about the deer would transform from when it was depicted on a pot in Hokkaidō to the time when it was once again imported from the continent and its representation started on wood and early bells. Once again, when the deer motif was adopted in the Kinai area from the Japanese Sea Coast, it would gain new mythological connotations suitable for its new environments on the great plains. And again in late Middle Yayoi, when a sharper labour division and a stricter organisation and political control had become apparent in the Nara Basin, stories and ideas would have changed from phases III to IV. Definitely, a lot of meaning attached to it by the beginning of the Yayoi Period would have been forgotten in phase IV. The motifs used in phase II would

by the start of phase IV have been old enough to be of mythological character, shared by all and of not quite clear origin.

But, creation myths and other myths are related to the historical background of a given group of people, and therefore usually have a truthful core, although we do not always know to where or when the core relates. Moreover, the content of any mythology held the truth for the people who wrote it down or kept it as an oral tradition (Hedeager 1997:11-12, 27). Therefore, even stories with "fantastic and delusional" elements told by shamans to people are prone to hold some grains of truth (Hayden 2003:58).

We can conceive of some phenomena, or 'embedded ideas' when we scrutinise the earliest Japanese myths that we know. These ideas are the significance of the deer and to a certain extent tall buildings in the chronicles of Kojiki and Nihonshoki from the early 8th century, which has been pointed out by several Japanese archaeologists, one of them Harunari. A motif of the pictorial record on bells that recur in the chronicles is that of the deer being shot. Also, entries in the Nihonshoki tell of the importance of the raised floor house. At one occasion, an imperial prince had produced a thousand swords that were first kept in the village of Ōsaka but later removed to a shrine – a divine storehouse of Heaven – that could only be accessed by a ladder (Aston 1972, vol. 1:183-184). Another entry mentions that "the emperor and empress dwelt in a high tower to escape from the heat" and from there they heard every night the cry of deer (ibid:289. Thus, we can or should not neglect the reminiscences of depicted expressions from the Yayoi period in the mythological records.

To me, it seems evident that the chronicles are filled with evidence of animist beliefs within the framework of shamanism. Especially the deer is often ascribed personhood and the ability to communicate with words. An entry in the Nihonshoki says: "....the male deer addressed the female deer, saying: - "This night I had a dream in which I saw a white mist come down copiously and cover my body. What may this portend?" The female deer answered and said:- " if thou goest out, thou wilt certainly be shot be men and die, and so thy body will be smeared with white salt to correspond with the whiteness of the mist." " (ibid: 290).

A Japanese parallel to the fresh eland blood (see 5.2.) exists in the 8th century document Harima Fudoki that describes how a deer is killed, its womb cut open, and a rice seed placed in the blood. It germinates overnight and grows, and after the rice plant has been harvested, the deer is set free in the mountains (Sahara and Harunari 1997:77).

Some Japanese archaeologists interpret the deer as the "rice spirit" or "deity of the rice", and the seasonal growth of the deer antler is compared to that of rice (ibid:77). On the background of what I have outlined above about hunting and agricultural societies generally, I

suggest that the concept of the deer as a speaking creature derives from the earliest stages of its omnipresence in the newly agriculturalised Yayoi societies which I believe conducted their religion in animist frames, whereas the idea of the deer as the "rice spirit" or "rice deity" is much later and stems from a time when the society was more agriculturalised and highly stratified, possibly the Kofun Period.

The blood of the deer is likely to have played a part in the large-scale agricultural rituals of Early and Middle Yayoi, but probably for enhancement of the qualities of humans, not of rice, as the latter was only one of several crops, and as meat of boar and deer must have been crucial at the large feasts. Bones from deer are generally rare in the Yayoi Period material context compared to boar/pig bones whereas for pictorial executions the opposite is the case, and deer meat was seemingly eaten on very special occasions only. However, the fact that the most often depicted animal did not constitute any substantial part of the diet is not unique. It was noted early on that the species represented in Palaeolithic paintings on the cave-walls of Europe 'are not the same as those whose bones have been detected in the debris of hearths', and that mammoths did not even exist at the time in question (The Abbé Breuil in Raphael 1945:4-5).

Also, at Çatal Hüyük in Turkey, leopards apparently held high significance since they were represented in much of the art at the site, but their bones were absent from the settlement. Of deer and pigs only the heads were recovered, whereas no finds could be made of the meaty parts of their bodies – a phenomenon partly reflected on the part of deer at Yayoi settlements – and Hodder thinks that a taboo was observed against bringing these parts into the settlement (Hodder 2006:63, 199). This would reflect the various eating taboos of the Tsembaga (5.5.).

The myths of the tribes at the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal tell tales of the activities of the civet cat, the monitor lizard and the dove, animals that had no value as food items or in any other way (Campbell 1983:122). The dietary animals such as the pig, the dugong and the sea turtle do not act out parts of their daily lives in the myths, rather, stories of the wild-pig hunt deal with how to kill it and how to overcome its dangerous force (ibid:122).

The presence of the deer in pictures together with birds and insects of the paddy fields and buildings of the habitation area may make us wonder whether this animal was generally seen as a wild game to be met with only in the forest, or whether it was actually living in closer connection with people and their houses.[108] Deer are not domestic animals, but they are not all together wild either, rather they can be quite confident with people. Indeed the modern city of

[108] Also in connection with the European Neolithic, Jarman has stated that we "should not overlook the possibility that deer may have been herded and husbanded" (Jarman 1972:132).

Nara is characterised by its many deer moving around freely, and such a situation could have existed before. Rappaport accounts of the tame pigs of the Tsembaga as they live underneath the raised floor houses of people – the young animals being treated like pets (Rappaport 1968:58-59).

Hodder has interpreted the pictures of wild animals on the walls at Neolithic Çatal Hüyük (7th Millenium BC) as an attempt to integrate them into the domestic sphere at a time when society focused on and valorised the home and the inside rather than the wild, dangerous and the outside. By bringing the wild and the dangerous into the house, people could tame them and become their master (Hodder 1992:241-250). If such change of emphasis as the one suggested by Hodder was also carried out in Yayoi Japan, trophies of boar heads and mandibles on stakes would have played the same role as the leopard-relief at Çatal Hüyük. Taming the deer however, would have been done with much more success than trying to tame leopards or boars. The taming of the deer did not have to be merely metaphorical, and unlike the pictures of leopards, those of deer may reflect a relatively social animal. However, this idea alone contrasts with the missing depictions of boar, and we will have to return to an earlier suggestion here of a possible taboo against these pictures. Thus, contrary to Neolithic Turkey, the Yayoi agriculturalists did apparently not want to depict the forceful wild animals.

If the deer moved around freely in the vicinity of settlements, and there was a deliberate wish to depict only what belonged here, it would be quite natural to include that in pictures and to exclude the boar which certainly did not belong in spite of its larger contribution to the diet at the time. However, the lack of boar/pig depictions is complicated by the discussion of whether the Yayoi people did raise domesticated pigs. If some of the bones stem from pigs (instead of boar) these animals could have played a (non-religious) role at the settlement that did not qualify them to be included in imagery. Domestic dogs appeared in the Yayoi Period, but these are also seen rarely in pictures (ID 144), and their depiction must have been considered irrelevant. In the latter case, iconography would not simply have been culturally focused, rather; it would have been focused on particular 'cultural trophys' that played a religious role.

Some cultures include a wide range of different animals as "source of target domains for metaphors", while in others there is one particular species that dominates the metaphorical hierarchy (Tilley 1999:51). In Yayoi phase IV, we see a focus on the deer, just like the Nuer and the Dinka pastoralists focus on the ox. With the Dinka, the community is being regenerated every time an ox is sacrificed and eaten, since its meat is distributed and consumed according to a certain pattern, thus the participants in the meal receive meat and

body parts according to their kin relationship to the sacrificer. The Nuer who are also focused on the domestic ox, have no interest in hunting or in "wild animals which are thought to inhabit a realm apart from human society" (ibid:52). Other communities are only interested in wild animals as the source of metaphors, and either distinction is not related to the type of economy of the communities.

Another observation in connection with Yayoi pottery pictures is that the relative occurrence of houses compared to deer had increased by phase IV, and we see the combination of deer and house regularly, either the two of them alone or accompanied by other motifs. In normal times, the deer in the landscape between settlements would be safe, untouchable like the sacred cows in the streets of modern Indian cities, but at religious ceremonies an animal would be picked and sacrificed. Whether or not some deer lived near the large building inside Karako Kagi like the pigs of the Tsembaga, their connection to it seems probable at the time when it was sacrificed. It is possible that deer were sacrificed in front of or underneath the large houses – if the latter be the case, we would be able to explain the many pillars that can sometimes be observed under the houses in pictures (IDs 37, 64, 65), as these would have enclosed and marked the sacrifial ground. The deed would be carried out by the religious specialist and preceded by the political leader and attended by all inhabitants (or only by an initiated segment of the society). After the ritual meal the bones would be interred or placed somewhere else for defleshing, and at a later stage the scapulae (and perhaps other bones) would be retrieved from their temporary burial. They could then have been brought inside the house in order to undergo scorching and be used for divining. The latter idea would provide us with an explanation of the birds on top of some houses (IDs 66, 74), since these would be the guardians of the 'bone house'. The deer in the pictures sometimes faces the building (IDs 99, 123) as if to indicate that it enters by its own free will ascending the ladder that is in most cases painstakingly depicted; even if the buildings themselves are not represented by many details, their ladders are (almost) always included (ID 71, 72, 226).

A comment is needed also on the diligently depicted roof-thatching of the buildings; like the lattice (or parallel line) pattern of the deer, the lines that form the pattern of the roof have been drawn carefully, with much more time-investment than the rest of the building. This reflects the care with which pattern is executed on bells, but it may also be there because it hides something that must not be shown or seen; the sacred fire and the scorching of the animal's scapulae, followed by the act of divination. In the meantime, 'watchbirds' on top of the building would look out for dangers that might spoil the ritual. It is interesting that houses

exist whose thatching is directed away from the house (ID 125 – perhaps also true for ID 124 which would then offer an alternative interpretation to this motif that is elsewhere seen as pigs/boar (5.3.)), opening it up instead of closing it. Such a representation would emphasise the secrecy of the act inside the house by showing a blank space. Again, I would like to suggest a parallel to the European Neolithics, as some of the megalithic graves show clear evidence of activities apart from the simple placing of dead bodies. Thus, we have examples of sectional sorting of bonetypes after the defleshing of human corpses. So, we may imagine deer and boar bone manipulating rituals at Yayoi settlements carried out by especially initiated individuals. Secrecy of rituals is widely known, and again the concealment of the house interior as well as the representation of emptiness may be due to a taboo existing at the time. There is also a conspicuous similarity between deer bodies and house roofs; they share the same patterning and often the same shape resulting in the trapezoid of some roofs turning upside-down. Is it possible that we should see the lattice pattern as the old symbol of darkness or death, from where all life regenerates? (4.4.) (Naumann 2000:160-170). A unique piece shows two figures climbing the stairs to a raised floor house (ID 104); this may depict the introduction to a ritual of bone manipulation including divination; the settlement leaders on their way to perform ceremonies. Such a ritual may have been accompanied by the seclusion of one or both persons inside the house for some time, an interval during which the rest of the inhabitants would be in a liminal phase, perhaps a phase in which they had to observe certain taboos (5.5).

According to Aoi Hosoya the raised floor building symbolises the threshing in the later phases of Middle Yayoi, which is why the threshing scene itself is not depicted any more (Hosoya, personal communication, 17th June 2006). Perhaps we can take the metaphor even further and say that the threshers have been abolished for the warrior and the shaman.

The constant repetition of the deer in phase IV consolidated its importance. It was a sacred animal, but – as suggested earlier – it may have been so by then because it had become the ancestor of the political leader. Myths of origin relating the leader to the deer may have been constructed for the sake of the new situation in late Middle Yayoi. And when the deer was killed at religious ceremonies and its force regenerated, this force was transferred to the leader and not to the whole community. The political leader and his religious counterpart, the shaman, may have entered the house together to interact with the deer and the birds. In the same way, the bird may have 'become' the ancestor of the shaman.

We should notice the cases where the 'deer' motifs have become distorted, sometimes with unnaturally long bodies and upright positions as if walking on its hind legs (IDs 136, 314, 480,

487). There are also cases of 'deer' with only two legs (plate 41) and deer whose heads consist of two parallel strokes. Fukasawa thinks the "deer" inside the stomach of the shaman from Shimizukaze is actually a bird. It has only two legs and he thinks that the parallel strokes constituting its "head" should be seen as a beak (personal communication, October 2006). The distorted 'deer' mentioned above may also be seen as birds rather than deer. Anyway we see them, they are peculiar and highly unnaturalistic, and since some 'birds' also look unnatural (ID 218), we should not exclude the possibility that these creatures are something in between deer and birds, that they are of merged nature like the mythical creatures from the Russian Steppe (plate 53) also merging traits of deer and birds. Such mixture is seen in fabulous animals elsewhere in the world (plate 62).

It is likely that by Late Yayoi, the myths that originally related to the bell iconography had been forgotten; at least they would have changed considerably. However, the deer was still held important simply because of its antiquity. Its original significance was unclear to people, but this fact only added to the force of its depiction and the distortion of its shape sometimes beyond recognition further heightened the enigma of it.

The degeneration of naturalism in Late Yayoi signs represent stagnated and fossilised expressions of deer and other motifs that had to be present, because they were the essence of an established religious system with which the political leaders legitimised their power. But at the same time the meaninglessness of the signs can be regarded as an aspect of power, or secrecy, as we have seen in the case of the runic letters. The bell mould engraver may have been the shaman, as shamans are often highly skilled artisans (Hayden 2003:50), and his lines in the wet clay would then have been regarded as having sacred meaning, not unlike the runes of "secret knowledge".

It is not unlikely that the step of degeneration in Late Yayoi of the old religious symbols into intelligibility was inspired by the new, and to most people equally incomprehensible, written characters used on the Chinese mainland.

5.8. Architecture for rituals

Karako Kagi's location in the Nara Basin gave it an important role not only in terms of logistics as a junction for transportation and communication (and not far from neither the Nukatabe or the Shimanoyama hills from where possible intruders on the Yamato River could be spotted), but also, since it was located in the exact centre of the basin. The ideological

perception of the physical world as having a centre loaded with meaning is known from among others the Celtic cosmos. Ireland was divided into five regions by the Celts, of which the central part housed the royal seat according to tradition, and the remaining regions related to the corners of the world (Warmind 1996:34). Karako Kagi with its outstanding physical appearance could have been a conspicuous candidate for such a central place and its neighbouring settlements and all the rest of the basin would have grown into being elements in a landscape structured in order to fit a certain world view.

The layout of Karako Kagi would be discernible from high spots, the Nukatabe and Shimanoyama Hills and the Miminashi Mountain plus the mountains at the basin's edge, but probably not for people facing it at ground level. Its complete system of moats, ditches and perhaps standing posts would only reveal itself gradually to people entering the place and moving around inside it. Somewhat like the English Neolithic building complex of Avebury, where 11.5 ha are enclosed by three large stone circles – one of these provided with earthwork; visitors to Karako Kagi would perhaps not have experienced it as an entity when they moved around between the features. In contrast to the schematic outlay of the settlement in bird perspective available today, the visitor of the time would have encountered everything subjectively moving from one post to another after crossing the bridge (Barrett on Avebury – 1994:9-13).

Avenues of standing stones have been recognised at many large Neolithic monuments of southern England, and processions of people are assumed to have taken place along these avenues. Like the structuring effect that the design of the complex has on the movement of visitors, the relationship between people would have been structured by such ritual processions (like processions from the late Middle Yayoi lowland settlements to the moated precincts and bell caches – *my comment*) occasions which would have given rise to extensive social negotiations of who could participate, who should walk first, who last and who next to each other, and also who should carry what and who should be dressed in which attire. Whether rules about this were strict or not, such negotiations would have created structures between people (Damm 1998:57).

Like fences and posts that were erected at the causewayed enclosures in Europe structured peoples movements and advancement at the places, so posts may have been erected at Karako Kagi that has also presented a myriad of postholes whose internal relationship is hard to assess. Such posts could – together with the many interior ditches – have determined the possible routes to take inside the settlement. It may be that the moat system was part of this structure, and that the concentric circle system of the moats were in fact designed as a large-

scale spiral (the moat-parts at Karako Kagi's entrance seem to indicate this) supposed to be walked at special occasions. Participants of such walks would then proceed to pass graves associated with pottery with engraved drawings and wells with ritual depositions along the route of the moats that contained other ritual depositions or at least ritual discard. Some of the participants would discard ritual material in wells or place new pottery with engraved imagery or even place a new burial jar in one of the grave areas between the moats.

In the same way, it is conceivable that processions took place along the centripetal rivers in the south-eastern basin-part between the two settlement-arcs, by boat and on foot, and that the pictures of boats with or without rowers may relate to such processions.

5.9. Shamanism, power, exchange, feasting

Exchange was one of the principal strategies of the late Middle Yayoi leaders to acquire power and wealth, and its significance grew in Late Yayoi. And even if the political leaders in the Nara Basin seem not to have waged war during the phase when the warrior pictures were produced, the aggressive aspect could have formed inseparable characteristics of the political leader figure carried out in a symbolic way.

Warrior pictures are known from the northern Kyūshū area (ID 139), where there is clear evidence of physical violence, but the earliest example so far seems to be from the San'in area around the village of Yodoe (ID 40). It is also from here that we have the first frieze with motif combinations, and both are from phase III. It is thus worth considering the idea of the warrior motif as well as the combination of motifs being imported from here as a part of the exchange taking place between Karako Kagi and the settlements around Yodoe, and that this exchange included something like shamanic knowledge.

In the area of Aoyakamijichi, pictorial engraving was carried out on wood extensively in later phases of the Yayoi Period, and the practise may well have existed in the whole San'in or Japan Sea Coast area from before and around the time of the first bell-pictures. Aoyakamijichi at Tottori City and particularly Mukibanda in Yodoe Town were both situated spectacularly at lagoons, which would have provided the settlements with the same sort of religious force of natural setting as Karako Kagi, and they may have been known as centres of high ranking shamans accompanied by enigmatic pictorial engraving on wood. We may imagine that the shaman from Karako Kagi would travel to the Japan Sea Coast bringing with

him or her valuables and in return obtain secret shamanic knowledge from the great shamans of the settlements around Yodoe.

I assume it likely that such exchange may, previously to phase IV, have comprised the foundation of the transport of many of the bells from the Kinai area that ended up in the San'in area (although the largest concentration is around Izumo west of Yodoe). They were possibly exchanged by the leaders of Higashinara and other bell producing settlements in return for religious knowledge and power. Already in early Middle Yayoi, Karako Kagi was extremely wealthy in terms of production and in terms of exchange with the nearby areas, and its religious life seems to have been flourishing in the shape of feasts involving displays of animal heads on stakes, rows of pedestalled bowls and dishes from wood and pottery containing meat, fruits and vegetables and in the shape of frequent offerings of pottery into wells, and the bestowal of rhyolite rice reapers. The maintenance of moats may have been related to large scale feasts.

However, in order to expand their power – and expansion is a necessity for factional leaders in order stay in office – in phase IV the leaders at Karako Kagi sped up the bell casting that had been initiated in phase III in order to mingle with other strong leaders who fetched their and/or their shamans' esoteric knowledge from the distant settlements at the Japan Sea Coast, and thus establish an air of exotic skills and therefore *exclusive access* to authority. The connection of leaders to remote areas and leaders who are unknown to and out of reach of the ordinary population is a strong factor for staying in power (Mizoguchi 2002:152, 160).

As pointed out by Redmond (3.5.2.), gift giving can substitute war as can exchange on a whole. Between the Yanomamö groups, neutral intervillage relations do not exist, they are either involves in exchange or they fight each other. The exchange takes place as nocturnal dialogues between visitors and residing *big men*. These dialogues are entirely ritual from beginning to end and serve a highly competitive end. The visitors cannot enter the village until summoned by the local headman, and the negotiations have to be preceded by ceremonial dances on the part of the visitors during which they display their weapons, feathers and body paint. Normal residents then serve them food but do not converse with them. At dusk, one of the visitors and one of the big men residents face each other with a ritualised chant that ranges from shouts to whispers accompanied by body movements. The content of the chant consists of the parties' reciprocal requests for goods, women and news of incidents in and alliances between other villages (Lizot 1985 and 1991 in Redmond 1998b:82-84). Almost anything can be exchanged because the act and atmosphere created carries as much importance as the subsequent possession of what was exchanged. Pieces of information is

exchanged in the same way as objects, and parts of them consist in esoteric knowledge like words, songs and myths, and the more distant the origin of these news, the higher their esteem (Redmond 1998b:86-89).

Also in the Jivaroan communities, shamanic knowledge gains value when it comes from far away. It is "goods" "traded" over long distances, and elaborate networks for distributing it exist (fig. 37). A man who wants to become a shaman – typically a previous war leader – must establish contact with a shaman tutor who lives at a relatively far distance from his own home. He has to travel to the master shaman bringing with him valuable gifts like *curare* poison, a hunting dog, loincloth or feather crown, and later weapons and tools. Whereas the Yanomamö elders redistribute their received goods, the Jivaroan master shamans keep their gifts in order to buy new esoteric knowledge, i.e. shamanic power, from other shamans ranking still higher than themselves; a behaviour perhaps attributable to shamans in the Yayoi communities, resulting in the shamans in the San'in area becoming extremely wealthy. The Jivaroan shamanic power is known as magical darts that are lethal and can be shot at victims or removed only by shamans who can act both as curers or diviners – or they can be attackers, bewitching people, and thus shamanism can be warfare. The trading of the knowledge, the "darts", is arranged as a hierarchical chain in which shamans in a certain area, who are known as the most skilled and powerful, are on top of the hierarchy, and these individuals will eventually accumulate the most valuables, since these move in the opposite direction of the desired shamanic knowledge.

Shamans at the lower level – as I see it in Middle Yayoi: shamans from Higashinara, Uryūdō and eventually Karako Kagi, as well as shamans from other areas – who travelled to see higher shamans – in Yayoi context these would reside in the San'in area – would gain renown not only for their powers and for the protection they could offer the fellow villagers but also for their connection to distant areas. The reputation of respected shamans can reach far beyond their own areas. Shamans can thus be important "culture-brokers" (ibid:90-95).

I thus suggest that in phase IV at Karako Kagi, leaders holding connections like that existed, and that large-scale rituals were carried out for example at the return of the shaman or when culture brokers/ tradesmen from the San'in visited. The picture engraved pottery may have been deposited at such occasions when a large part of the basin's population had gathered at the settlement and after the many meters of moats had been cleaned.

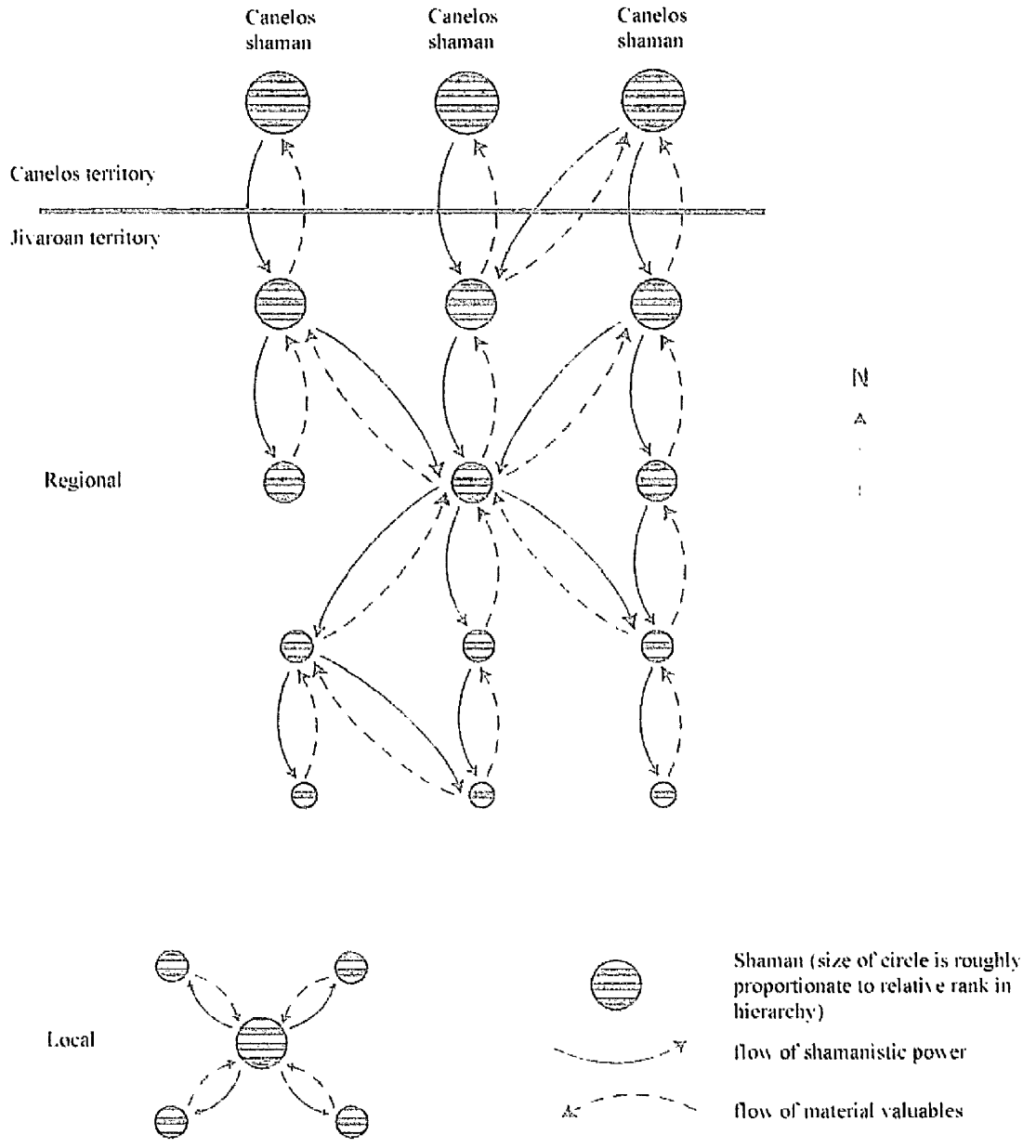

Figure 37: Exchange of valuables and shamanic knowledge.

After Redmond 1998b:93

5.10. Formalisation of representation and the deprival of contradiction

I have argued in this thesis that the cognitive atmosphere among the leaders of late Middle Yayoi should rather be characterised as one of ideology than as one of genuine religiosity, just as a shift from spiritual to secular leadership is seen in some of the European prehistoric Periods. In recent interpretations of the British and partly also of the Scandinavian Neolithic Age, it is a central issue that a shift seems to have taken place from ritual, religious authority early in the period to a more economically and materially founded authority (status) towards its end (Damm 1991; Gosden 1994, Thorpe and Richards 1984 in Damm 1998:51).

Ortner points out that rituals are not established on the assumption of certain truths, rather, they arrive at them, and she pleads that the truths they work from are constructed, or reconstructed. Thus, rituals serve to re-establish the fundamentality of these truths (Ortner 1978:2-3). Rappaports notes that "religion is as old as language, and therefore precisely as old as humanity." (Rappaport 1999:16) Humans, who communicate with words, are capable of creating alternative truths which cannot logically be proved, and which rationally should be regarded as false or "lies", whether they are told in good or ill will (ibid: 11-17). "Certain defining elements of religion, especially the concept of the sacred and the process of sanctification, are no less possibilities of language, particularly of linguistic expressions in ritual, than are lies" (ibid:16).

In some societies shamans obviously are performers. Among the Wana in Indonesia, shamans are often "created" by their fellow villagers. Promising shamanic "talents" are encouraged to perform publicly, and their performances are discussed at length between the audience. Although shamans here have private and secret encounters with spirits, they have to announce in public that they had them in order to ensure their own reputation. When they act out rituals, it is more a question of performing in a persuasive way than of doing things correctly. The shaman obtains status and power by carrying out a ritual successfully particularly if he involves the audience, who will then experience a drama physically and emotionally. Thus, the shamanic rituals *create* rather than *reflect* relations between people, and they function as political arenas (Atkinson 1989:292).

On the other hand, creation of reality can be powerfully supported by formalisation. An example of this, admittedly in a highly centralised society, is the cult in Ancient Egypt such as it was performed in the temples. Here, it was of the utmost importance, not only to say the right words but to pronounce them the right way, because the words were loaded with the

force innate in the cult. Still, this force *created reality.* Objects and acts in the cult were connected with mystical events in the world of the gods (Holm-Rasmussen 2003:171, *my emphasis*). So, whether the contents of rituals are subject to strict rules or not, the rituals serve to enchant the spectators, to throw them into a state of susceptibility, whether this is done dramatically or with more subtlety.

Bloch compares the illogical nature of religious ceremonial acts to the discourse in political oratory in which a given "part of communication can appropriately only be followed by one other instead of a large number of alternatives as in ordinary communication" (Bloch 1975:22). The formalisation itself acts as well as spoken lines beyond logic, beyond argument, beyond explanation (ibid:21). Formalisation removes the possibility of alternatives, "its force being traditional authority, but disguised in that it has been accepted unconsciously before the event by the acceptance of the proper, or the polite, or the appropriate way of behaving. What is being said (/done – *my comment*) is the right thing because by the acceptance of the formalisation of language (/acts – *my comment*) it has become the only thing" (ibid: 21-2).

In egalitarian societies interaction between people is often unsystematic and informal, and there is often a wide range of words for the same object (Paynter and McGuire 1991:2-3, 8-9). In contrast to this, hierarchical societies are, also in terms of communication, e.g. through the material world and art, characterised by the power of systems. "Material symbols are like a series or words with no, or very little, syntax to articulate them. Symbols in ritual not only follow each other in a relatively (compared to words in language) fixed sentence, but the sequence itself is relatively (again compared to language) meaningless. Material symbols are therefore of their nature like words in formalized communication. They can only be part of a message with very weak propositional force but as a result gain in ambiguity and hence their illocutionary and emotional force" (Bloch 1989:41, *brackets in original*).

Pictorial motifs occurring again and again, such as the lone deer of phase IV pottery, are subject to the same mechanism; that the formalisation rules out "the two prerequisites for logic, the potential of one statement to be followed by a large number of others and the possibility of contradiction" (ibid:31). In the Nara Basin hundreds of vessels were produced that seemingly carried only deer (this is the recurrent motif on sherds with only fragmentary engraving). Pure formalisation may have been the cause of these 'mass produced' pictures (as well as the later signs). When we think of the many hundreds of pottery pieces holding the representation of a deer depicted in more or less the same way, and the tendency we can detect of deer and buildings being depicted in combination, as if that their physical closeness in phase IV was dictated by formality, the conclusion is near at hand that the mere repetition

held significance. If pictorially engraved pottery had become an integrated part of specific rituals taking place at Karako Kagi in phase IV, then all the pictures (like spoken words) do not necessarily allude to a meaningful whole (just as words in such connection do not comprise an argument (ibid:42)), but we are dealing with a "bonded experience" in which "repetition is the only possibility for emphasis. A frozen statement cannot be expanded, it can only be made again and again" (ibid:42). A paper given by Douglas Bailey in 2006 treated the nature of the stereotype: The stereotypical representation can be used to reduce complexities down to simplicity, and it hides irregularities. It can be used rhetorically, as it smoothes the relation between people and constructs social groups. It creates a fictitious reality; an illusion of order in places where there is not order, but in fact it tells of the fears and anxieties of the creators... (Bailey, Cardiff University, paper presented at SISJAC[109] 20th December 2006). As treated earlier (3.5.3.), this formalisation is carried to its extreme in the patterns of the bells, and the creation and repetitive casting of these objects were thus the materialisation of the effort with which the leaders of the Nara Basin attempted to attain power of hitherto unseen dimensions in the area, an attempt that seems to have been temporarily successful for the Karako Kagi leaders in phase IV.

Formality is a cover of manipulation, but the formality rose on the pretext of religion earlier in Middle Yayoi. Thomas Hylland Eriksen writes about the power of religion from the point of view that religious rules are situational in "how religion expresses, enhances and legitimises power relations in a society" (Eriksen 1994:250).

Hastrup notes that the relationship between cult and art is like the relationship between ritual and theatre, but her point is that cult and ritual do often not contain the sacred, and they do not render participants or the audience the feeling of being cleansed, of being purified, it only reconfirms to them something that they already expected. If performers do not "sacrifice" themselves and "give" themselves to the audience, neither part *experiences* the feeling of holiness. Rather, the objects and acts included in the ritual are *dislocated representations* of the sacred. True feeling of awe towards the sacred is a subjective experience (like the Yukaghir hunter's experience of soul-transference and metamorphosis with his prey – *my comment*) and "the particularly sacrosanct – often secret – rituals are in particular notoriously empty in the sense that far from being repleted with inner meaning they are masks of superficiality. Seen from the outside they are rich in promises of significance and structure, but when you, as an ethnographer, press them closely there is not much to

[109] The Sainsbury Institute for the Studies of Japanese Arts and Cultures, Norwich.

understand.....The concealment itself *is* the meaning, and there are no other structures than that" (Hastrup1996:10). Rituals do not work through their meaning but through their context (ibid:10).

Elevating "the sacred" to something beyond and above humans is thus, according to Hastrup, a political act, because from that moment on access to the sacred becomes differentiated. By burying bronze bells in high lying locations in phase IV, the rituals involving the most valuable objects became detached from the commoners who in their daily work life were tied to the lowland. And the homogenous way of the bell depositions show strong connections between the leaders of the various settlements, areas and even regions, which signifies that we are witnessing the beginning of a more official cult, independent of local customs, beliefs and the ancestors of the commoners. The engraved pottery, on the other hand, stayed where it was inside the settlements, where it – as I see it – served other interests of the leaders, those of legitimising their rule by appointing important the graves of their own ancestors.

In Hastrup's words, the true sacred is not in the [official] cult any more, it has remained with people as a subjective *experience,* and can be expressed in the arts as when actors of a theatre play "give themselves" to the audience as art, as the sublime, because art moves whereas cult without the "self-sacrifice" of the performer fixates (ibid:11). I would not term the picture engraved pottery from Karako Kagi genuinely 'private' expressions of 'the sacred', since they are clearly the media of a manipulated iconography, and I have already argued that standards for motifs to be employed existed. Nevertheless some degree of artistic freedom must have been presented given the different depiction styles within Karako Kagi, so at least stylistic expression was free and not subject to restrictions.

The religious prerequisites defining the position of a chief is closely related to the fact that this position is ascribed rather than achieved such as it is in tribal societies (Gilman 1991:148). However, this establishment will also often call for a change in the otherworldly order and its cosmology away from the various deities of a tribal society and into a fixed cosmological order with deities to be worshipped.

In ancient Egypt, the kingly office had been established by the gods and was thus divine. The pharaoh was, although not divine himself, a descendant of the gods and his relations to them fundamental to his authority. The role of the pharaoh was to handle the religion, to 'do things'; he himself performed the cultic acts inside the temples near him – temples were literally the homes of gods. The priests that took care of these acts in other temples were his substitutes. Significantly, the highest of these priests were royal princes (Holm-Rasmussen

2003:165, 170,174-175; Manley 2005:190). Shamans in phase IV societies may also well have been relatives of the political leaders.

The *exclusive* access to magic, the knowledge of the Otherworldly and the understanding of ceremonial, is ultimately what justifies and legitimises the existence of an individual with an extraordinary status. For a chief to retain this exclusive access, however, he needs to emphasise this as being a birth-given capability, which in one stroke dooms to failure any plans of other members of the community to compete with him, as well as it makes his position hereditary, thus creating an elite lineage. This is done most efficiently by claiming actual descent from the deities of the society or by establishing particularly close relationship to the deities for the part of the chiefly lineage. It thus makes sense to conceive of the many deer depictions in phase IV as depictions of the ancestors of the political leaders, a reconfirmation of his birth given right to rule.

Summary 5. Pictures in their cognitive context

The final chapter presents the idea that shamanism – as the core of all religiosity – prevailed in the Nara Basin in the Yayoi Period, first in the shape of an animist relationship between humans and nature's animals, but later as politically powerful skills of performance and display. It emphasises the difference between shared access to shamanship in egalitarian societies and shamanship as an office in stratified societies, and it interprets the emergence of the latter as springing from the concept of initiation which leads to alleged exclusivity of esoteric knowledge and thus power, and ultimately it leads to heredity. Also, the political leaders' positions are seen as becoming hereditary in phase IV, after a course during Middle Yayoi of gradual increase in contact with foreign regions, in production of special artefacts and thus in the need of labour division and organisation. The chapter also points out the similarity of the roles of shamans and political leaders in many transegalitarian societies – the political leader often promoting his own shamanic skills and knowledge – and it claims a historical identity between the two; one individual who was the warrior shaman and who later split into two.

The shamanism of Siberia, the Korean Han area and Southeast Asia is assumed to have accompanied the artistic representations of deer, birds and humans, and to have merged with the indigenous religions and artistic expressions of the hunting traditions in the western archipelago.

After rolling lines had been executed as the first 'pictorial engraving' on pottery in the Ōsaka and Kibi regions, geometric patterns that are otherwise typical for hunting societies became a characteristic trait of the agricultural Yayoi society, but also combinations of deer–house, deer–triangle and bird–house are seen so regularly in the Nara Basin that they must have held significance apart from and additional to the motifs in isolation.

Natural proportions between the elements of the pictorial compositions are absent; instead important motifs of higher priority are depicted as physically larger than other motifs in the same drawing. Motifs that were closely related in the mind of the engraver were depicted in close physical proximity to each other, or even merged into one figure.

A society's economic and ideological foundation is determinant for the art that the society produces, and like all pictorial representation before modernity, Yayoi Period images cannot have been self-dependent objects in an autonomous aesthetic art category, but are regarded as having had both religious and political functions together. The sketchy, irregular, sometimes upside-down pictures on the cuffs, handles and fins of bells may have been semantic and

contained special religious messages meant to be executed in this style, whereas realistic pictures are seen as political icons in an ideological context.

Shamanism is thought to have existed from the beginning of the Yayoi Period due to the existence of bronze bells and their depiction of the killing of the deer. Shamanism is a set of techniques with which humans can transcend their own bodies mentally and enter other worlds or layers of reality, e.g. enter an animal's mind or a world inhabited by spirits. Contrary to "book religions" traditional religions are local and focus on ancestors of the group and spirits of the natural environment. Shamanism seems to be evident in most traditional religions – and the "horned god" recurs in many of these – and to be at the base of all book religions. It is innately related to transcendence and alternative states of mind. The latter is drawn to attention by modern brain research to be a capability inherent in the human neurological system.

The killing of the horned animal, the eating of its flesh and the use of its blood and bones for ritual purposes in order to obtain special knowledge, power and luck is a typical shamanic process and one of the most universal traits of religious life in traditional societies. However, in its origin it may be connected to a relatively weak focus on historical ancestors, since it implies rebirth of the same soul and transference of animals to humans.

The use of deer and boar scapulae for divination in Yayoi society clearly ties in with the scenario of the kill of the horned animal, and the entry in a 700 year later chronicle, the Kojiki, that deals with talking deer and the use of deer blood in rituals is likely to be a reminiscence of the shamanic killing of the deer. Birds, to which phase IV pictures allude in the shape of feathers and winged humans, constitute another important shamanic trait, and the mixing in representations of bird and horned animal occurs regularly. The boar must have had a significant religious position due to the ritual use of its scapulae and mandible – and in early times of the tusk itself – but depicting it seems to have been subject to a taboo.

Certain characteristic differences prevail between shamanism in hunting and in agricultural societies due to the enhanced focus on economic surplus in the latter. The undisturbed focus on transcendence is deeply related to the hunting situation in which the hunter attempts to hypnotise, persuade or trick the game animal into being caught, described in connection with the Siberian Yukaghir elk-hunters as the skill to transfer mentally back and forth between the game's mind and one's own, until the game animal is enchanted and manipulated by its own narcissism to surrender.

Shamanism in agricultural societies, particularly where hunting plays a minor role, will inevitably be influenced by the feasting politics of economic surplus. Thus, shamanising will

occur at public occasions together with the display of society's surplus. An animal is ceremonially hunted and killed during the feast and its horns, tusks or antlers displayed, but the mental transcendence between hunter/shaman and animal –supposing it does occur – has turned into a public ritual; the shamanising has become performance. Again it is the economic surplus, not the agriculturalism *per se* that results in the performing nature of the shamanic skills.

Shamans are, according to the social codes and structures of their various societies, open and amiable, or secretive and sulky. But generally, shamans of loosely organised egalitarian societies do not hold any special position in their society, and anyone who has the skill can be a shaman, whereas in hierarchical societies *the* shaman has restricted access to his or her position and enjoys certain privileges compared to his or her fellow villagers.

The more difficult it is to become a shaman, i.e. the more severe the shaman-initiation is, the more religious knowledge is attributed to the shaman, and consequently the more politically powerful the shaman is (a hereditary position as shaman however, is equally powerful). In an agricultural society like that of the late Middle Yayoi Nara Basin, possibly powerful shamans would perform at large feasts drawing attention to their own uniqueness and power. The killing of the horned animal is important also in societies with little subsistence dependence on hunting, since the fertility and strength connotations of horns, antlers and tusks will also include wealth. Antlers and tusks could thus be displayed at the Nara Basin settlements or worked into decorative items like some antler pieces at Karako Kagi also in late Middle Yayoi when agriculturalism had resulted in a high degree of labour division, organisation and stratification.

The symbolism of the hunt is often extremely important for agriculturalists; costumes and pictures of the horned god and wild animals seem to play a disproportionately essential role at such feasting compared to the relatively modest part that hunting plays in the survival of the community.

The earliest bell pictures from the Japan Sea Coast region are a mixture of animals, insects, humans and human constructions, boats and buildings. These pictures are interpreted in the chapter to represent an immature religious complex and to express rather unconscious choices for depictions, an experimentation of mixing indigenous motifs from the Jōmon Period and new imported motifs. The iconography at this stage thus does not seem to express any strong or fixed cosmology, and the symbolic content of the motifs that were not previously known to the bell producers, would probably have been rather weak.

During phases II and III when pictorial depiction on bells had moved to Kinai, the iconography stabilised and focused on animals and insects, excluding the boats and houses that belonged to the cultivated sphere. There seems to have been a conscious choice of the creatures of nature, but a few people are present, and the killing of the deer by the shaman is shown on a series of five sibling bells. Thus, although subsistence was becoming agricultural, people are presented as having seen themselves as part of nature, and hunting by the shamanic technique of mind-transcendence that hypnotises the prey is still a very central element of the communities' religious identity. Before and during phase II, hunting, shamanising and moving around in the open grassland and the forest were tasks that were perhaps not even restricted by age or gender. There seems to be no religious emphasis on buildings and boats, the cultivated sphere, rather on nature and human's relationship with his prey; the idea of animism. These pictures are thus thought to be telling of a cosmology in which there was no dichotomy between culture and nature, or between man and animals. And the connection of the hunter with his prey together with the emphasis on animals and insects is interpreted as reflecting an original shamanising technique accessible by all, and thus egalitarianism in religion. Since however, large pillared buildings appeared in the basin *in* phase II, by the time of production of style II-1 bells, and the buildings are thought to have had religious significance, the chapter suggests that competitive and thus cultural shamanism had taken its start already in this phase, in spite of the animist basis expressed in the iconography. The pictures themselves were produced north and west of the basin, and it is doubtful – on the basis of find spots of style II bells – whether the south-eastern basin settlements received any of these bells. Still, it is assumed that the religious atmosphere of the basin was not very different from the one prevailing at the early bell-casting sites on the Santō and Ōsaka Plains.

The shamanic competition is thought to have enhanced during phase III on an equal footing with the political competition of the factional leaders, perhaps leading to a restriction of shamanship only through initiation, which is seen here as a step on the way to shamanship as a political office.

The agricultural preoccupation with wild animals and symbolism grew significant in phase III when we see the appearance on pottery of most of the important phase IV pictorial motifs. It is also in this phase that the multiple moating of some settlements started to 'explode' and the conscious design of Karako Kagi as a cosmos to emerge. The latter is related to an increasing emphasis on the homestead, the memory of ancestors, because agriculture's seasonality promotes a sense of linear time. The utmost religious importance of hunting and eating the meat of the killed deer and boar, accompanied by the display of boar heads on

stakes and the subsequent rituals of divination using the scapulae of deer and boar, are both traits that belong in agricultural societies. Such display and sense of the temporal dimension respectively associate to the economic surplus that leads to feasting and warfare by giftgiving, and to the dependence of seasons, combined with the abovementioned importance of the homestead and of the group's ancestors.

Mythological consciousness relates to a multi-dimensional sense of time which involves a concept of ancestors as unique individuals. Time thus has to lead to changes and, whereas in an animist context the dead will always return, with progressed agriculturalists deceased ancestors have to stay in the Otherworldly after leaving their land to their descendants. It is a complex that is usually present in agricultural societies, it is accompanied by an extensive use of fixed symbols, and it incorporates cosmologies to be reflected in the societies' iconographies. This is so even if cosmologies are never complete and never without contradictions, based on the fact that myths – with all that it leads to in terms of ancestral belief, symbols, cosmologies and thus iconographies – change.

Large-scale rituals involving long time preparation belong in agricultural societies, and the chapter suggests that the bones of the animal – deer or boar – after being ritually killed in front of the large building and its meat displayed and eaten at a feasting occasion – were temporarily buried until they could be picked up and brought inside the raised floor house where the scapulae would be used in the divination ritual involving a sacred fire, all carried out by the shaman or perhaps by both leaders.

The depiction of the hunter during phase II led in phase IV to the depictions of the warrior and the shaman, clearly demonstrating consciousness of the manipulative potential of people to nature. The hunter is still there, but now with a steady grip on the antlers of the deer, seen on style III bells. At this point, nature is pushed away from the bell iconography, and the old motifs closed in by bands of geometric pattern that controls and organises them into still life. The pottery pictures in the same phase include more depictions of humans than in the previous phase, and on both media they are depicted for their roles rather than for their acts. Humans in war gear, bird attire or with raised arms of worshipping are seen here as clear signals of a break with the earlier nature focus that could only exist in relatively egalitarian surroundings.

Thus, Yayoi pictures changed as religious thoughts changed, the symbolic value of bell patterns gained more power and so did the architectural symbolic expression of cosmology in terms of intensification of moat and ditch systems. The bell iconography seems to have been subject to strict rules of spatial organisation, and the pottery pictures have been interpreted

earlier in this thesis to have been subject to equally strict rules of discrimination. Awareness was now wanted on the human – the warrior and the shaman – and what they *were*. They were depicted in their attire, posing and performing rather than engaged in any act. These individual persons, not humans in general, had become highly envaluated.

It is postulated in the chapter that the connotations of both deer and boar had changed, since animal bone rituals were not performed in phase IV, and that the deer was becoming a symbol of the leader. The same way the shaman is related to the bird, and as the shortnecked birds on pottery have been interpreted as aggressive, and pictures of these birds may be the origin of the halberd motif, the aggression in the shaman picture as well as in the warrior picture seems a logical conclusion.

In the chapter it is assumed likely that a community's shaman and its political leader were originally one and the same person, but that usually profane and religious power split at some point of time of the community's way to hierarchisation. Such joint power makes it managerial for the two individuals to administer and protect their offices.

For a strong factional leader, or chieftain, to hold on to his supporters and to keep enlarging the number of supporters, he needs to adopt a multiple function role, and participation in ritual activities is crucial. He has to obtain ritual power by acquiring esoteric knowledge, often in the shape of shamanic power, since by wielding this power and controlling ritually defined hierarchies he controls the other domains. Possessing great ritual power for a chieftain means the ability to control the status hierarchy at the settlement, an authority otherwise not possible to wield for a local leader. By that he can convince his followers of the benefits of his leadership in the profane sphere as well, and he can even start promoting his own ancestors as particularly fit for the contact to the Otherworldly. Persuasion and oratory is often a marked characteristic trait of leaders who can in this way "enchant" the populace (such as is said about Queen Himiko in the Wajinden (Tsunoda 1951b:13) – comment, Seyock 20th March 2009), not quite unlike the prey animal that is tricked into surrendering by the shamanising hunter.

However, dedication to religious activities involves the risk for a village leader to lose secular power, and often he will be assisted by a skilled warrior to lead his battles or by a religious specialist to head the village's ritual life. Thus, often separate religious and military experts work together in societies with strong political leadership.

Exchange was incorporated in the strategy of the leaders of phase IV – aspiring to become hereditary – since their possession of exotic objects enhanced their chances of staying in power. Shamans could have employed the same tactics acquiring objects and knowledge from

far away. The shamaness picture from Shimizukaze indicates that shamanesses did exist in some places, and such status for high ranking women is not unusual in societies that engage heavily in exchange, since obtaining the right marriage partners is part of the power strategies of leaders.

A dichotomy between nature and culture is thought to have arisen and to have been enhanced as the physical enclosing of the moated settlements became still more substantial. Other dichotomies accompanied this discrimination, but the ones that had the deepest consequences for the societies of the Nara Basin must have been the opposites of humans and deities and of leaders and commoners.

Loosely organised societies with egalitarianism usually incorporate a much more direct relationship between individuals and the Otherworldly than highly organised societies, where leaders will often install censorship for people's contact with the religious sphere. By phase IV in the Nara Basin, the shaman had become unique and full-time, and the political leader moved the symbolically powerful and economically valuable bronze bells out of the settlement and buried them at high lying locations in order to consolidate his own unique access to the Otherworldly and thus his inviolability as a leader. In phase IV, the Otherworldly came to exist *above* people, not in people's interaction with animals, and only people with certain roles – expressed in their dress – seem to have had access to it.

The moving of the moated precincts, which, according to the thesis' interpretations had hitherto served as the ritual platforms and symbols of population groups without any sovereign rights of the leader, is seen here to have taken place for the same reason. The fact that the burials at the settlement had by phase IV been delimited by and incorporated into the moat belts is thought to have been another trait of conscious moving of the sacred away from the daily life of the commoners, it is suggested that spirits or deities were now supposed to dwell in separation from humans – between the moats or in the house attic. It is also thought that picture engraved pottery was placed at particular graves designated to this treatment by the leaders who this way regulated which ancestors could be worshipped.

In this society, symbolism focusing on animals flourished including theriomorphic depictions of 'deer-birds' and other pictures of merged nature, and it is proposed, on the background of the eyebrow emphasis of e.g. clay plaques, that the worshipping humans with eyebrows are related to a concept of the horned animal having transformed into human appearance. The chapter proposes a certain degree of reliance in the mythological material for assessing the role of the deer. Because of the evidence for animism found in the early

iconography it regards the Kojiki's entries of speaking deer as reflecting ideas stemming from the very beginning of the Yayoi Period or earlier. On the other hand, it does not agree with the deer having been considered a rice-spirit, since it sees the preoccupation with rice as a much later idea.

The seeming paradox of the many depictions of deer and a general lack of deer bones actually represents a known phenomenon. It is thus not unusual that the animals that are most often represented in prehistoric art are different from the dietary animals. It is not clear whether the deer was regarded as wild or domestic by the Yayoi people, it may have been semi-domesticated and moved around in the grassland between the settlements and thus qualified naturally to be depicted in the culturally focused imagery of phase IV in contrast to the boar. The boar was definitely wild, and although its head was displayed on stakes to signal the taming of the wild in phase III, it was not wanted in imagery, perhaps according to taboo. If the bones of the sacrificial animal were carried into the large building after temporary burying, bone manipulation rituals involving the scorching of the scapulae may have taken place inside the house, but there are no proofs of such activity.

The deer's close connection to the settlement may have been seen as an attachment between the animal and the large building. The frequent combination of motifs on pottery pictures of deer and house would symbolise the fact that the ritual killing of the animal took place in front of or under the building before it was eaten. If we imagine that the bones of the deer at some point found their way into the house and that subsequently important rituals took place in there, we are able to explain the 'watchbirds' on top of houses as well as the diligent patterning of the house roof that hid the scorching and other secret ceremonial acts, as well as it would explain the physical similarity between deer-bodies and house-roofs.

The solid repetition of deer on pottery is interpreted as having been connected to the leaders' annexation of the symbol which they used to legitimise their own elevated role in religion. The deer was now directly related to the political leader, perhaps as his ancestor, just like the bird may have become the ancestor of the shaman. At ceremonial occasions when animals were killed and their meat devoured in a ritual meal, the leaders may have taken particular parts of the meat for themselves, and particularly if the sacrificed animal was a deer the political leader would have had an opportunity to demonstrate his special relation with it. Perhaps the scapulae would be his to consume. The two leaders may have emphasised their 'identities' by entering the raised floor house containing the bones of the deer and protected by the 'watchbirds', the ancestors of the shaman. The deer and the bird are not always distinguishable from each other; which is also seen in other traditional religious areas, where

the horned animal and the flying aspects are merged into a fabulous creature. The power of the shaman and the political leader was thus closely connected, perhaps by family ties, and both aspired to become hereditary.

The architectural outlay of Karako Kagi was bombastic and highly organised, which would be discernible from high spots. From ground level however, it would have represented a complicated, though not immediately meaningful pattern, and those who moved around in it would experience their movements being controlled by the physical features of moats, ditches, perhaps standing posts, areas with graves and picture engraved pottery, and wells with ritual depositions. Ritual walks inside the settlement could have been combined with a ritual procession approaching the settlement along the centripetal rivers from the south-eastern edge of the basin.

The picture of the warrior may originally stem from the San'in area to which leaders from Karako Kagi and other places in Kinai held contact, and to where many bells were transported. It has been suggested earlier in the thesis that apart from receiving beads, Kinai leaders may have received bronze material and also religious knowledge. The pictorial traditions of San'in may reflect a strong religious tradition. Great shamans perhaps existed at the settlements of Mukibanda high above the sea and overlooking the Yodoe lagoon, and at Aoyakamijchi on the plain between mountains also at a lagoon. It is not unlikely that what was received in exchange for the many bells that ended up in this area was shamanic tuition and knowledge. Particularly the motifs in the Yodoe area indicate an iconographic relation between the area and Kinai. It is not unfeasible that shamans and/or political leaders from the most powerful settlements in Kinai would travel to the great shamans at the enigmatic places of San'in and return with exotic goods and evenly exotic esoteric knowledge as well as all sorts of information. Such baggage would have consolidated the power of the leader at Karako Kagi in front of the commoners, many of whom were not even supposed to leave the immediate surroundings of the settlement and could not move around freely in the rest of the basin.

Leaders would thus have created bonds to the exotic and foreign, also in terms of religion, which would have been out of reach of the commoners, cementing their own right to distinction. If we imagine exchange taking place at the home-settlement as highly ritual undertakings filled with actions and dialogues that were not immediately comprehensible, this would have added to the intimidation of the commoners in front of the leaders' power.

It is suggested that shamans of phase IV had created hierarchies between them, and that San'in individuals were placed at the top because of their supreme esoteric knowledge and thus collected bronze bells, whereas the most respected Kinai shamans – e.g. Karako Kagi's –

gained renown in their own regions for their foreign contacts. Feasts related to visits by San'in tradesmen to Karako Kagi or returns of Karako Kagi's own shaman may have gathered the whole population of the south-eastern basin, and ritual processions and picture pottery deposition – perhaps also secondary burying of people, could have taken place after a cleaning of the settlement moats.

What may have happened in phase IV is thus that the leaders won privileged access to the Otherworldly, including the right to define it. This involved as a matter of course a less genuine religiosity for their own part, and as such a shift in religious sentiment to ideological considerations. Shamanising is interpreted here to have shifted from a shared access to the Otherworldly according to skills for a number of individuals, to the emerging of semi-professional competing shamans in phase III, allegedly with special transcendence skills eventually to a full time, office-holding shaman in phase IV with power to meet his or her own ends first, and only secondly those of the community, and whose transcendent skills took on the appearance of performance. Thus, the religious leader was equally political to the secular leader, and like the secular leader his own religiosity had become subordinate to ideology and was led by political considerations.

Ideology based in religion can be extremely powerful, but this foundation will often be masked past recognition, and it is often expressed and demonstrated in ways that resemble religious ceremonies. Hence, the pottery pictures from phase IV signal ideological considerations. Formalisation is often used to inspire awe and to avoid contradiction and logical reasoning on the part of the spectators. It is a cover for manipulation, and this strategy seems to have been successful for the Karako Kagi leaders in phase IV, at least for a while.

Like the bell pattern that had become increasingly prototypical, so the deer – taken in this thesis to have now come to symbolise the leader and to have connoted to his ancestors – appeared again and again on the pottery resulting in a consideration of religion, ritual and art as something given and formally objective. There was systematic order in all three, an order that could not be contradicted. The mass production of certain patterns, pictures and rituals deprived people of possible alternatives.

This way, people's own subjective experience of the religious sphere, their direct relationship with the Otherworldly was not expressed in the rituals; such sentiments had to be kept under control. The cult had become official, and any performance of transcendence served to consolidate the privileged and unique relationship of the leaders and subsequently their lineage to the distant Otherworld.

Epilogue

The thesis works from a broad definition of religion, assuming the merging in traditional societies of art, religion, ideology and politics, in its pursuit of the religious atmosphere of the Middle Yayoi Period in the Nara Basin with a particular treatment of picture engraved pottery. It contains a model for the social and religious development of the basin, based on physical features and objects related to these. Maps are presented of Karako Kagi that demonstrate the location at the site of picture engraved pottery and its relation to burials and other features as well as to other ritual artefacts. For the clarification of the religious atmosphere of late Middle Yayoi (phase IV) compared to that of earlier phases, the thesis carefully distinguishes between phases II, III and IV when treating and interpreting pictorial motifs as well as other types of ritual artefacts.

A gradual concentration of power at Karako Kagi is observed, accompanied by changing records of imported and domestically produced artefacts whose main function was related to rituals. The nature of these rituals changed over time from religious practices owing their origin to animist beliefs in which human life is connected to that of animals and nature to political performances of display at large-scale feasts.

Karako Kagi came to be the settlement that dominated trade and exchange in the Kinai region in phase IV. In the basin, it enjoyed the advantages of its head start as the first agricultural settlement, and its economic success was based on the processing and exchange of stone rice reapers, whose material was provided by its co-operator Tsuboi Daifuku. The latter was located at the southern end of one of the centripetal rivers, whose presence characterised the south-eastern part of the basin and made it a densely settled area.

Pictorial engraving appeared at Karako Kagi in phase III, at a time when bronze production had barely reached the basin, when bells made from bronze were not yet owned by the villages of the south-eastern basin, and when rituals were still dominated by the manipulation of animal bones.

The pictorial record of the Yayoi Period was shaped by the meeting of various traditions, domestic icons related to beliefs and imported icons of which some were separated from their original religion, while some were not. Next, the iconography became related to animist beliefs expressed by pictures of animals, reptiles, insects and humans interacting with nature. And finally it was used for the self-preserving ideology of ambitious individuals who

managed to manipulate their followers into allowing them a leadership that eventually became hereditary.

Iconographic changes had taken place at the transition from Jōmon to Yayoi cultures at the Japan Sea Coast and in northern Kyūshū. The motif of the deer with large antlers that became the leading motif of the agricultural societies in the Nara Basin as well as on the Ōsaka Plain, had reached the archipelago from its home in the Scythian region via Siberia where it gained its relation to the animist shamanism of that area. The motif also reached the southern Korean Peninsula and travelled from there to northern Kyūshū. Other objects, like wooden birds on stakes, originated in Siberia and reached the archipelago as well as the Peninsula in unaltered shape. Some traits – notably the eye motif of western Honshū – are shared with the Dong Son culture of South-east Asia. Finally, important contributions are made up by the heritage from Jōmon times, e.g. the important motif of a hunter shooting a deer that is seen already on early Kinai bells of phase II as well as later on the pottery.

Bronze bell casting was brought to the Kinai region around the beginning of phase II from Fukui, where the earliest bells had been cast; first to the Kyoto Basin and then to sites on the Ōsaka Plain flanking the Nara Basin to its north and west.

Karako Kagi that adopted the activity of producing picture engravings on pottery in phase III, at the same time as the large settlements on the plain west of the basin, became leading in a process of iconographic transformation; i.e. abandoning the depiction of nature's animals and insects and instead combining the deer with houses, boats and humans in feather dress or battle gear. It is not yet clear whether this process started at Karako Kagi or at one of the large sites on the Ōsaka Plain, but it was Karako Kagi who took it to an extreme in phase IV together with the digging of moats that encircled its inner territory, thus building up the dichotomy between nature and culture that we can observe very clearly in the basin from that phase on. Karako Kagi had managed to break into the network of bronze trade in late phase III, and with the bells that suddenly became part of its production it had secured its own status to such an irretrievable extent that it ventured to also break into and overtake the existing exchange relations of its neighbours in the basin thus reducing their possibilities of trading with settlements in western Honshū.

The features and objects at Karako Kagi are the material expressions of the inhabitants' cognitive conception, and their altering over time reflects changes in people's cognitive cosmology. Changing patterns are observed in the way picture engraved pottery, oracle bones and 'peculiar artefacts' related physically to imported pottery, wells, ditches, moats and

burials, reflecting the religious connection between features and traded items as well as the enhanced focus on cultural elements in phase IV. By that time ritual vessels started to alter in nature from pots and jars to open bowls, often on pedestals, showing an increased focus on large scale feasting with presentation of food and other things on display, all taking place in a time characterised by newly cultivated long-distance trade relations that brought to Karako Kagi exotic accessories and bronze material from the Japan Sea Coast. The latter was to cement the site's leading position in the basin and soon in the whole region as it started a production of bells whose faultless appearance surpassed all that was hitherto seen in the region and anywhere else in the archipelago. Rituals with craft-based objects outdid the old bone manipulation rituals, which originated in animist beliefs, and any genuine animal-worship that might still have been present in the basin's spiritual life at the beginning of the phase waned as animals were now only represented in the iconography. Feasting was now about paraphernalic display and exchange much more overtly connected to the status of the individuals who organised it than had been the case in previous phases. The increased long distance trade may have been a stimulus in segregating the south-western area of the site, where a large part of vessels imported in phase IV were located, keeping 'pollution' related to the foreign material in a bounded place. The segregated area also seems to hold the highest density of pottery with pictures, and rituals involving these are also thought to have taken place there. The ultimate common denominator of the presence of picture engraved pottery however, are burials, and so far it seems that – whereas imported pottery was used for actual funerary activities, the function of the picture pottery was one of marking the location of graves, new as well as old. The picture pottery was thus used in connection with the strengthening sense of memory that characterised the atmosphere of the agriculturally established basin at that time. An unprecedented emphasis on individual settlements' roots in the human past had developed.

It is suggested in the thesis that the twin leadership of a political and a religious leader that seems to have prevailed in East Asia by the time of Late Yayoi, existed in the Kinai area at least in Middle Yayoi, having perhaps manifested itself in the process of agglomeration of settlements at the end of phase II. The efforts that an ambitious individual display in order to gain followers often consist in a mixture of political and religious capabilities, and only as the community's size and social complexity grows, the functions will split and two leaders will emerge at the same time as labour division in general is enhanced in the society. Shamanship may be as competitive as political leadership, and it is thought that its accessibility shrank in the Nara Basin from being a possibility for all individuals with a flair for shamanising in a

relatively egalitarian society of Early Yayoi to being based in severe initiation by the time of phase III and on to being a hereditary office by phase IV just as that of the political leader. From phase III on the political atmosphere can be characterised as transegalitarian. The epitome of the shaman's role in the basin must have been played out at the sacrificial ceremonies at the settlements. He or she would have killed the animal, deer or boar, thus redeeming the ancient connection between shaman and animal, the mental merging of the hunter and his prey, enchanting the prey into being killed. In phase III, the kill may well have taken place near the raised floor house in the north-western part of the settlement. The shaman would then, perhaps in coordination with the political leader, distribute the meat to be eaten by the onlookers, originally reflecting the transfer of the animal's force to the community as a whole, but as time progressed mainly to the political leader whose 'ancestor' the deer was becoming. It is possible that the leaders reserved special parts of the animal's meat for themselves. The obtaining of special esoteric knowledge, which is a universal characteristic of shamanic practice of eating the horned animal would thus become a secluded right, and one of the reflections of this could be an exclusive right of the leaders to manipulate the defleshed bones of the animal inside the raised floor house, where they would also carry out the scorching of the scapulae followed by the act of divination.

In this society on its way to hierarchy, the eating of the sacred meat would become disconnected to its original meaning of recycling of life, of each species including human having at its disposal a "pool" of individuals that are reborn in an endless circle. The new ideology connected the community to the 'ancestors of the leaders', focusing on memory and the handing over of the geographical space from one generation to the next. Therefore the physical carrying out of animal bone divination ceased in phase IV. The cognitive focus on the deer however, flourished, as the emphasis in developed agricultural societies on wild animals and/or animals with horns, tends to be intense, much more intense than the animals' role in subsistence justifies, because horns are here related – by way of their connotations of potency and wealth – to the economic surplus. The horned animal focus, together with the bird focus, is demonstrated in agricultural societies during the large-scale feasts that are so typical for these societies by horns and feathers adorning the masks of dancers. In Yayoi phase IV as in many other agricultural societies, humans had become depicted for what they were, for their political roles rather than for what they did, in contrast to earlier phases when the hunter was depicted in interaction with animals and nature. This way iconographic depiction was now related to certain individuals rather than to people and the community in common.

It is suggested in the thesis that the San'in area held settlements that housed very powerful shamans. This area reflects other iconographic traits from the Jōmon Period than what can be seen in Kinai and is thought here to have developed a different religious complex than that of the Kinai area. The area was to become one of the four political centres of the Yayoi Period (together with Kinai, northern Kyūshū and Kibi), and it had received a conspicuously large number of bronze bells from the casting centres on the Ōsaka Plain in phases II and III. These bells had been exchanged for accessories made in the Japan Sea region and perhaps for bronze material and religious knowledge, and it is assumed here that Karako Kagi, when it broke into the bronze trading network at the end of phase III, had its shamans participate in such 'import' of esoteric knowledge. Such activity would result in their enjoying religious top-status in the basin and eventually in Kinai as the most successful shamans in terms of obtaining this knowledge. It may turn out to be significant that Karako Kagi's apparent lack of habitation features – as its only two positively demonstrated pit-houses are physically related to locations of stone and bronze production respectively – is reflected in a type of moated settlement that arose in the San'in area in mid Middle Yayoi; a settlement type that held pit-houses only outside its enclosure. This enhances the possibility of Karako Kagi having been mainly a production site whose existence was highly ritual.

The thesis also proposes that it was the Kinai leaders who broke trading relations with San'in in phase V, as they feared the devaluation of the bronze material that the influence of iron could cause if they allowed the latter to flow from San'in or elsewhere into their own ruling sphere.

The development of settlement patterns and the architecture of the basin's moated settlements reflect growing awareness of culture versus nature as well as leaders versus commoners. Since the time of the agglomeration (late phase II) of a large number of smaller sites into a lower number of larger, factional leaders with the personal capacities to influence and guide others are thought to have acted at the individual settlements. They would gradually extend their power from one of attracting followers in exchange for providing these with access to goods and other advantages to one of unconditional leadership founded in convincing their followers of their right to lead. The followers thus became commoners and the leaders' positions moved towards heredity. The most efficient way for the leaders to gain such grip over their co-residents was to place and base this right in people's religion, by manipulating the dogmas existing in the cognitive atmosphere, thus creating a self-preserving ideology expected to be accepted by the commoners. Like in many other parts of the world they

decorated themselves with feathers, a global symbol of religious and political power, they stepped forward in their divided offices as political and religious leaders respectively and at large scale rituals they performed dressed as warriors and 'birdmen'. The bolting speed with which Karako Kagi's moats developed, the depiction on pottery of the leaders and other cultural elements like houses and boats instead of frogs, snakes and insects, as well as the moving of moated precincts and bronze bells away from the settlement testify to the separation of culture and nature that was a necessary step for the leader's to bring the solidification of their power to a successful end.

The Karako Kagi leaders also won the internal competition in the south-eastern basin, where four settlement clusters, each consisting of one or two large moated settlements with a varying number of satellite sites connected to them, had developed during Middle Yayoi. The Yayoi Period's moats around large settlements functioned predominantly as demarcation of living space, but as time progressed they demarcated the living spaces for privileged segments of the population. The right to dig moats as well as how many moats a settlement could allow itself seem to have been determined by the settlement's status.

Tsuboi Daifuku was until the end of phase III the only settlement in the basin that in terms of size, number of moats and number of trading partners in western Honshū could be likened to Karako Kagi. It apparently lost its privileged status as Karako Kagi's ally when the latter's focus shifted from rhyolite material to bronze. Its continuous physical extension came to a halt in phase IV and no picture engravings exist at the site from that phase. The latter is true for all upstream sites except from Shiba – who may have become Karako Kagi's new ally – and for all sites not belonging to Karako Kagi's own cluster, which is taken to indicate that picture production was regulated from Karako Kagi in the phase. It is also suggested that comb patterning of pottery was deliberately banned by orders from the leaders here. They reserved the use of pattern, appearing more formalised than ever, for bronze bells. The formalisation of patterns was part of the process of removal of essential religious elements from the ordinary people, a process that also included bronze bells and the moated precincts. The precincts are thought to have belonged until that time to the various community segments constituting the settlements, each precinct having been the ritual assembly location and communal focus for a lineage. Patterns, bells and precincts were now annexed by the leading tier, and came to have their place in the leaders' own secluded rituals far away from the ordinary population.

This conscious separation of nature and culture was also put into effect by regulating the type of motifs to be put on pottery; the various small creatures were not to be seen, rather the

deer was to be repeated over and over and to be seen together with the emblems of culture, the raised floor house and the Karako Kagi leaders themselves in their formal attire. The deer was the only animal that was maintained, used by the leaders to legitimise their steps towards new religious trends that fit their own ideologies. The political leader annexed the ancient icon of the deer as relating to himself as his ancestor, he was therefore the naturally born leader. The same way the shaman may have used the bird as legitimising his or her power.

The focus on feathers and other bird traits used by both types of leaders in their formal dress is interpreted in the thesis to express aggression, and the process in the basin of emerging hereditary leaders is seen as highly aggressive. This aggression however, was expressed, not in physical warfare, rather by the threat of it and by large-scale feasting that intimidated and indebted commoners and visiting leaders.

The deliberate polarisation of culture and nature, and the fear among people of the forces of the wild nature that would have arisen from this process were consciously exploited by the leaders in their striving towards unchallenged power. Parades with the new type of glamorous bronze bells in processions consisting of selected members of society, leading from Karako Kagi through the grasslands to the slopes of the mountains, would inspire awe in the minds of those watching the scenario. The alienation of people in general towards nature and the restriction on traffic in the forested areas at the basin edges rendered great power to rituals carried out there by the religious and political leaders, clearly demonstrating their – newly won – exclusive contact with the Otherworldly. Also, it is suggested that the water chaos created by the great flood at the end of phase IV could have been exploited as a demonstration of the leaders' divine power over the water resources.

The flood, which is suspected to have affected the whole basin, destroyed the moats of Karako Kagi. Peculiarly, this incidence apparently caused the deliberate filling of the moats at other moated settlements in the basin, which is taken to reflect that this happened according to orders from the leading settlement, Karako Kagi.

Research prospects

Since much more will be known about the function of the picture engraved pottery inside the Nara Basin when larger fields have been excavated in the south-western part of Karako Kagi, it is my hope that the near future will bring such excavations. Collecting and collating information on activities at the bell casting centres of phases II and III on the Ōsaka Plain however, is also of great importance when researching Yayoi Period iconography. Particularly

Higashinara as the leading casting centre in phase III deserves to be investigated in terms of internal and regional development and in terms of its connections to the Japan Sea Coast settlements.

These highly relevant topics in relation to taking Kinai regional studies into a deeper understanding of the social and cognitive atmosphere of the Yayoi Period are planned to be treated in a future volume.

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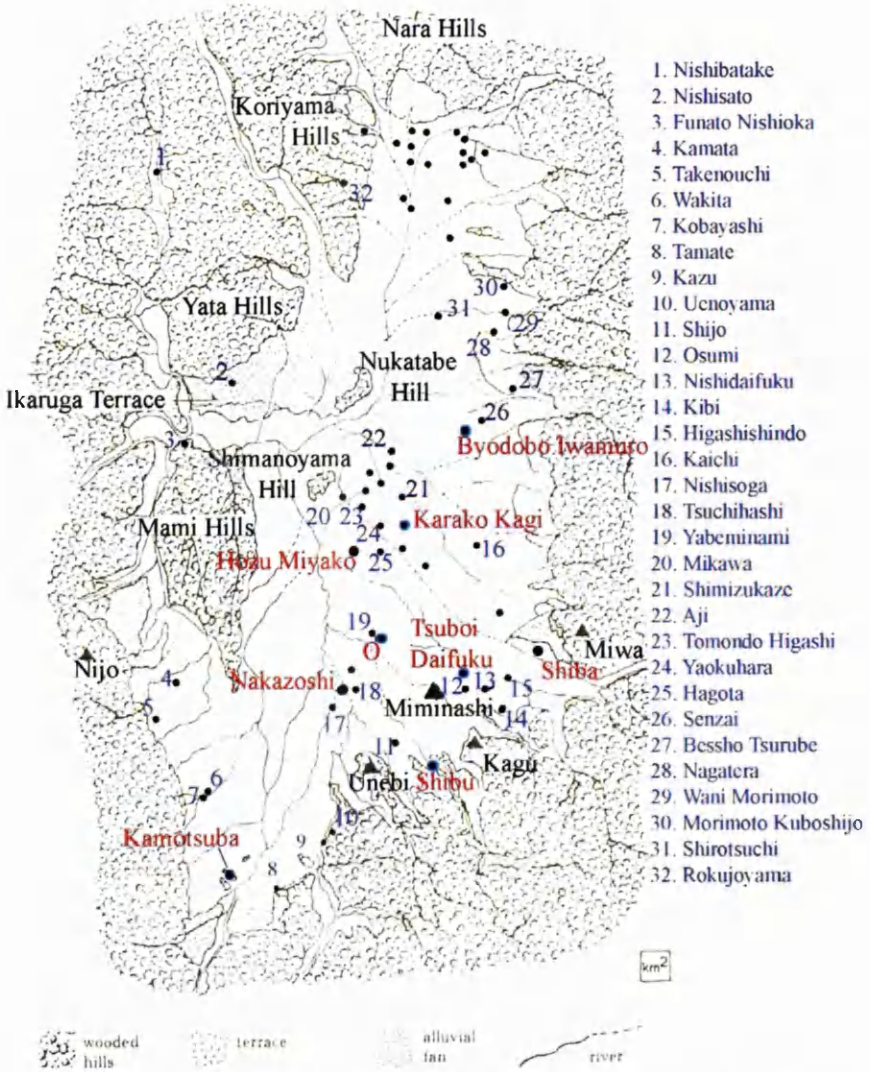


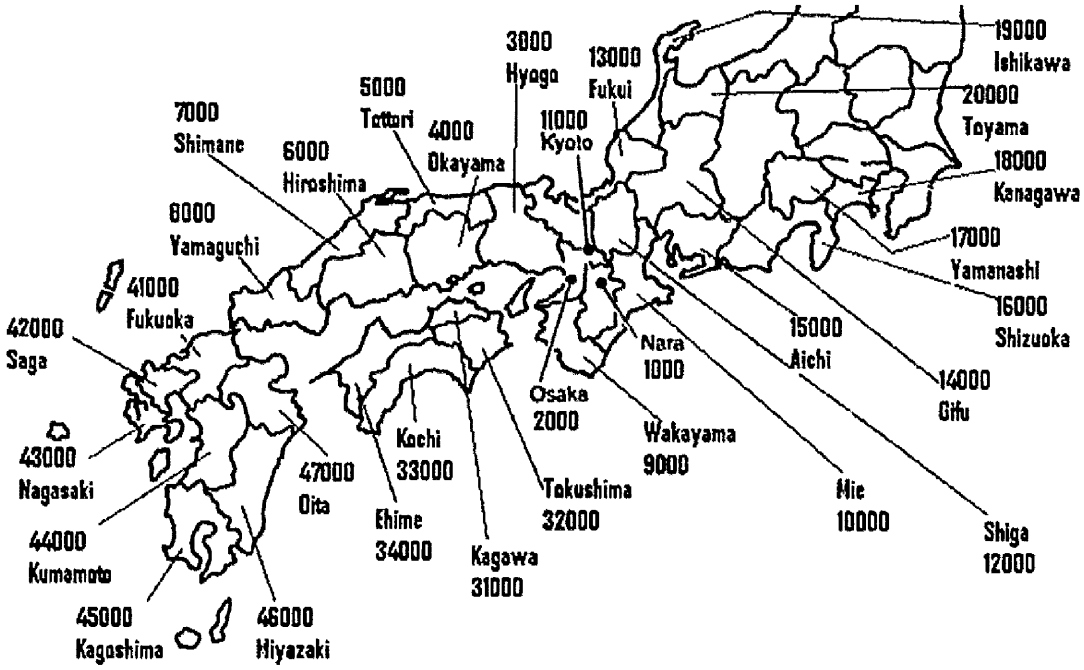
Figure 38: The Nara Basin in Middle Yayoi showing large settlements and satellite settlements.

(red texts, light blue circles: moated settlements) (blue texts and numbers: satellite settlements). (Sites inserted on map showing reconstructed upland topography and river courses after Barnes 1988:41 (black with black texts and triangles).) Important mountains indicated by triangles

Religious Imagery of Middle Yayoi Settlements

– *An Iconology of Engraved Drawings on Kinai Pottery and Bronze Bells*

Volume 2
Catalogue



PhD-thesis, September 2008

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Front page illustration: Map of western Japan indicating site code group for each prefecture. Original map from Barnes 1993:11

Index of find spots of pictorially engraved pottery, clay plaques and human facial representation from the Yayoi Period

Numerical list

Nara

1001 Karako Kagi	唐子·鍵
1002 Shimizukaze	清水風
1003 Yaokuhara	八尾九原
1004 Tsuboi Daifuku	坪井·大福
1005 Shiba	芝
1006 Nakazoshi	中曽司
1007 Shibu	四分
1008 Hirao Higashi	平尾東
1009 Uenoyama	上ノ山
1010 Hagota	羽子田
1011 Byōdōbō Iwamuro	平等坊·岩室
1012 Nagatera	長寺
1013 Miwa	

Osaka

2001 Ikegamisone	池上曽根
2002 Higashinara	東奈良
2003 Funahashi	船橋
2004 Uryūdō	瓜生堂
2005 Nishinotsuji	西ノ辻
2006 Kariya	雁屋
2007 Hirano	平野
2008 Miyanoshita	宮ノ下
2009 Ama	安満
2010 Kamei	亀井
2011 Onji	恩智
2012 Morishōji	森小路
2013 Yotsuike	四ツ池
2014 Koma	巨摩
2015 Hoshigaokanishi	星丘西
2016 Mizokui	溝咋
2017 Dannokami	段上
2018 Onizuka	鬼塚
2019 Nagahara	長原
2020 Ochikata	彼方
2021 Onosato	男里
2022 Ōsato	大里
2023 Kayaburi	萱振

Hyogo

3001 Kamo	加茂
3002 Yōhisayama Maechi	養久山· 前地
3003 Tamatsudanaka	玉津田中
3004 Ōgakiuchi	大垣内
3005 Takema Miyanomae	竹万宮ノ前

Okayama

4001 Tsushima	津島
4002 Yūchō	雄町
4003 Amagase	天瀬
4004 Ashimorigawa	足守川
4005 Hyakkengawa	百間川
4006 Hyakkengawa Sawada	百間川沢田
4007 Tsudera Nakaya	津寺
4008 Jōtō	上東
4009 Ichikura	一倉
4010 Shinjōnoue	新庄尾上
4011 Minamigata	南方
4012 Kuboki	窪木
4013 Hyakkengawa Haraojima	百間川原尾島
4014 Shiro	城
4015 Tsushima Emichi	津島江道
4016 Kamo Mandokoro	加茂政所
4017 Kamo	加茂
4018 Hyakkengawa Kaneki	百間川兼基
4019 Tsushima Okadai	津島岡大
4020 Shikada	鹿だ
4021 Takiyama	田木山

Tottori

5001 Aoyakamijichi	青谷上寺地
5002 Nakamine	中峰
5003 Inayoshi-Sumita	稲吉角田
5004 Mukibanda	妻木晩田
5005 Hietsuka Kofun	日吉塚

5006 Chabatake Yamamichi 茶畑山道

Hiroshima
6001 Jizōdō 地蔵堂
6002 Yahara 矢原
6003 Shinsakominami 新迫南
6004 Hirabayashi 平林

Shimane
7001 Nishikawatsu 西川津
7002 Midami 美談
7003 Shiroedakōjin 白枝荒神

Yamaguchi
8001 Myōji 明地
8002 Ayaragikō 綾羅木郷

Wakayama
9001 Kuroda 黒田

Mie
10001 Kamikida 上箕田

Kyōto
11001 Morimoto 森本
11002 Michinakagaoka 途中ヶ丘
11003 Hiyoshigaoka 日吉が丘

Gifu
14001 Araominami 荒尾南

Aichi
15001 Ichiba 市場
15002 Kamezuka 亀塚
15003 Asahi 朝日

Kanagawa
18001 Iseyama 伊勢山

Ishikawa
19001 Yōkaichijikata 八日市地方

Ehime
34001 Tarumi Takagi 樽味高木
34002 Itani Rokuchōba 祝谷六丁場
34003 Higashikumo Jinja 東雲神社
34004 Bunkyō 文京
34005 Kume Takahata 久米高畑
34006 Furuichi 古市
34007 Betsunajitani 別名寺谷
34008 Fukuoto 福音小学校
34009 Matsuyama 松山大学

Fukuoka
41001 Yoshitake Takagi 吉武高木
41002 Komogura 小葎
41003 Hiratsukakawazoe 平塚川添
41004 Fujizaki 藤崎
41005 Iishi 飯氏
41006 Misawa Hasako no Miya 三沢ハサコの宮
41007 Ōki 大木
41008 Yasutake Fukada 安武深田
41009 Naka 那珂
41010 Ōitai 大板井
41011 Shinohara Shinken 篠原新建
41012 Kasanuki 笠抜
41013 Junchi Tōkyū 潤地頭給

Saga
42001 Kawayori Yoshiwara 川寄吉原
42002 Higashiyamada Ipponsugi 東山田一本杉
42003 Tsudome 津留

Nagasaki
43001 Harunotsuji 原の辻

Kumamoto
44001 Kamisui 神

Alphabetical list

Ama	2009
Amagase	4003
Aoyakamijichi	5001
Araominami	14001
Asahi	15003
Ashimorigawa	4004
Ayaragikō	8002
Betsunajitani I	34007
Bunkyō	34004
Byōdōbō Iwamuro	1011
Chabatake Yamamichi	5006
Dannokami	2017
Fujizaki	41004
Fukuoto	34008
Funahashi	2003
Furuichi	34006
Hagota	1010
Harunotsuji	43001
Hietsuka Kofun	5005
Higashikumo Jinja	34003
Higashinara	2002
Higashiyamada Ipponsugi	42002
Hirabayashi	6004
Hirano	2007
Hirao Higashi	1008
Hiratsukakawazoe	41003
Hiyoshigaoka	11003
Hoshigaokanishi	2015
Hyakkengawa	4005
Hyakkengawa Haraojima	4013
Hyakkengawa Kaneki	4018
Hyakkengawa Sawada	4006
Ichiba	15001
Ichikura	4009
Iishi	41005
Ikegamisone	2001
Inayoshi-Sumita	5003
Iseyama	18001
Itani Rokuchōba	34002
Jizōdō	6001
Jōtō	4008
Junchi Tōkyū	41013
Kamei	2010
Kamezuka	15002
Kamikida	10001
Kamisui	44001
Kamo	3001
Kamo	4017
Kamo Mandokoro	4016
Karako Kagi	1001
Kariya	2006
Kasanuki	41012
Kawayori Yoshiwara	42001
Kayaburi	2023
Koma	2014
Komogura	41002
Kuboki	4012
Kume Takahata	34005
Kuroda	9001
Matsuyama	34009
Michinakagaoka	11002
Midami	7002
Minamigata	4011
Misawa Hasako no Miya	41006
Miwa	1013
Miyanoshita	2008
Mizokui	2016
Morimoto	11001
Morishōji	2012
Mukibanda	5004
Myōji	8001
Nagahara	2019
Nagatera	1012
Naka	41009
Nakamine	5002
Nakazoshi	1006
Nishikawatsu	7001
Nishinotsuji	2005
Ochikata	2020
Ōgakiuchi	3004
Ōitai	41010
Ōki	41007
Onizuka	2018
Onji	2011
Onosato	2021
Ōsato	2022
Shiba	1005
Shibu	1007
Shikada	4020
Shimizukaze	1002
Shinjōnoue	4010
Shinohara Shinken	41011
Shinsakominami	6003
Shiro	4014
Shiroedakōjin	7003
Takema Miyanomae	3005

Takiyama	4021
Tamatsudanaka	3003
Tarumi Takagi	34001
Tsuboi Daifuku	1004
Tsudera Nakaya	4007
Tsudome	42003
Tsushima	4001
Tsushima Emichi	4015
Tsushima Okadai	4019
Uenoyama	1009
Uryūdō	2004
Yahara	6002
Yaokuhara	1003
Yasutake Fukada	41008
Yōhisayama Maechi	3002
Yōkaichijikata	19001
Yoshitake Takagi	41001
Yotsuike	2013
Yūchō	4002

Plates – bronze and wooden artefacts

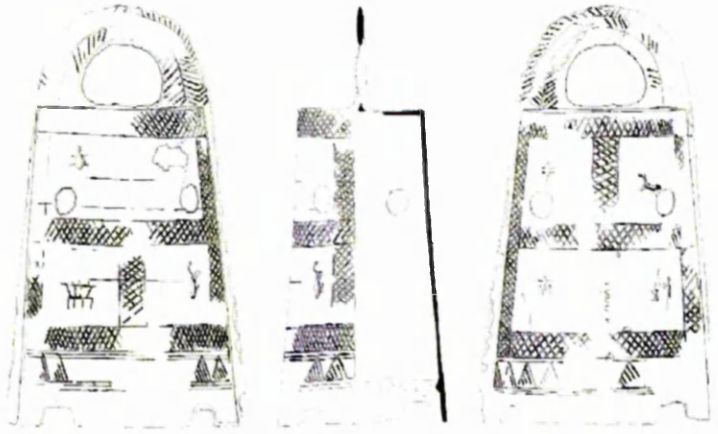


Plate 1, late EY(I-2) Inomukai (井向)2, Fukui

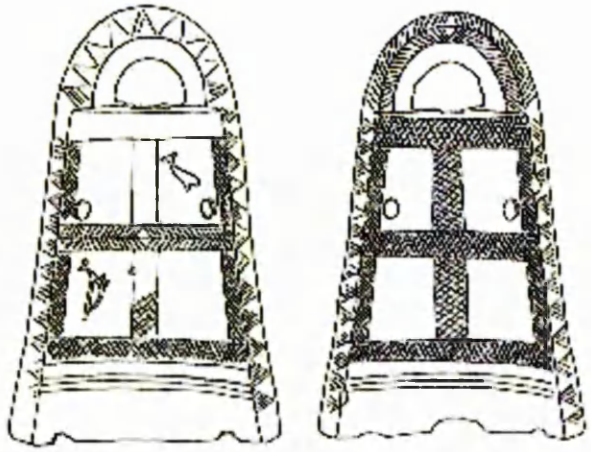


Plate 2, late EY(I-2) Jūrokuchō (十六町), Gifu

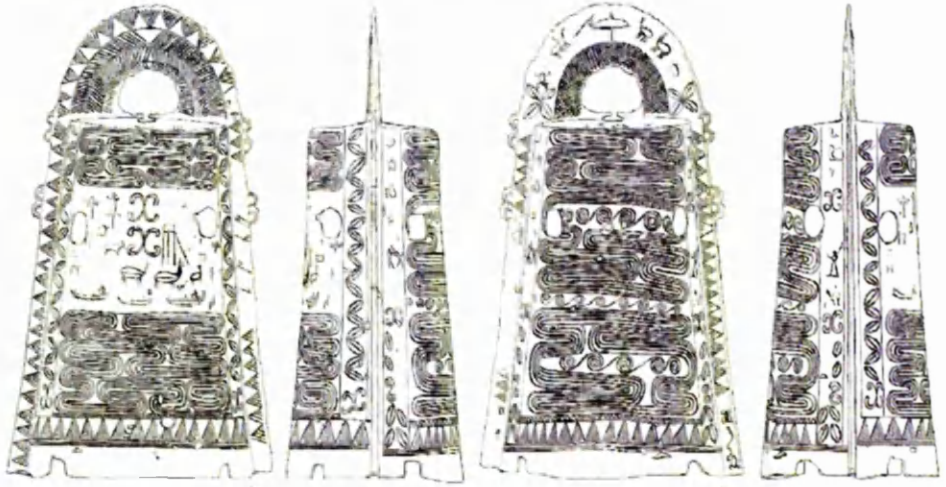


Plate 3.1, beg. MY(II-1) Inomukai 1, Fukui

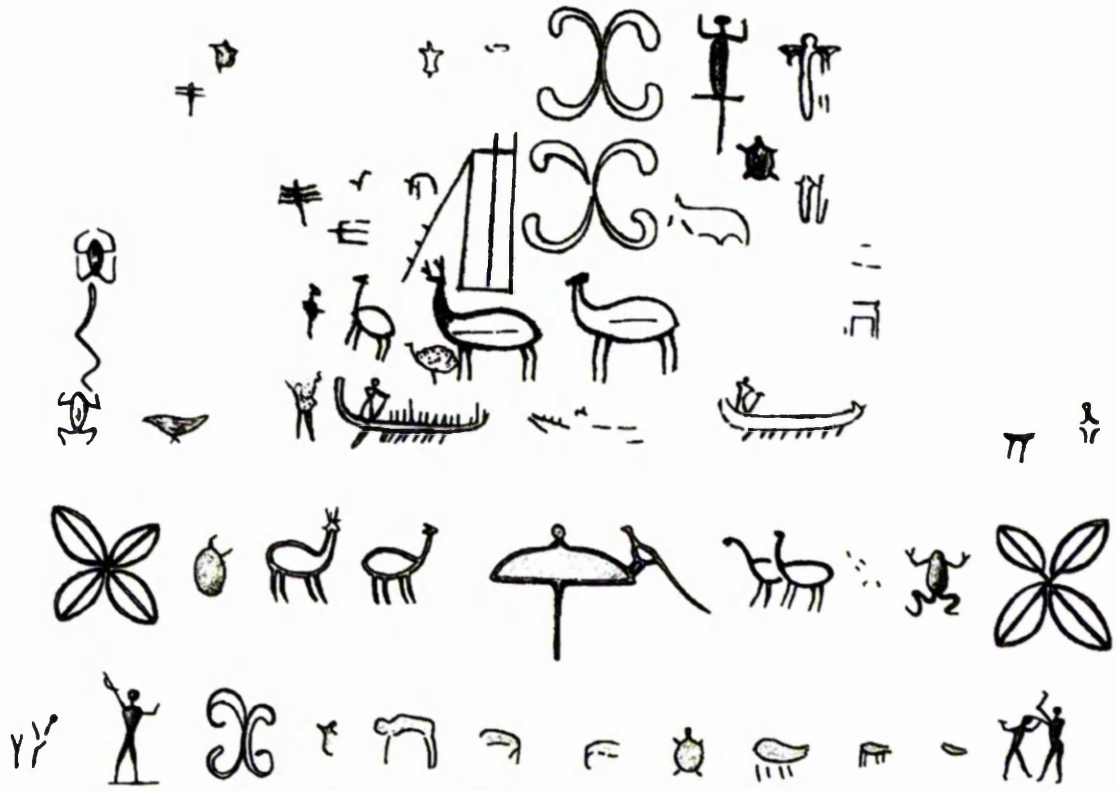
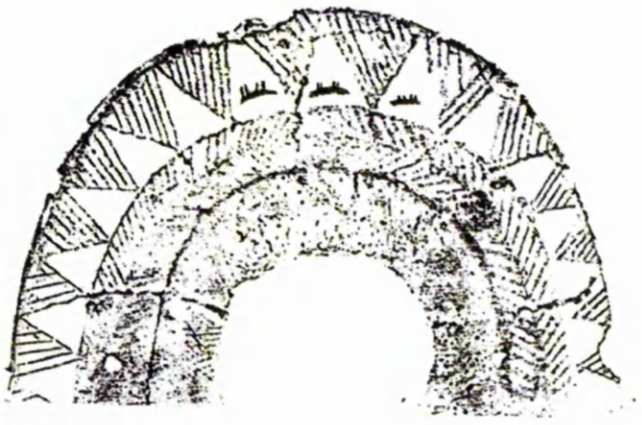
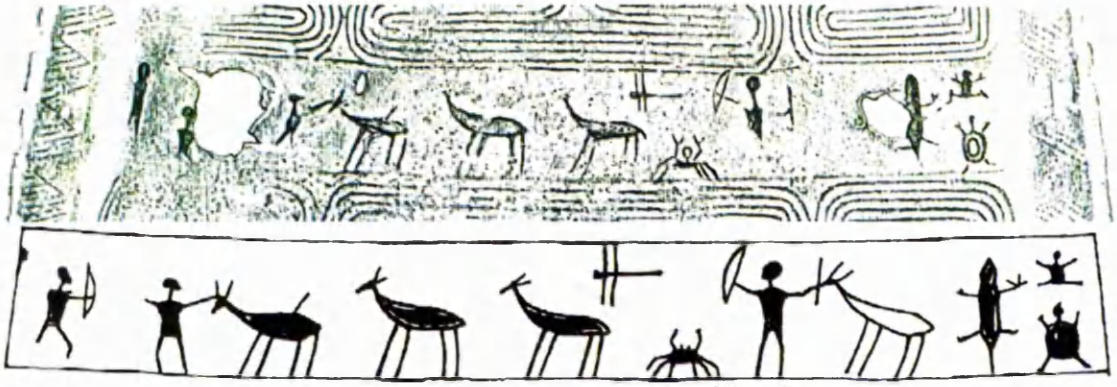


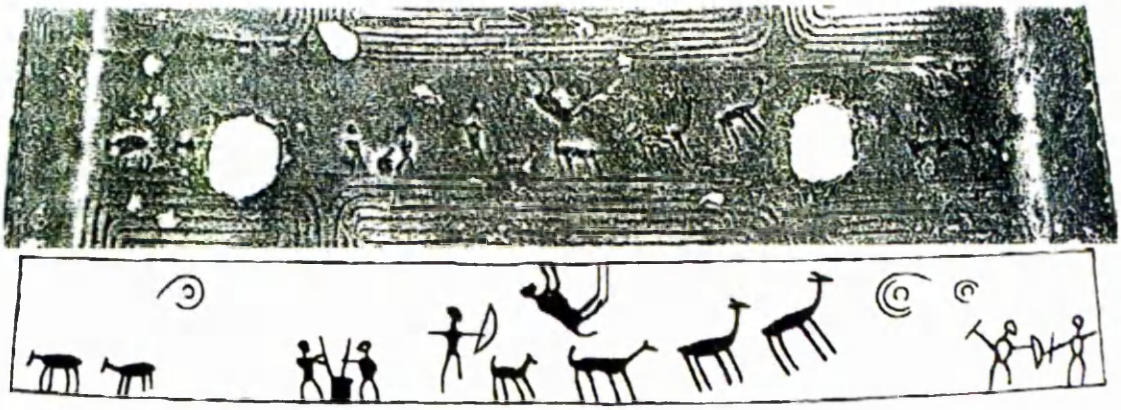
Plate 3.2, beg. MY(II-1) Inomukai 1, Fukui



Plates 4.1; 4.2, early MY(II-1) Tomari(泊)



Plates 4.3; 4.4, early MY(II-1)　(Sakuragaoka)Kamika 1 (桜ヶ丘神岡), Hyogo



Plates 4.5; 4.6, early MY(II-1)　Tatsuuma (辰馬)404

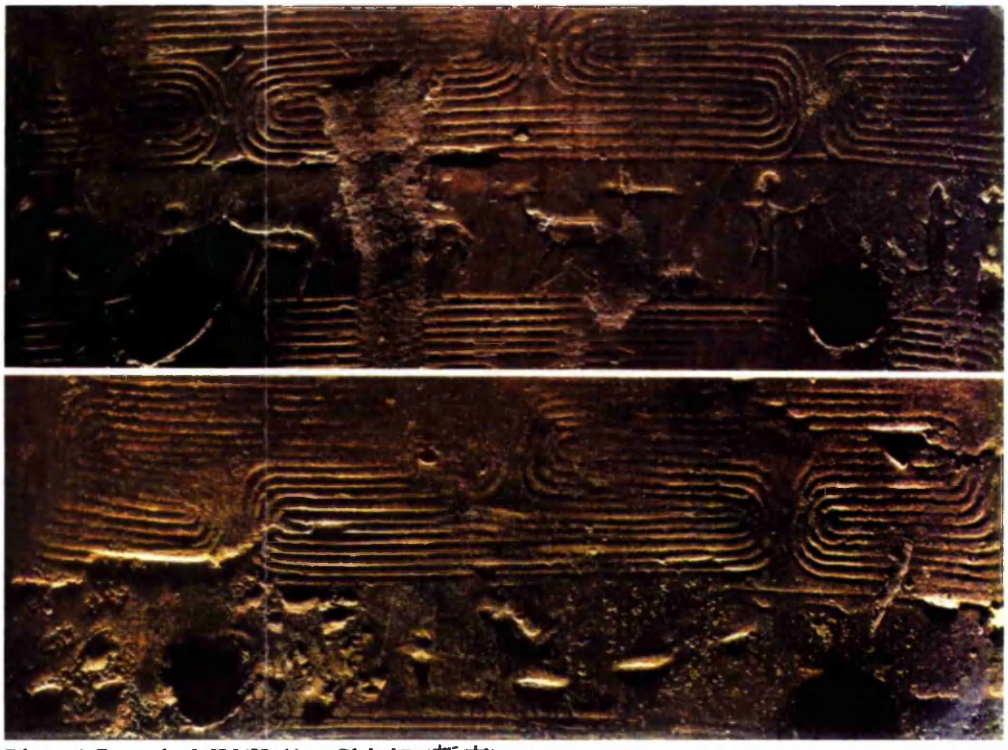


Plate 4.7, early MY(II-1)　Shinjō (新庄)

Plate 5.1, early MY(II-1) Kamika 2, Hyogo/Kōno (神於), Ōsaka

Plate 5.2, early MY(II-1) Kōno

Plate 5.3, early MY　KōnoA&B (II-1), Kehi (気比) 1 (II-2), Kehi 4 (II-2)

Plate 5.4, early MY(II-1)　Ōmi(近江？), Shiga & Onji Kaitōyama (恩智垣内山), Ōsaka

Plate 5.5, early MY(II-1)　Ōmi

Plate 6, early MY(II-2)　Tatsuuma 418

Plate 7.1, early MY(II-2) Isoyama (磯山), Mie

Plate 7.2, early MY(II-2) Isoyama

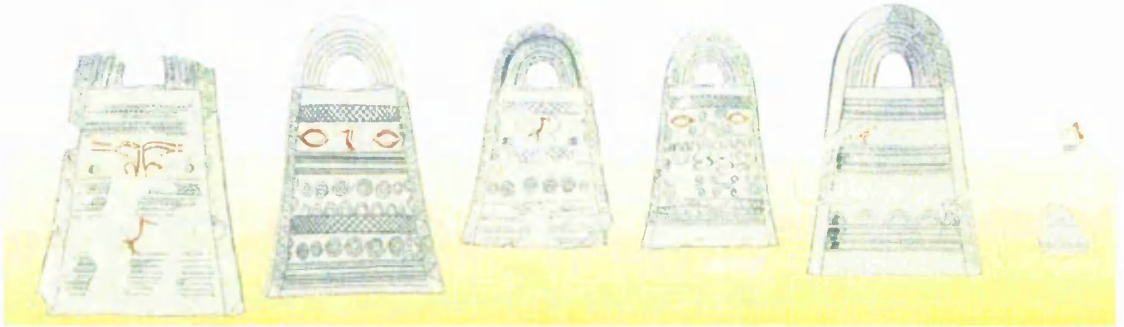
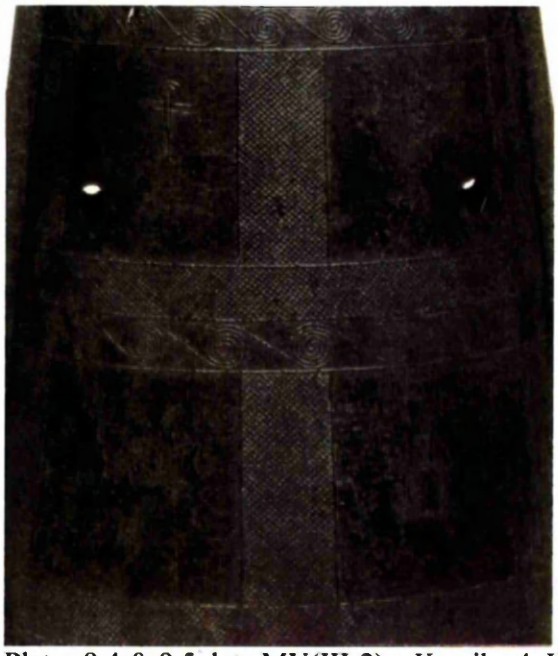


Plate 8.1, early MY (II-2) ass. Izumo (出雲), Shimane; Kamiashimori (上足守), Okayama; all. Hōki (伯耆), ?; Fukuda (福田), Hiroshima; Yasunagata (安永田) mould, Saga

Plates 8.2 & 8.3, early MY(II-2) ass. Izumo; Fukuda

Plate 9.1, late MY(III-2) Bunchō (文晁) (replica); all. Kagawa (香川)


Plates 9.2 & 9.3, late MY(III-2) Kamika 5, Hyogo




Plates 9.4 & 9.5, late MY(III-2) Kamika 4, Hyogo

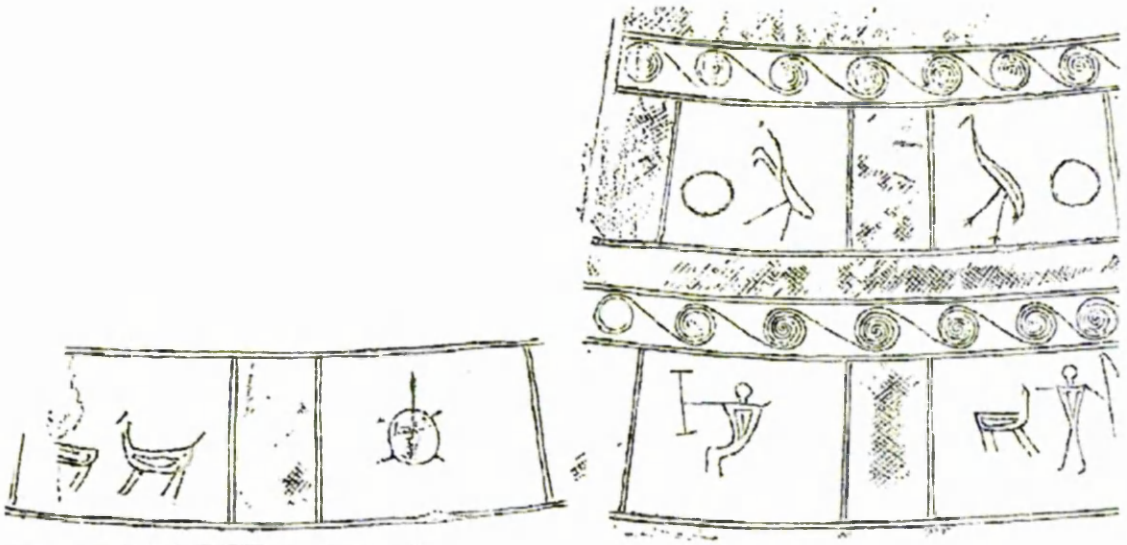


Plate 9.6, late MY(III-2) Bunchō

Plates 9.7 & 9.8, late MY(III-2) all. Kagawa

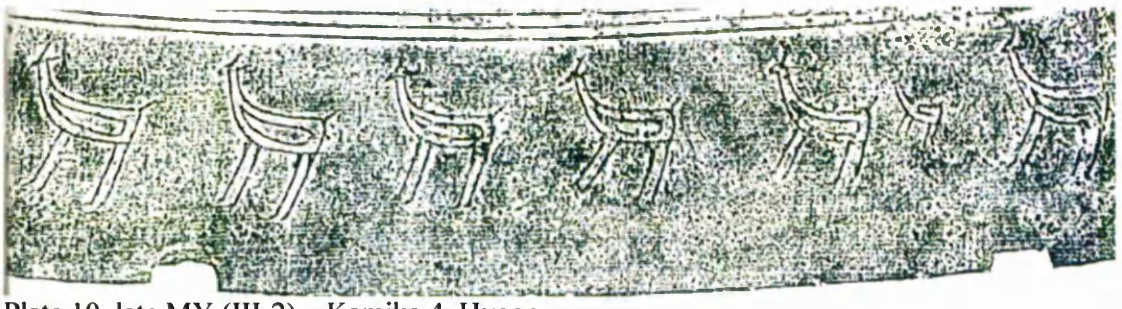


Plate 10, late MY (III-2) Kamika 4, Hyogo

Plate 11.1 & 11.2, end MY/beg. LY(III-2/IV-1) Kamo Iwakura (加茂岩倉) 35, Shimane

Plates 12 & 13, late MY(III-2) Kamo Iwakura 29 & 10, Shimane

Plate 14, end MY/beg. LY Kamo Iwakura 18, Shimane

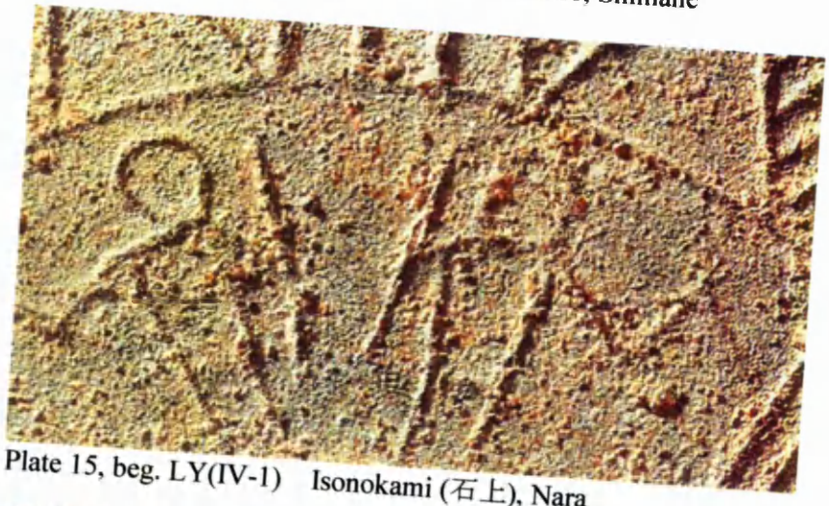


Plate 15, beg. LY(IV-1) Isonokami (石上), Nara

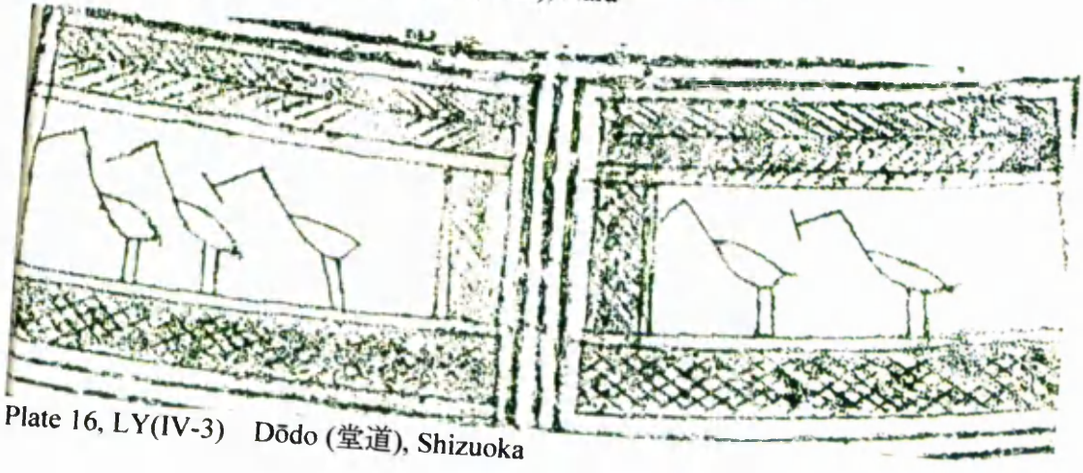


Plate 16, LY(IV-3) Dōdo (堂道), Shizuoka

Plate 17, LY(IV-3)　Akugaya (悪ヶ谷), Shizuoka

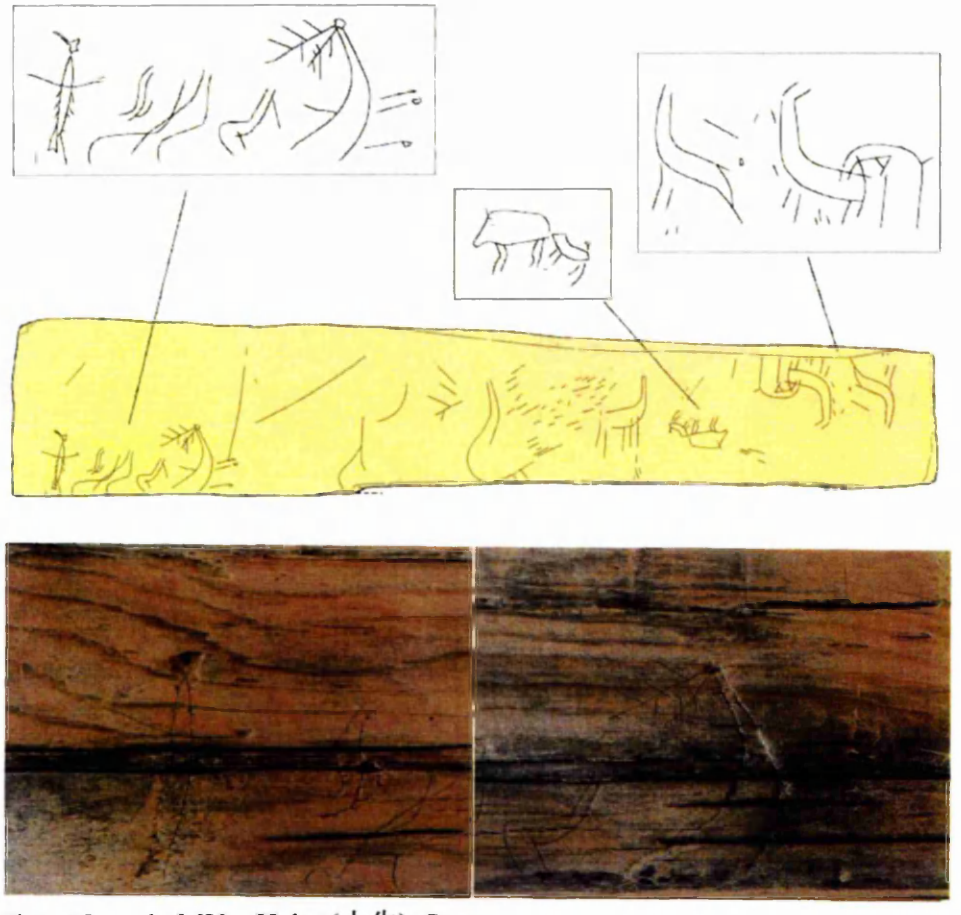


Plate 18, early MY　Habu (土生), Saga

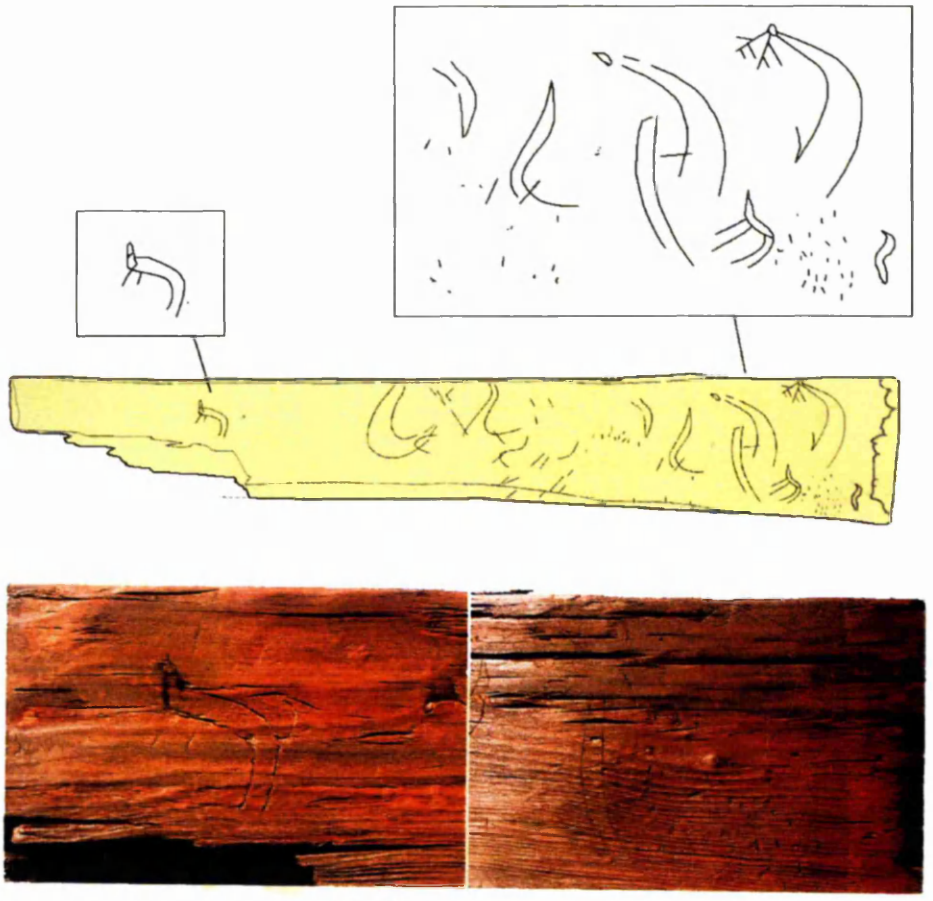


Plate 19, early MY Habu (土生)

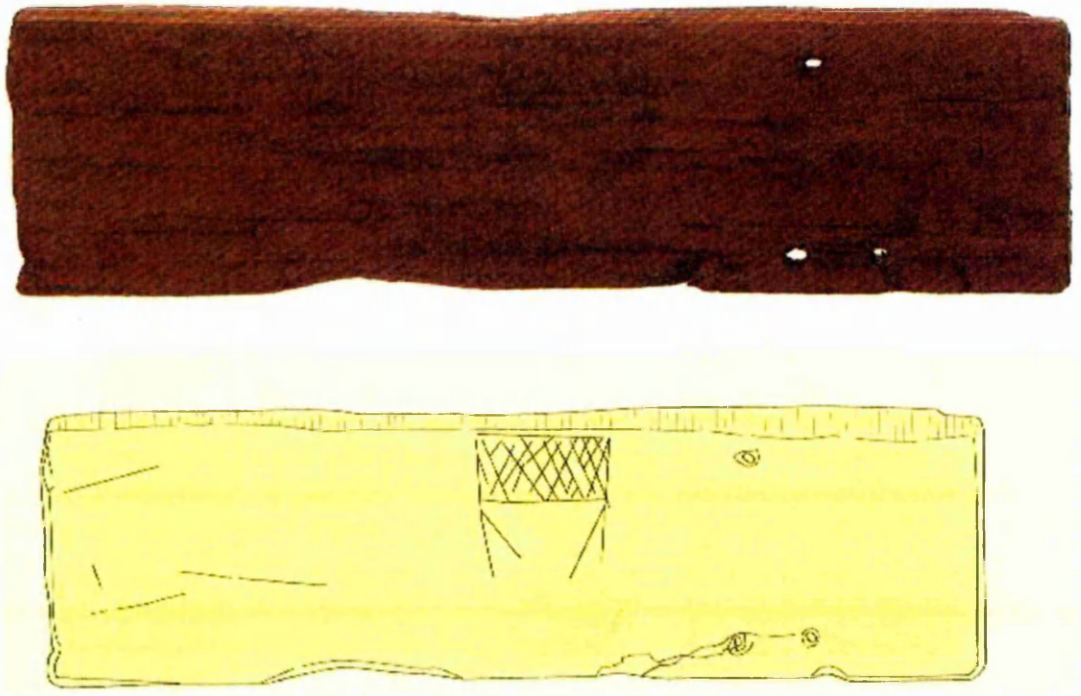


Plate 20, end MY Nampō (南方), Okayama

Plates 21.1 & 21.2, end MY Aoyakamijichi (青谷上寺地)

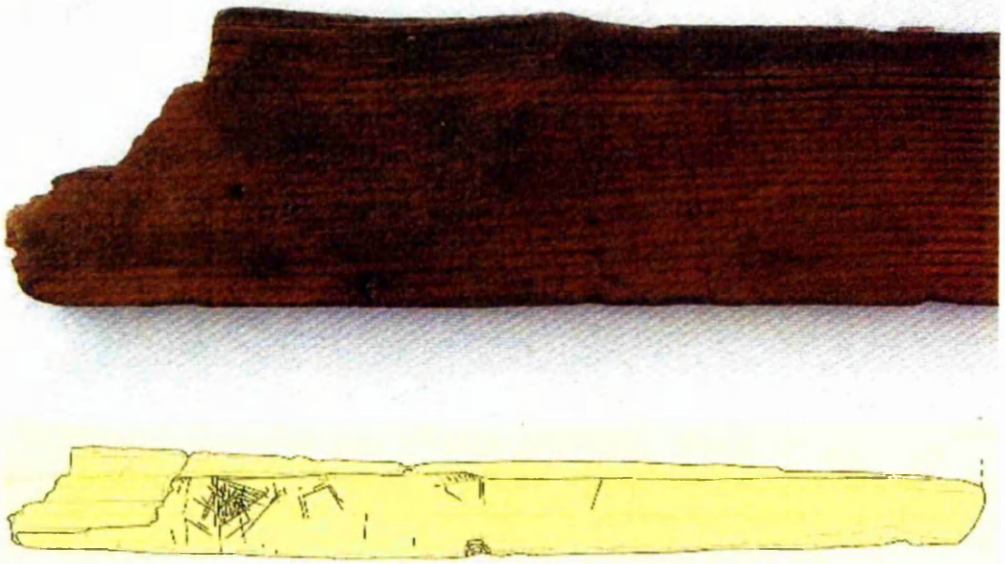


Plate 22, end MY/beg. LY Kamikanko (上鑓子), Fukuoka

Plate 23, end MY Aoyakamijichi

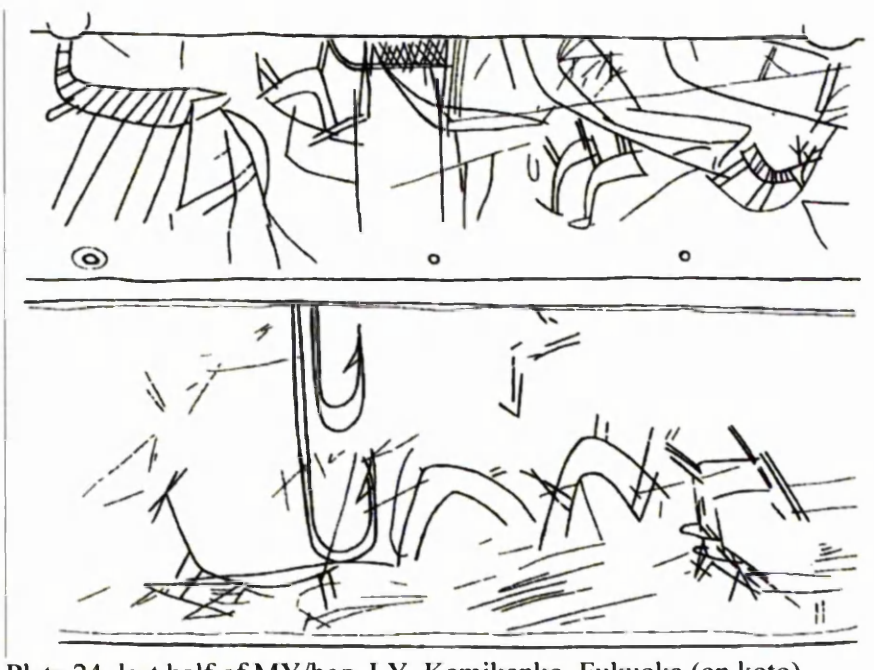


Plate 24, last half of MY/beg. LY Kamikanko, Fukuoka (on koto)

Plate 25, end MY Aoyakamijichi

Plate 26, (no date) Aoyakamijichi

Plates 27.1 & 27.2, end MY Aoyakamijichi

Plates 28 Karasumazaki (烏丸崎), Shiga

Plate 29, early Middle Yayoi Shimonogō, Shiga

Plate 30, (no date) Kamei Kita, Osaka

Plate 31, (no date) Kariya, Ōsaka

Plate 32, MY Aoyakamijichi

Plate 33, MY Aoyakamijichi

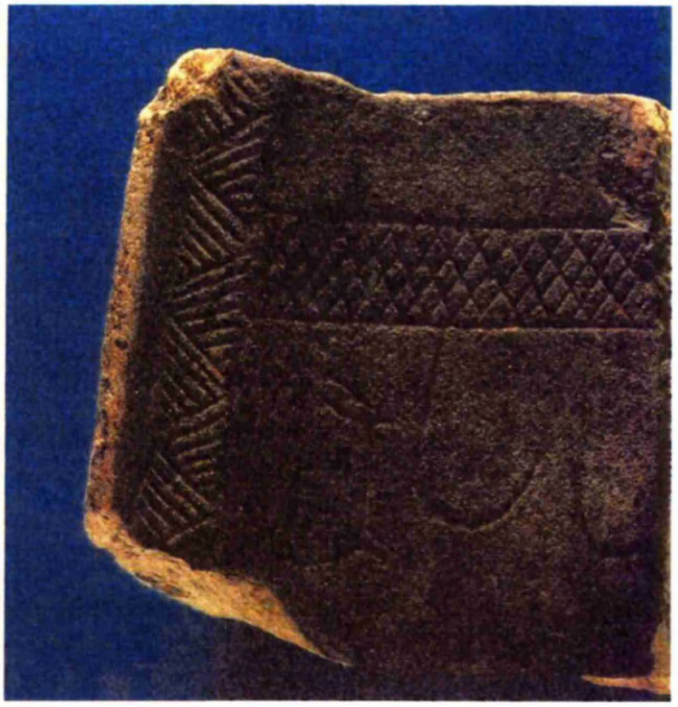
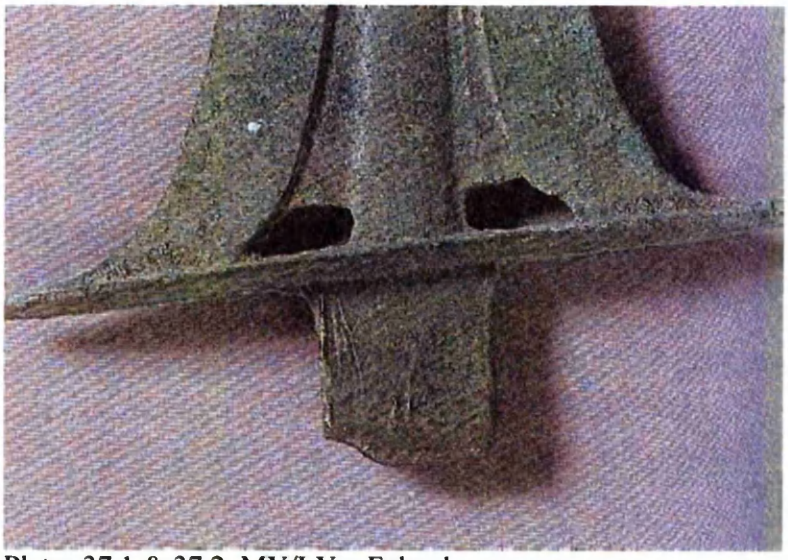


Plate 34, end MY Akōnoura

Plate 35, II ass. Kōchi

Plate 36, Kamikankō MY/beg. LY



Plates 37.1 & 37.2, MY/LY Fukuoka

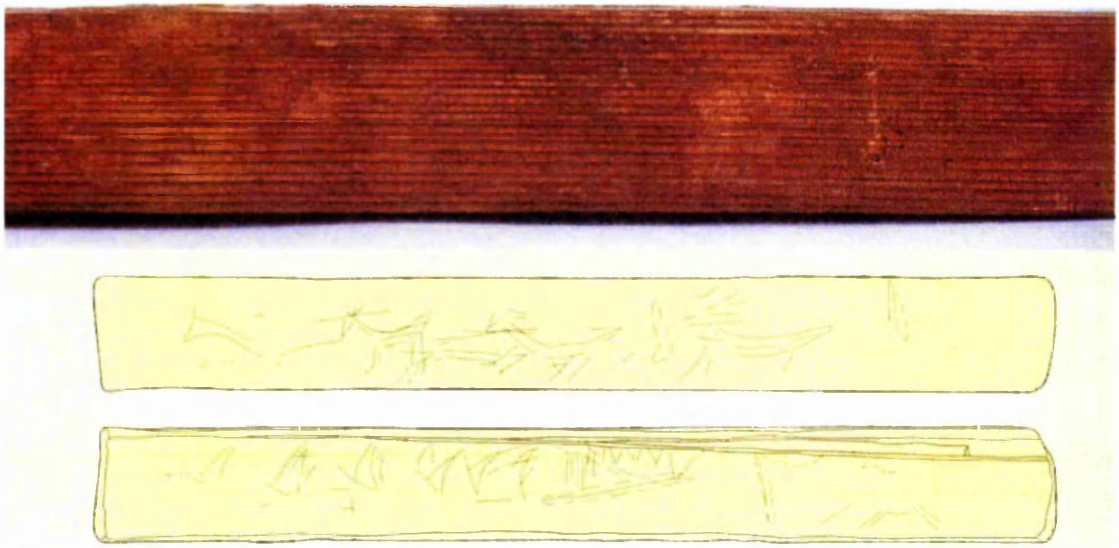


Plate 38, MY Aoyakamijichi

Plate 39, end MY Aoyakamijichi

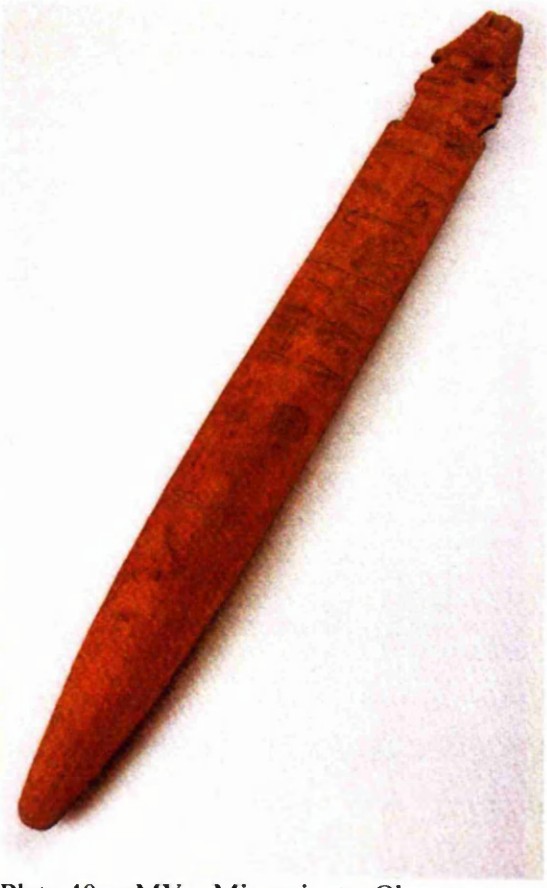


Plate 40, mMY Minamigata, Okayama

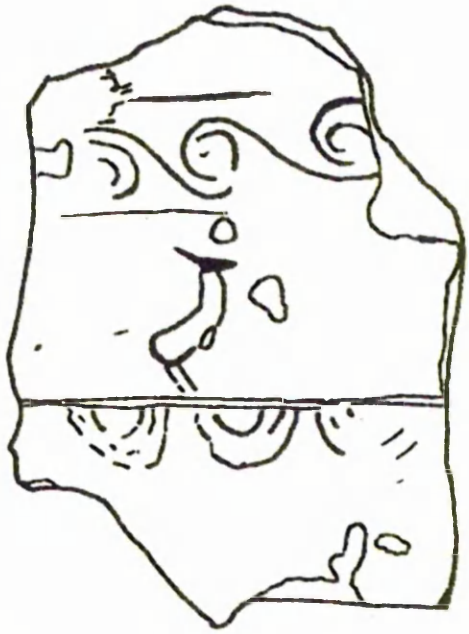


Plate 41, no date Momokitsuki, Hiroshima

Plate 42, Palaeolithics

Plate 43, Final Jōmon, Iwate

Plate 44, Epi-Jōmon, Hokkaido

Plate 45, Early Jōmon, Miyagi

Plate 46, Late Jōmon, Aomori

Plate 47

Plate 48, Onotenjinmae, Ibaraki

Plate 49, Ozakata, Ibaraki

Plates 50.1 & 50.2, Kyongjushi, North Kyongsang

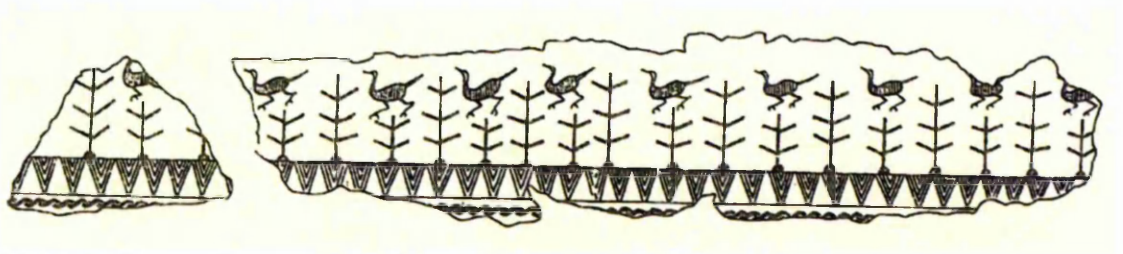


Plate 51, Bronze from grave, China

Plate 52, Filippovka nomadic deer

53, Samarthian mythical creature

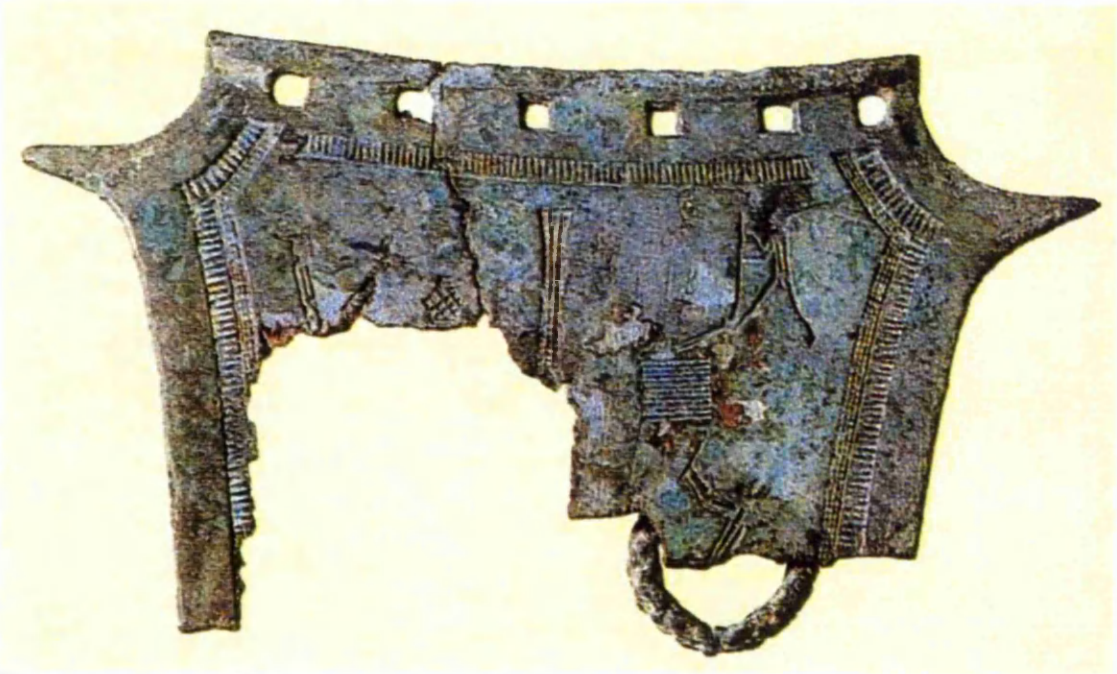


Plate 54.1, Taejŏn, Korea

Plate 54.2, Taejŏn, Korea

Plate 55.1 & 55.2, Dong Son drum

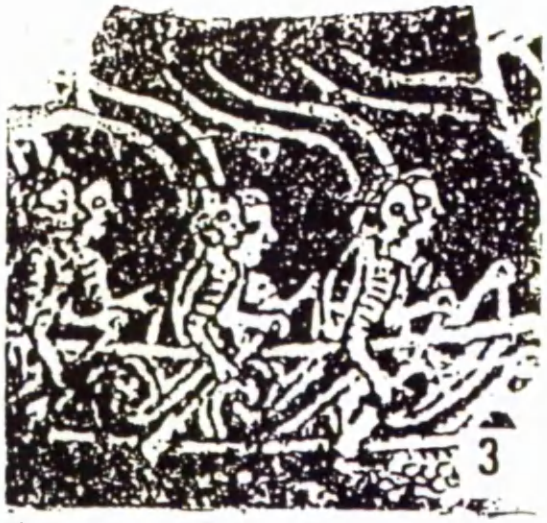


Plate 55.3, detail, Dong Son drum

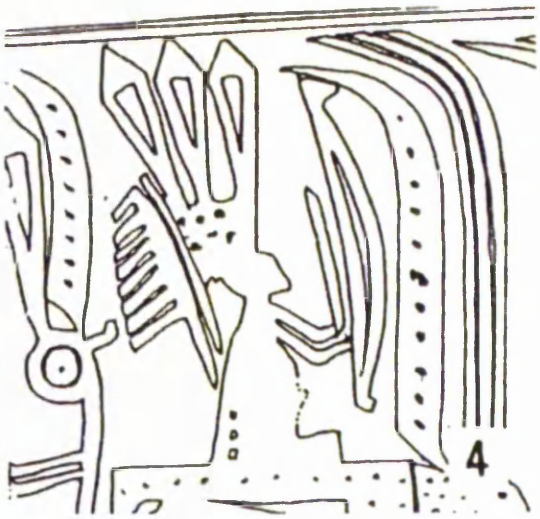


Plate 55.4, detail, Dong Son drum

Plate 56, Tympanon, Dong Son drum

Plate 57, Bronze vessel, Dong Son Culture

Plate 58, Bronze mask, Dong Son Culture

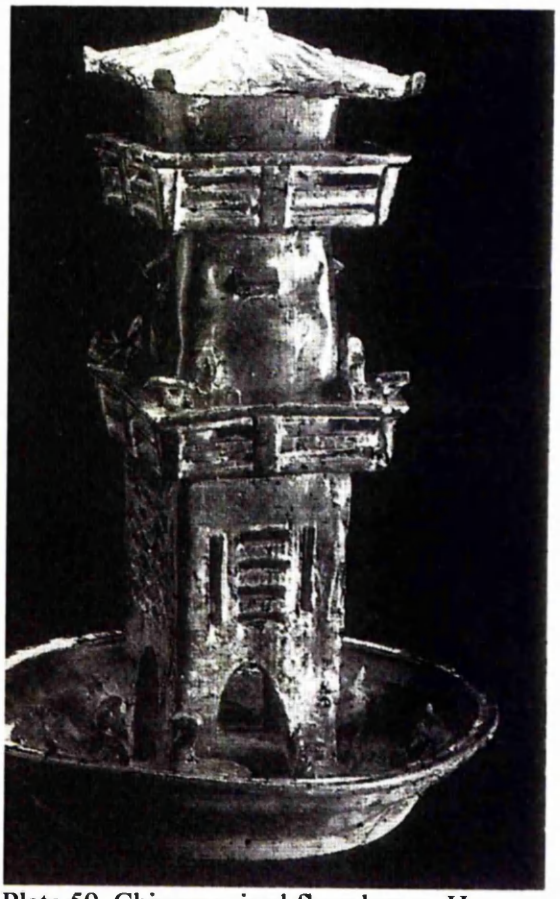


Plate 59, Chinese raised floor house, Han Period

Plate 60.1

Plate 60.2

Plate 60.3

Plate 60.4

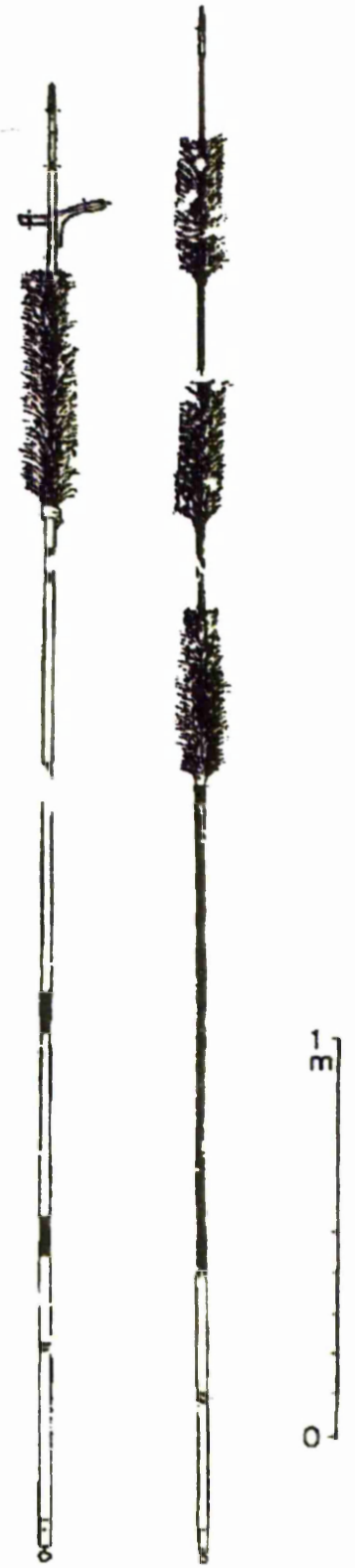


Plate 60.5 Halberd on Stake

Plate 61, Person with raised arms or 'birdman', Iran

Plate 62, Winged ibex, Iran

Plate 63, Early Jōmon, Akita

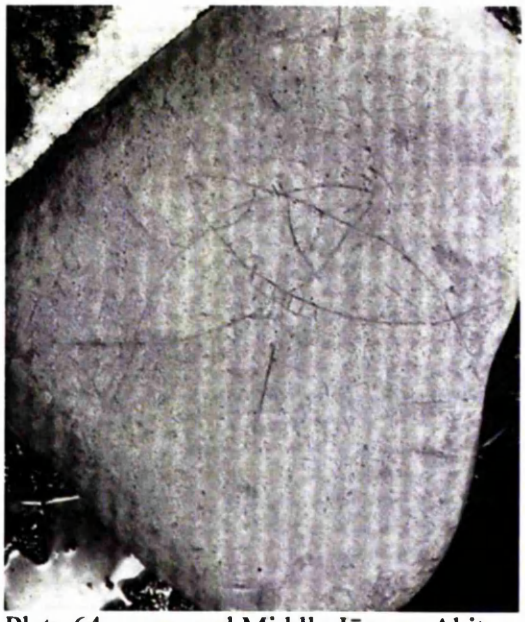
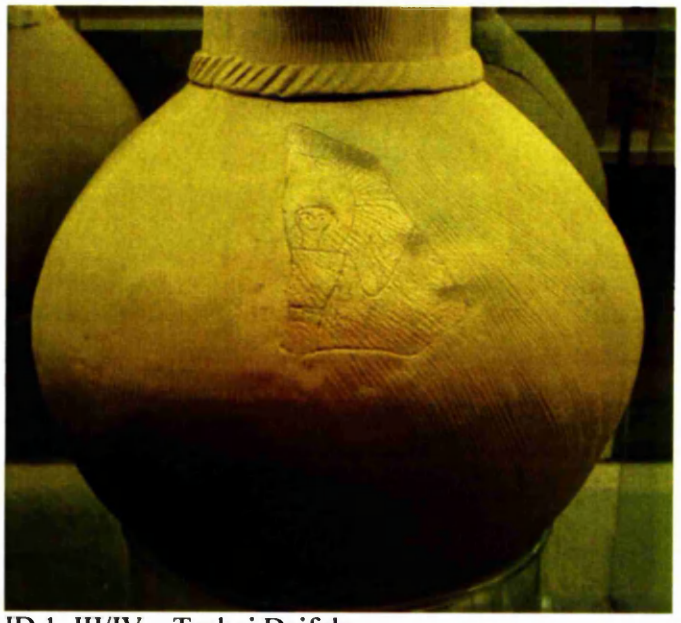


Plate 64, ass. end Middle Jōmon, Akita

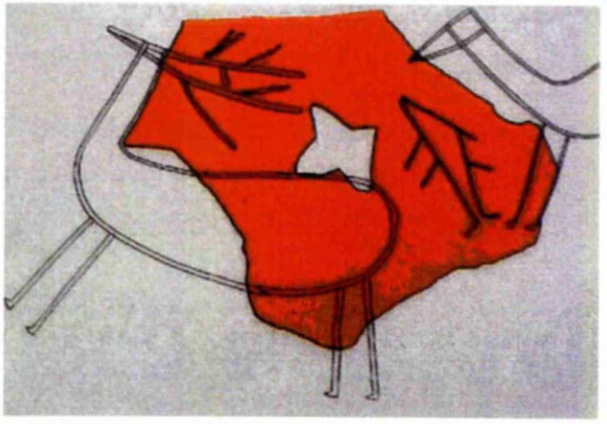
Plate 65, Final Jōmon, Aomori (top), Shiga (bottom)

Plate 66, Late or Final Jōmon, Fukushima

IDs – Pottery and other clay artefacts



ID 1, III/IV Tsuboi Daifuku

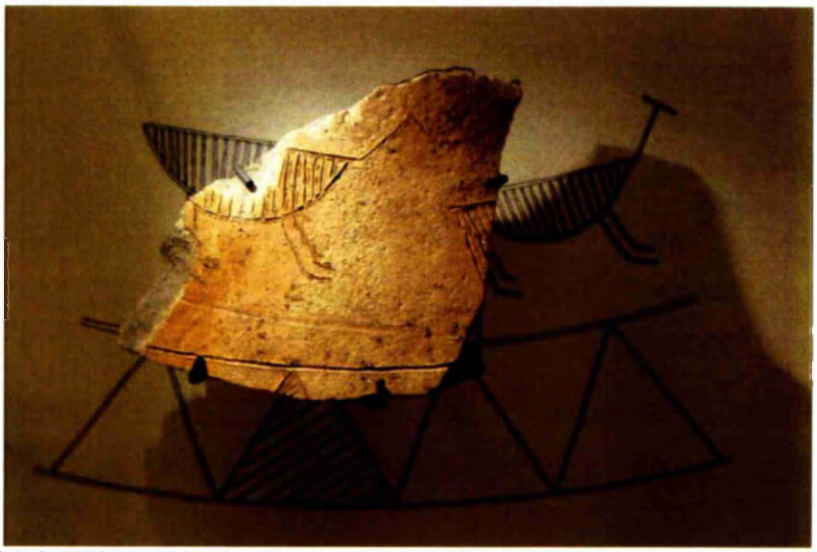


ID 5, IV-2 Karako Kagi

ID 6, V-2 Karako Kagi

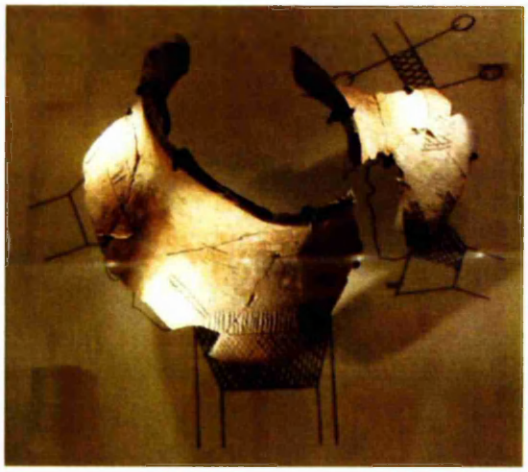
ID 7, (no date) Karako Kagi

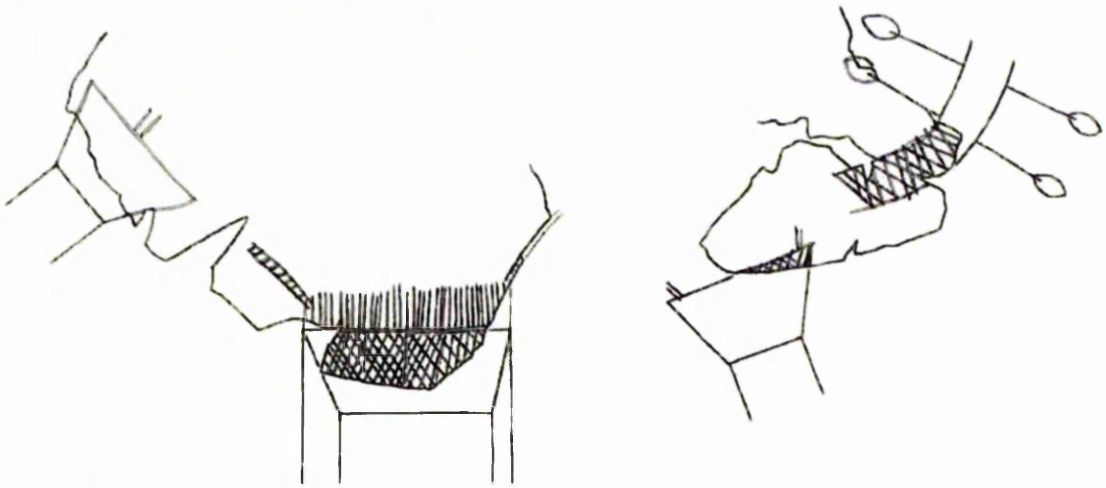
ID 8, (no date) Karako Kagi



ID 9, III/IV Karako Kagi

ID 10, VI-2/3 Karako Kagi





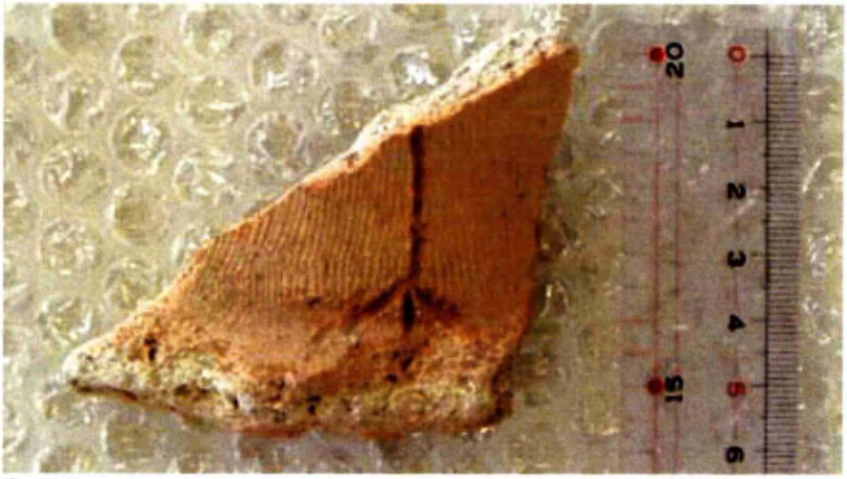
ID 11, III-3 Karako Kagi

ID 15, III/IV Karako Kagi

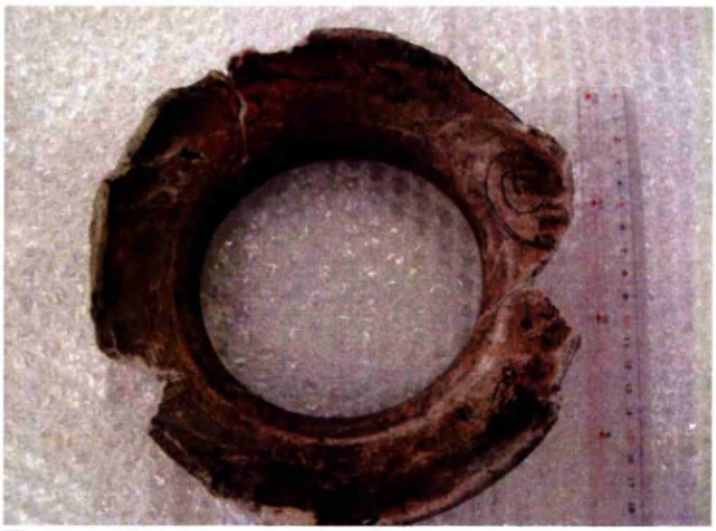
ID 21, LY Aoyakamijichi

ID 22, LY Aoyakamijichi

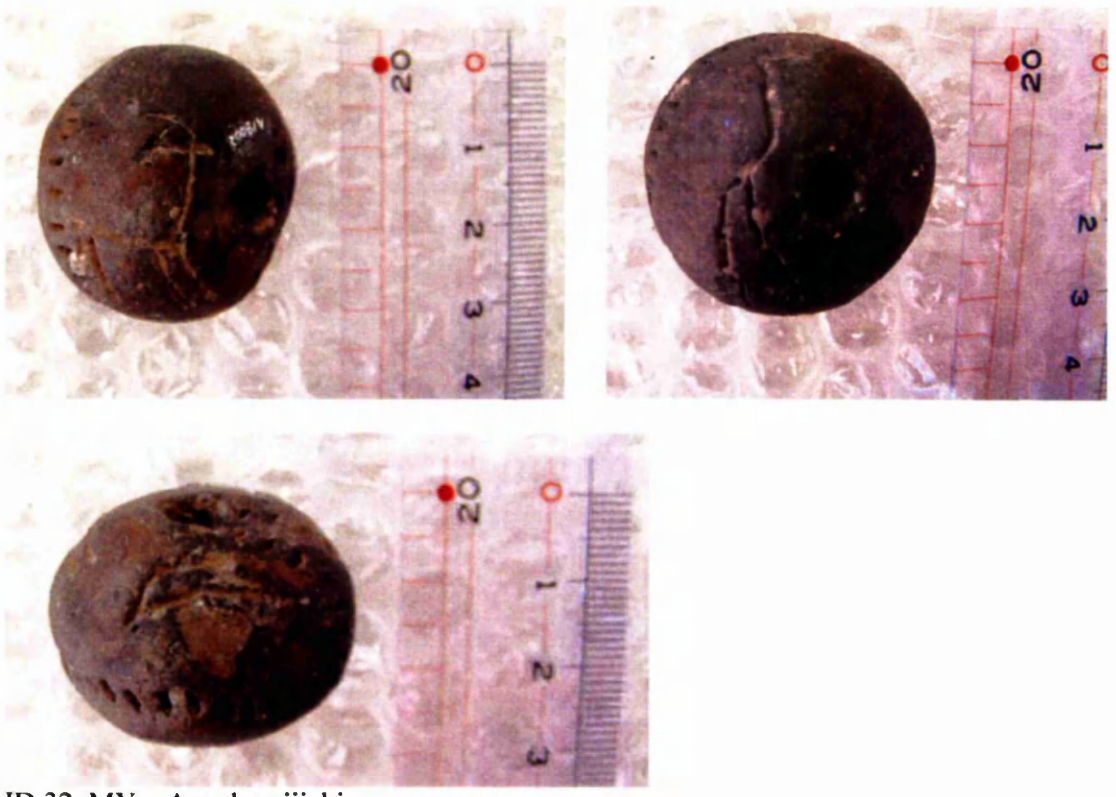
ID 24, MY/LY Aoyakamijichi



ID 26, unclear date Aoyakamijichi



ID 31, unclear date Aoyakamijichi

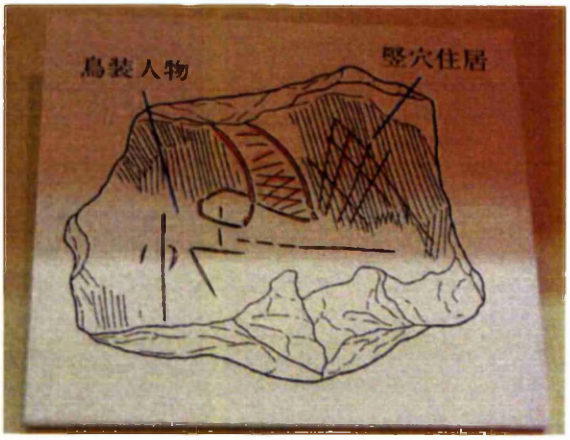


ID 32, MY Aoyakamijichi

ID 33, late MY Aoyakamijichi

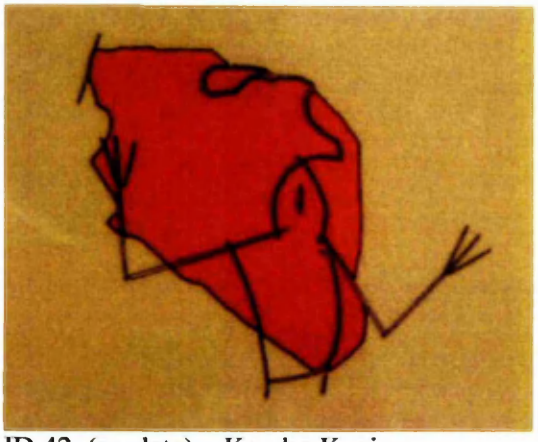
ID 37, (no date) Karako Kagi

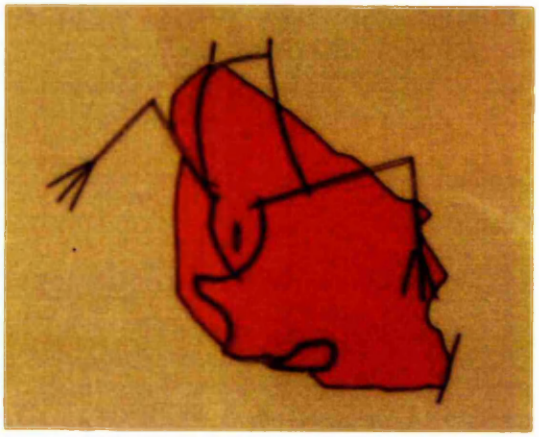
ID 38, early MY Mukibanda



ID 40, early MY Mukibanda

ID 41, late MY Hietsuka Kofun

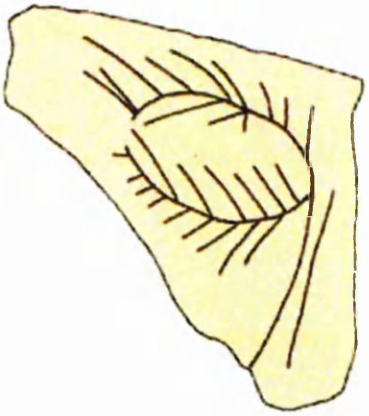




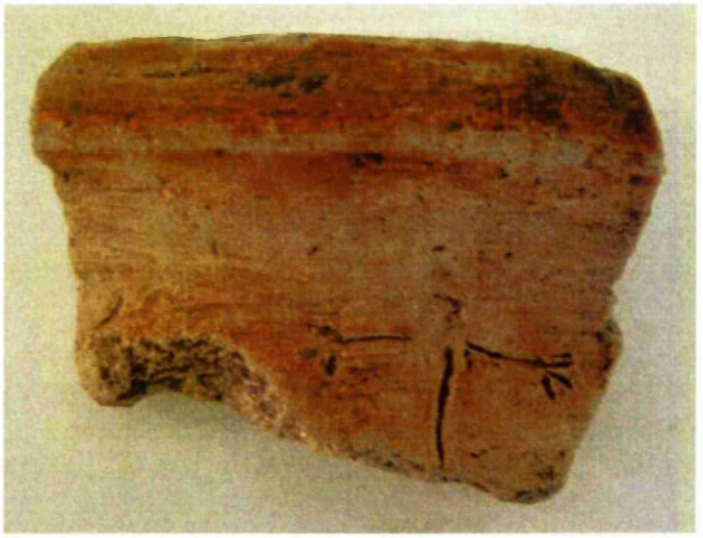
ID 42, (no date) Karako Kagi

ID 49, unclear date Asahi

ID 53, no date Aoyakamijichi

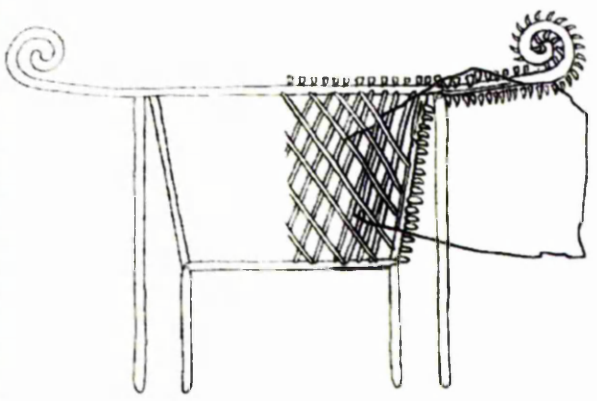


ID 57, no date Hiyoshigaoka

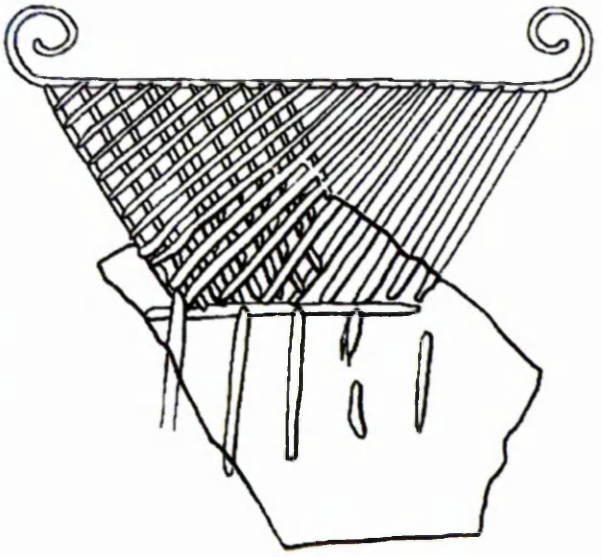


ID 58, unclear date Aoyakamijichi

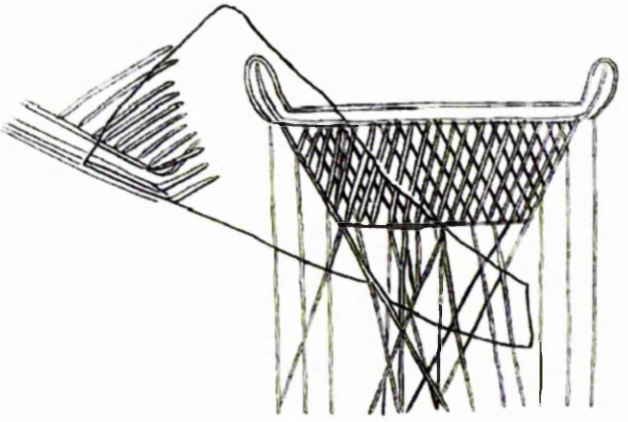
ID 61, IV-2 Karako Kagi



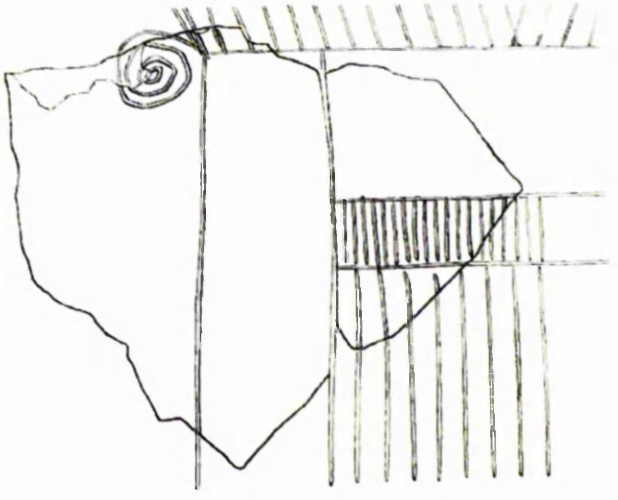
ID 62, IV/V Karako Kagi



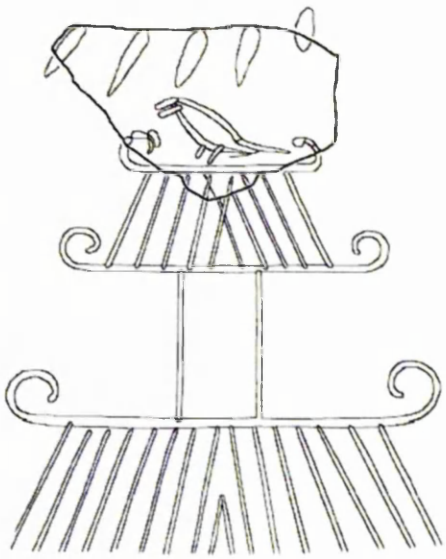
ID 63, MY Karako Kagi



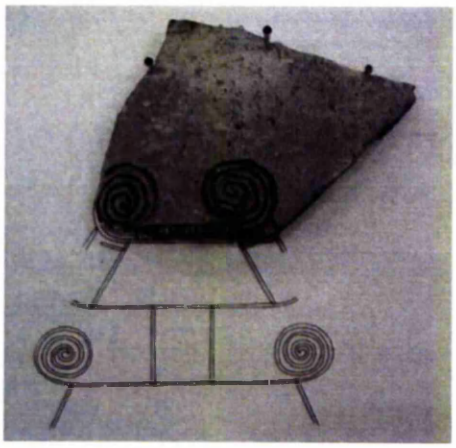
ID 64, MY Karako Kagi



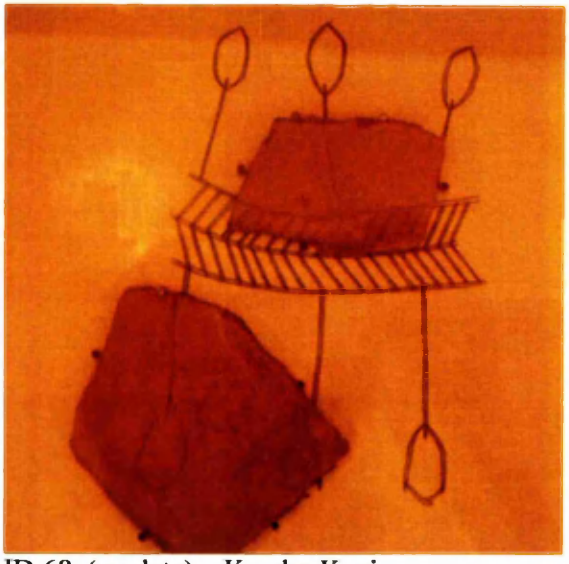
ID 65, IV-2 Yaokuhara



ID 66, IV-2 Karako Kagi

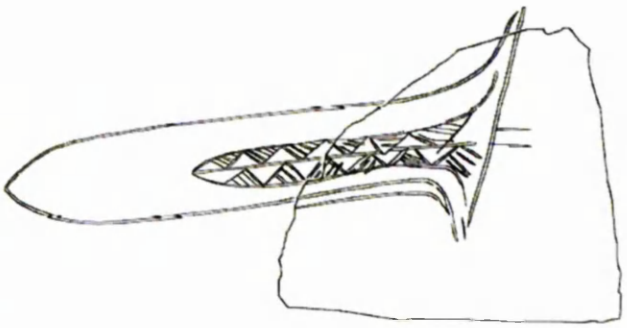


ID 67, V-1 Karako Kagi

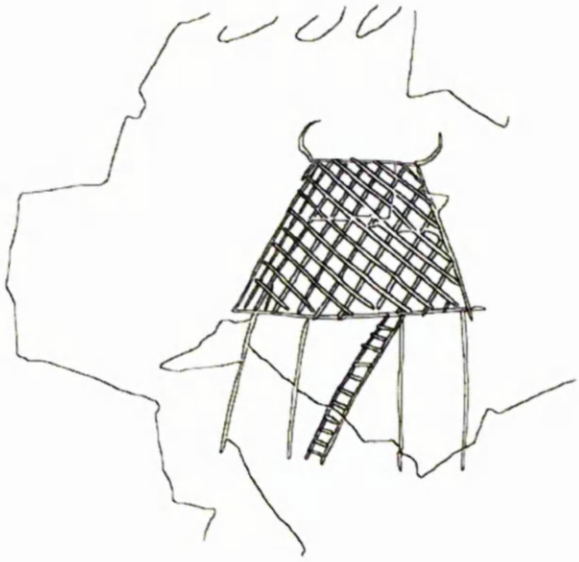


ID 68, (no date) Karako Kagi

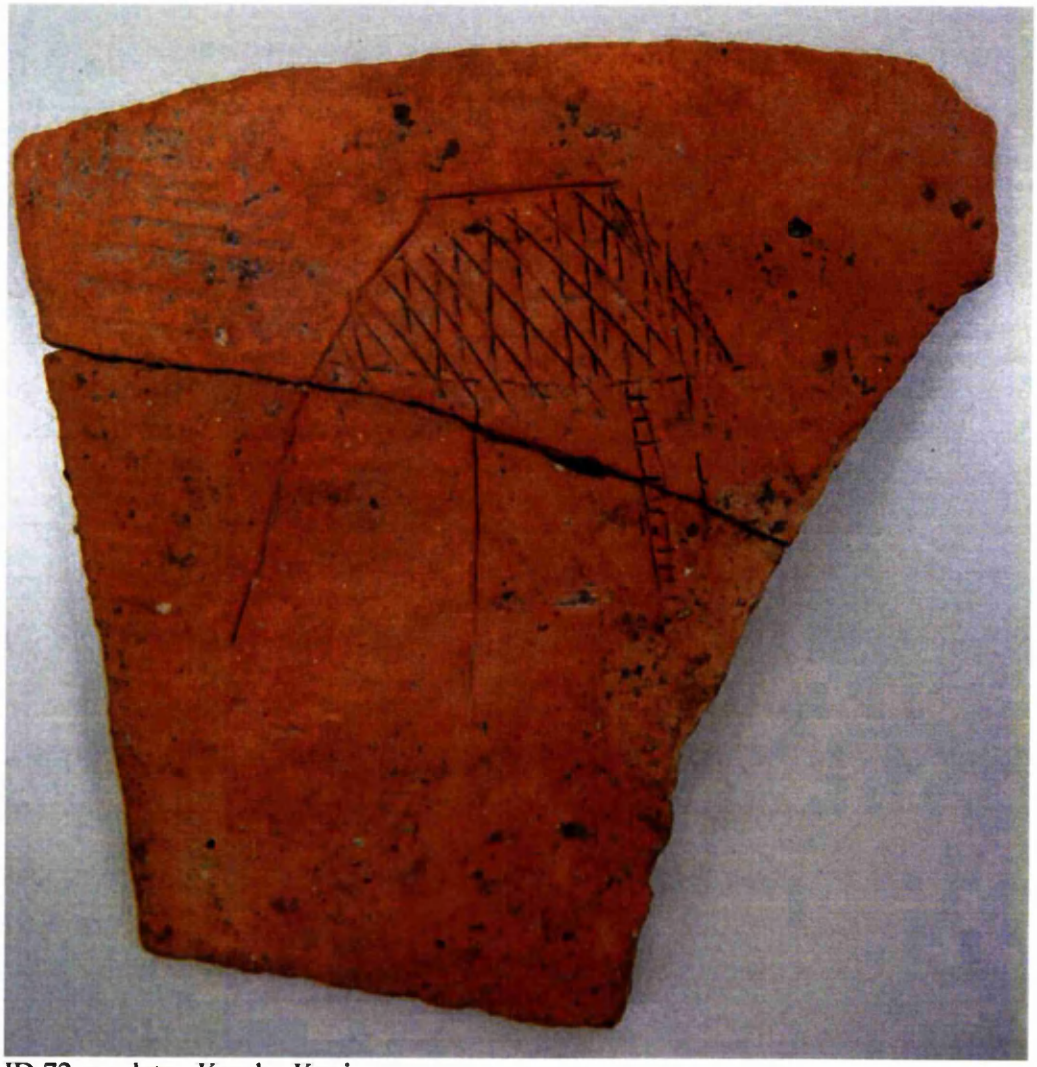
ID 69, IV Karako Kagi



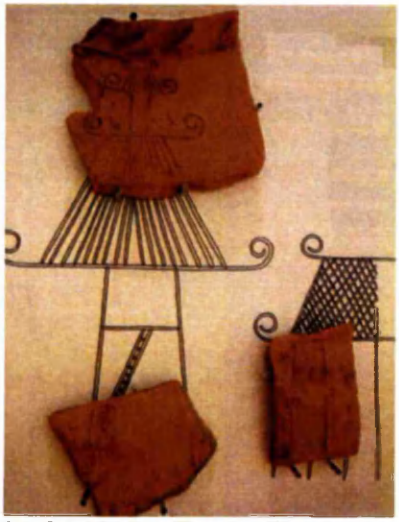
ID 70, III-4 Karako Kagi



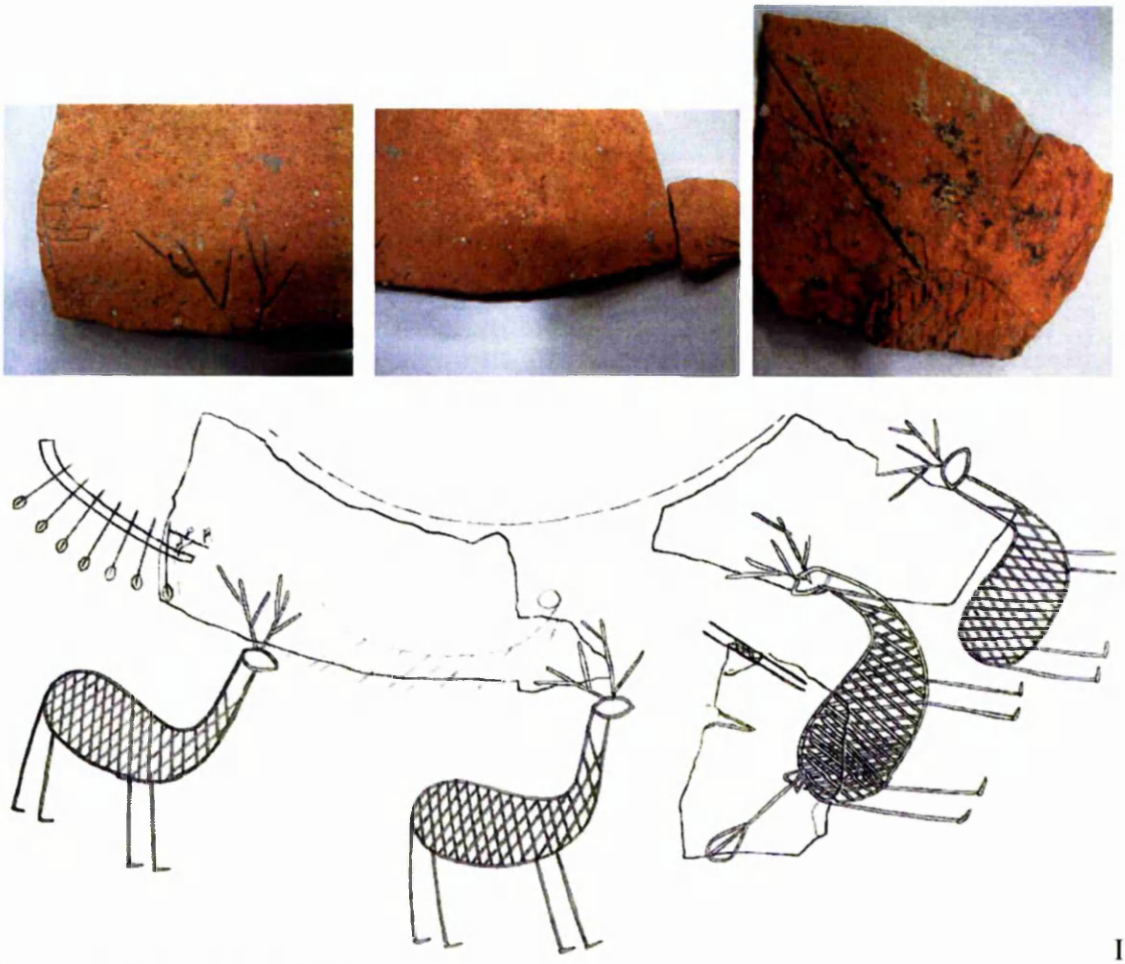
ID 71, no date Karako Kagi



ID 72, no date Karako Kagi



ID 74, IV-1 Karako Kagi



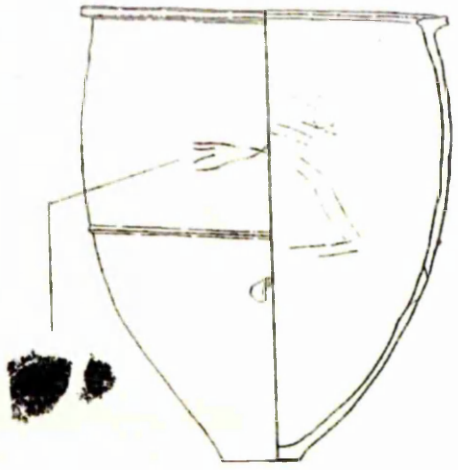
I

D 75, (no date) Karako Kagi

ID 76, IV-2 Shimizukaze

ID 78, III-1/2 Karako Kagi

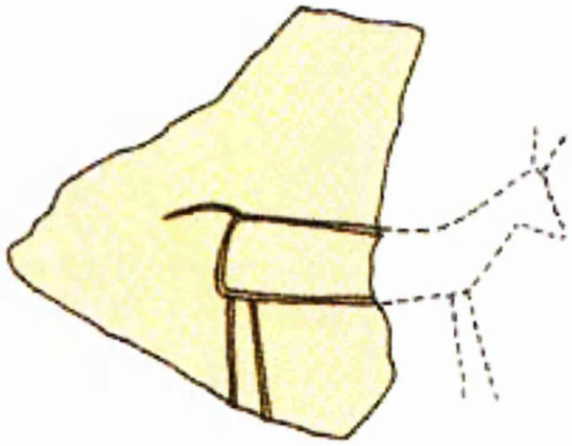
ID 80, IV-1 Karako Kagi



ID 81, early MY Fujizaki

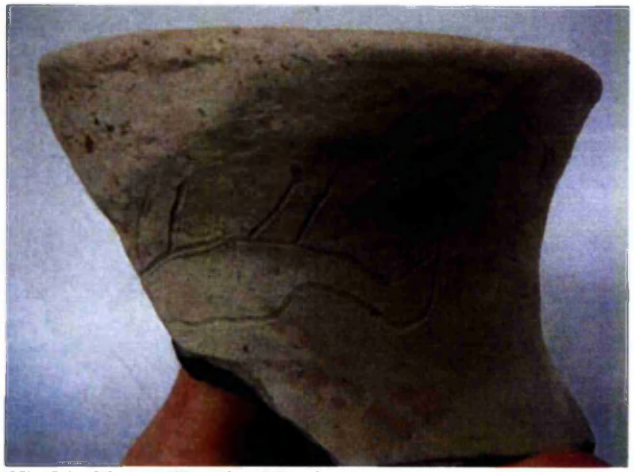
ID 84, unclear date Yōkaichijikata

ID 85, IV-2 Karako Kagi



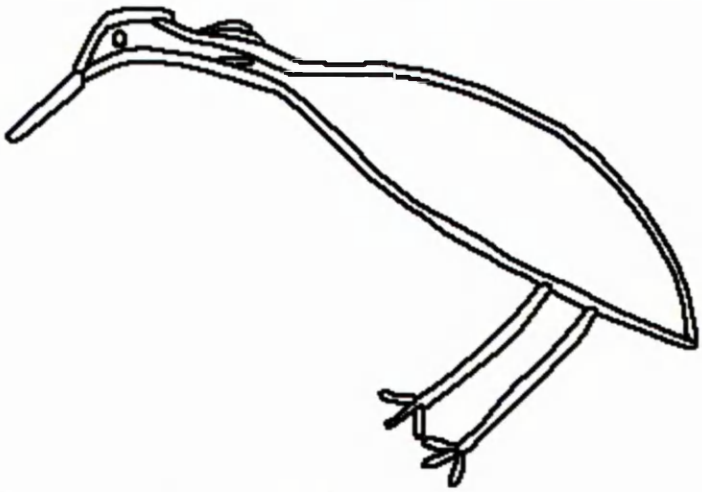
ID 89, no date Hiyoshigaoka

ID 90, III-4 Karako Kagi

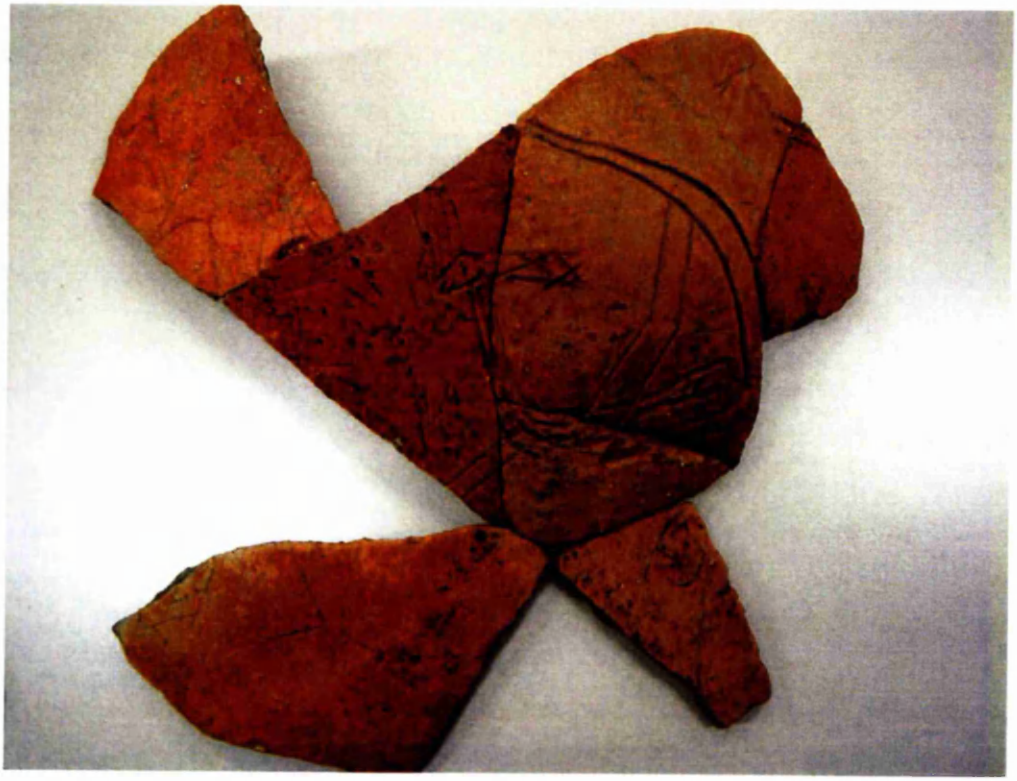


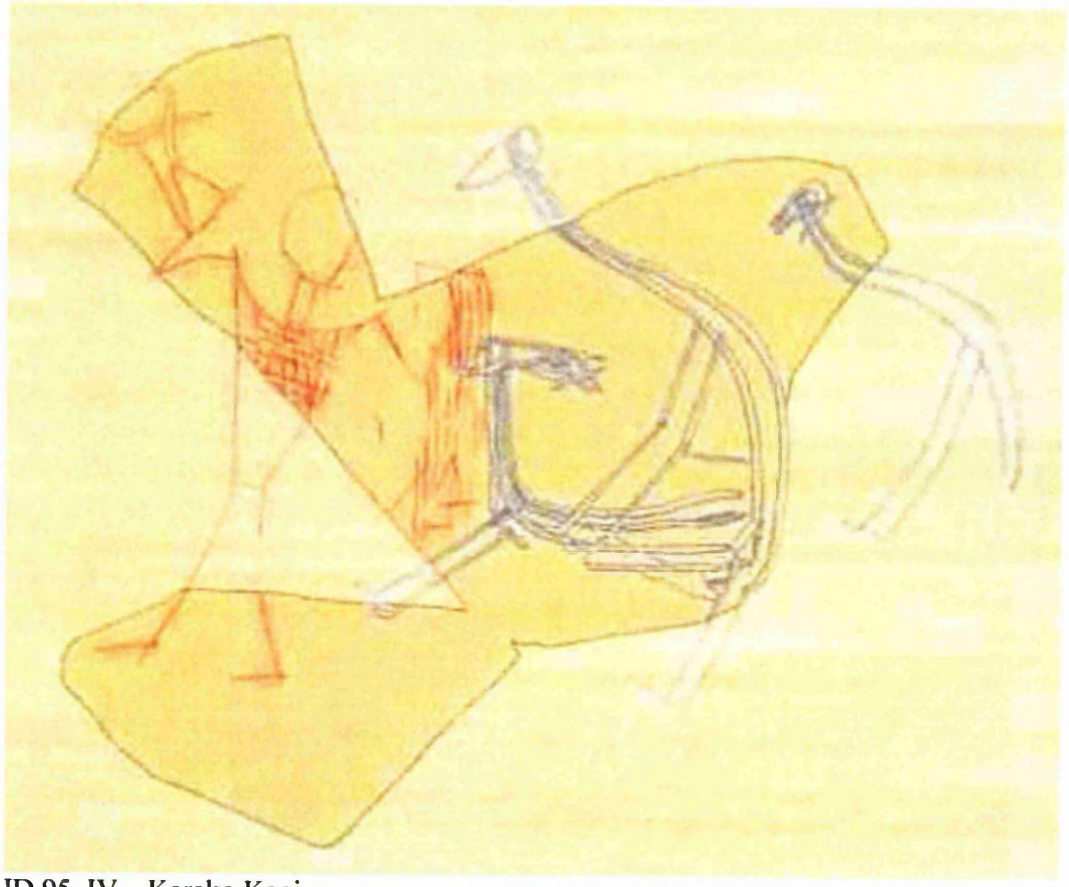
ID 91, V-1 Karako Kagi

ID 92, V Karako Kagi



ID 94, (no date) Karako Kagi

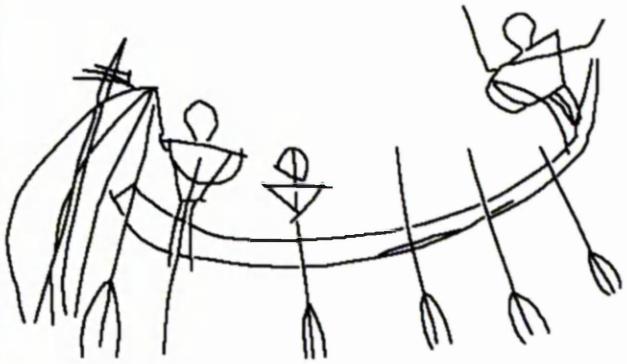




ID 95, IV Karako Kagi

ID 96, (no date) Karako Kagi

ID 99, IV-1 Karako Kagi



ID 100, MY Karako Kagi

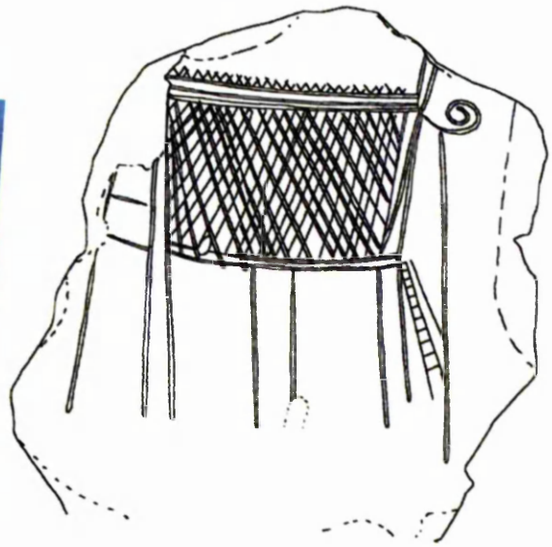
ID 102, V-2 Karako Kagi

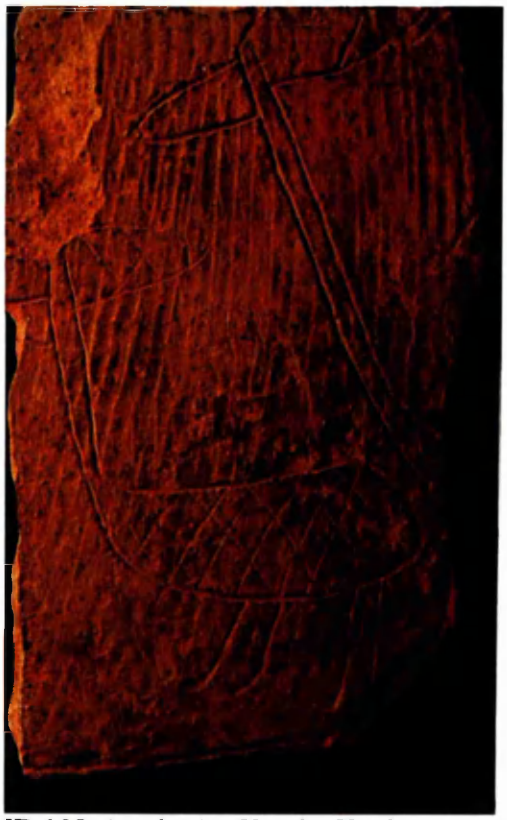
ID 103, (no date) Karako Kagi

ID 104, no date Karako Kagi

ID 106, MY Karako Kagi

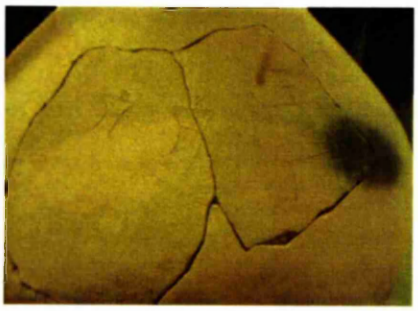
ID 107, IV Shiba





ID 108 (no date) Karako Kagi

ID 109, (no date) Shimizukaze

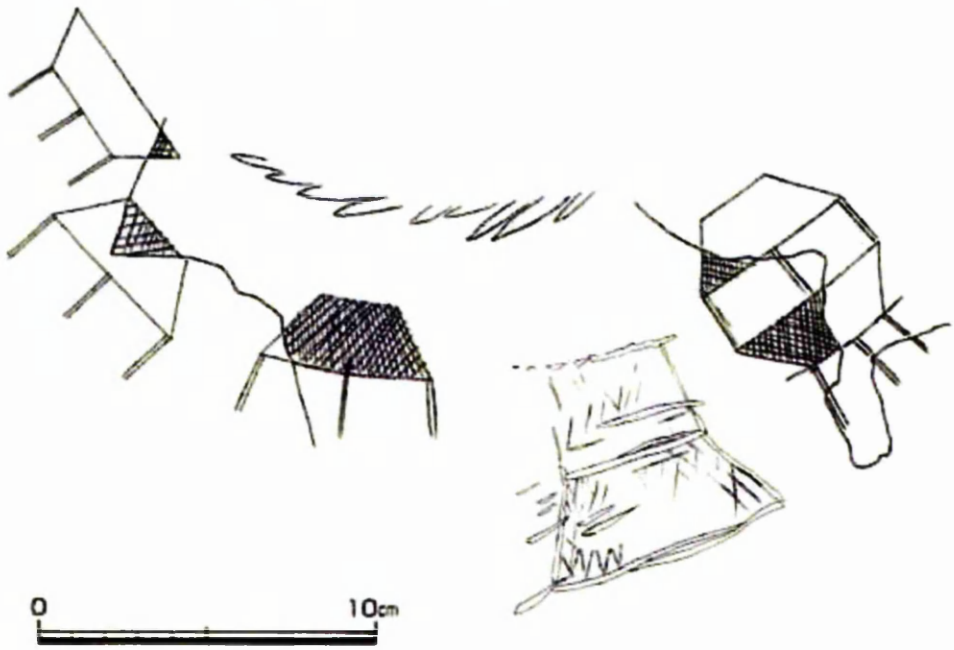



ID 111, late MY Shimizukaze

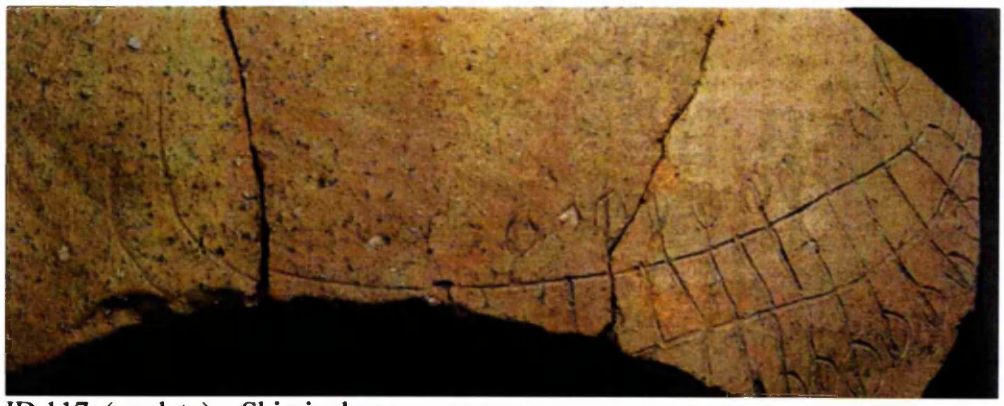
ID 112, IV-2 Yaokuhara

ID 113, LY Uenoyama

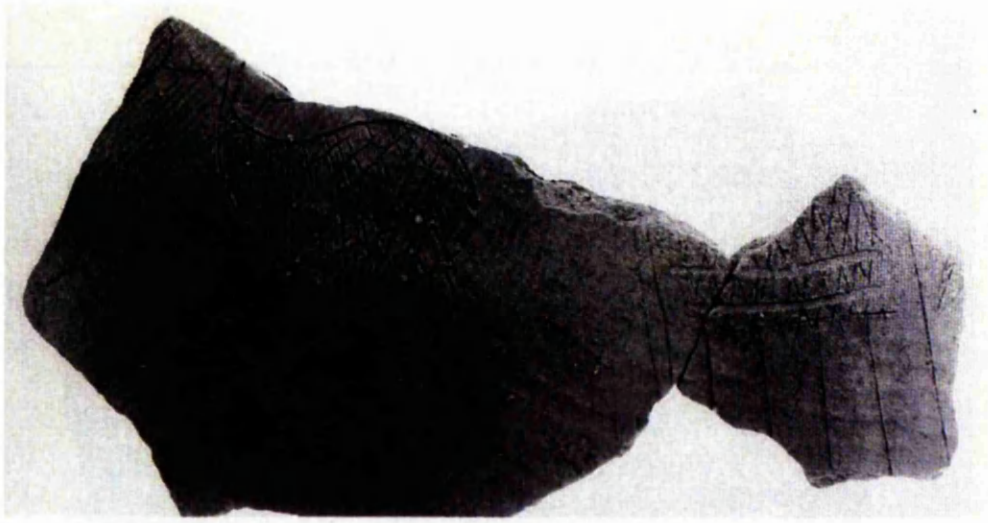
ID 114, end EY/beg. MY Iishi



ID 115, IV-1 Nakazoshi



ID 117, (no date) Shimizukaze



ID 118, IV Shimizukaze

ID 119, no date Ikegami Sone

ID 120, MY Higashinara

ID 121, IV-2 Shimizukaze

ID 122, V Funahashi

ID 123, MY Higashinara

ID 124, early LY Higashinara

ID 125, MY Uryūdō

ID 126, IV Uryūdō

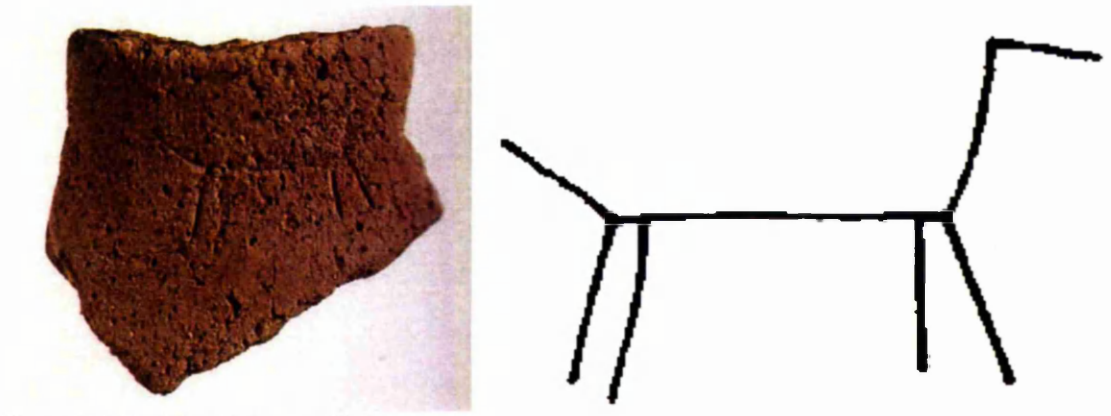
ID 127, (no date) Kamei

ID 128, no date Funahashi

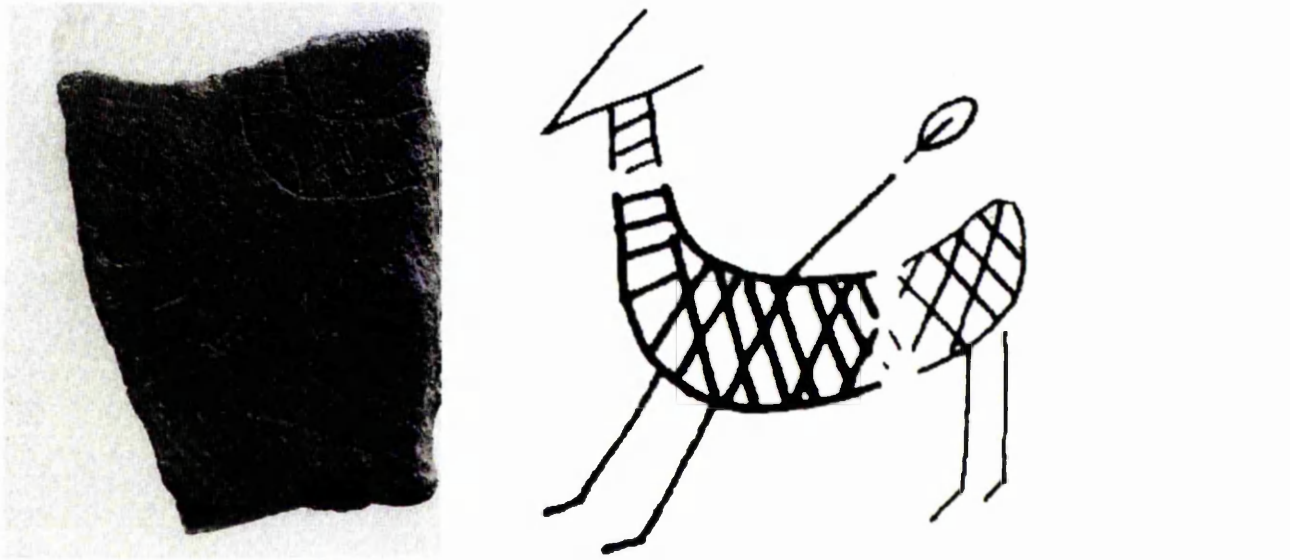
ID 129, (no date) Tarumi Takagi

ID 131, mid MY Itani Rokuchōba

ID 132, latest MY Tsushima



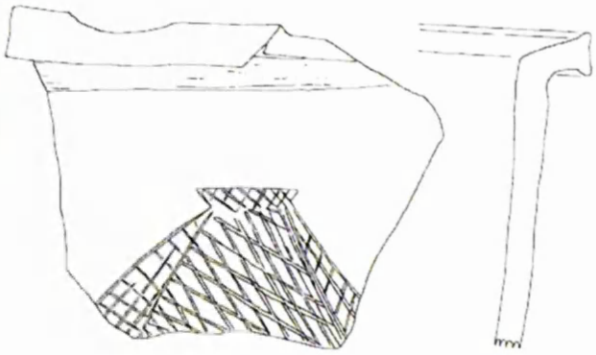
ID 133, IV Higashikumo Jinja



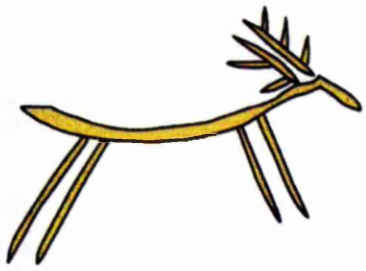
ID 134, (no date) Bunkyō

ID 135, VI Kamezuka

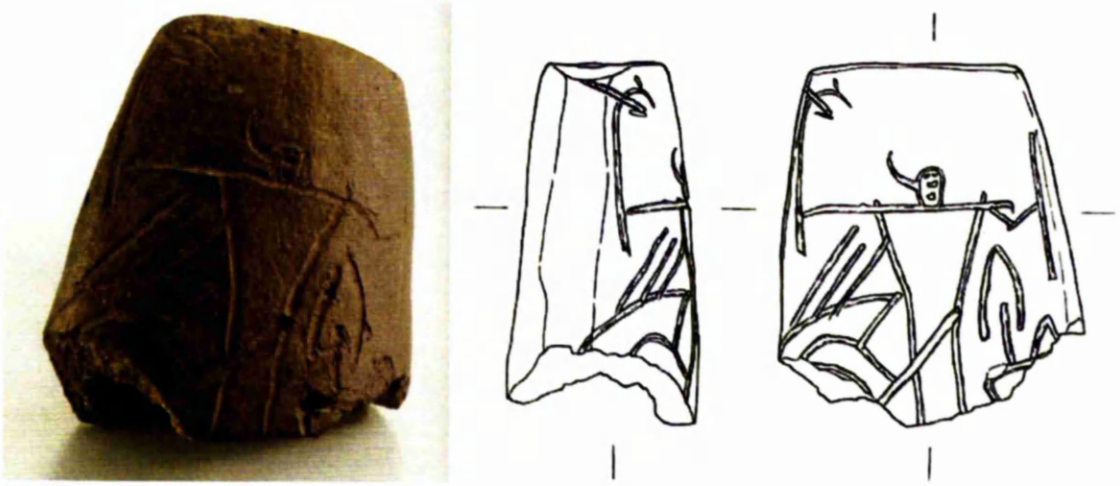
ID 136, IV Shiba



ID 137, III/IV Shiba



ID 138, end EY/beg. MY Yoshitake Takagi



ID 139, MY Kawayori Yoshiwara

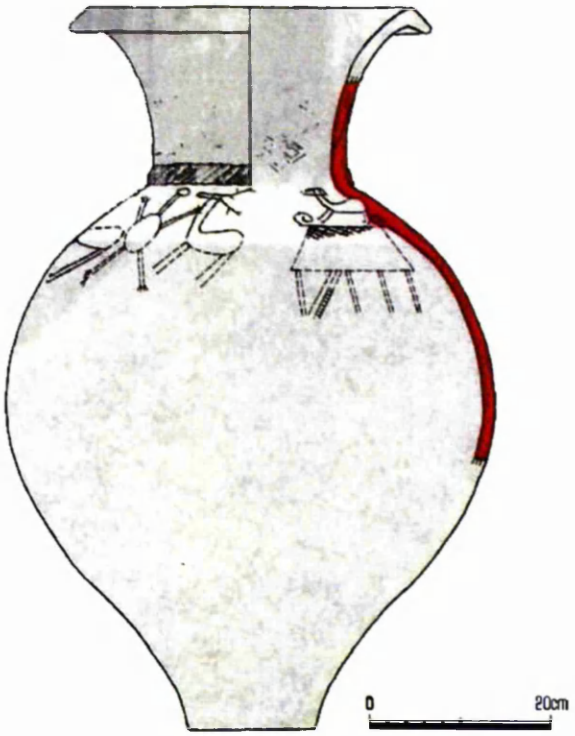
ID 140, MY Kariya

ID 141, LY Kuboki

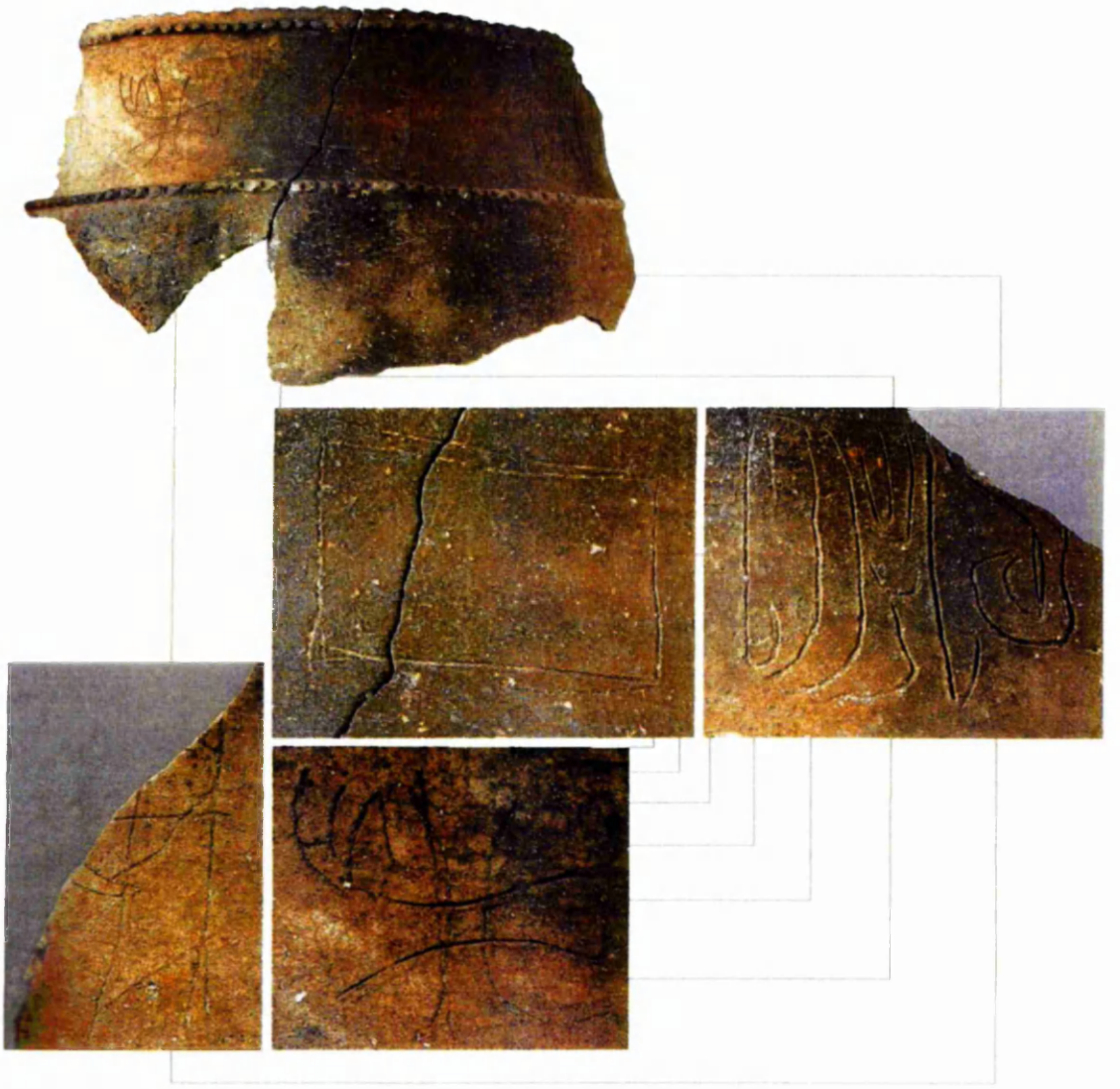
ID 142, IV Uryūdō

ID 143, MY Uryūdō

ID 144, no date Hirano

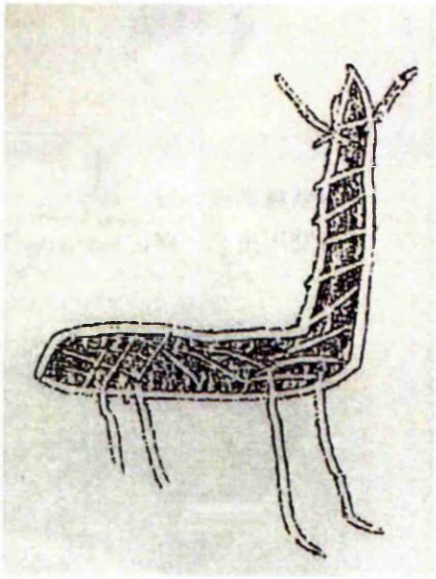


ID 145, IV-1 Karako Kagi



ID 146, FJ/IY Funahashi

ID 147, IV Nishinotsuji



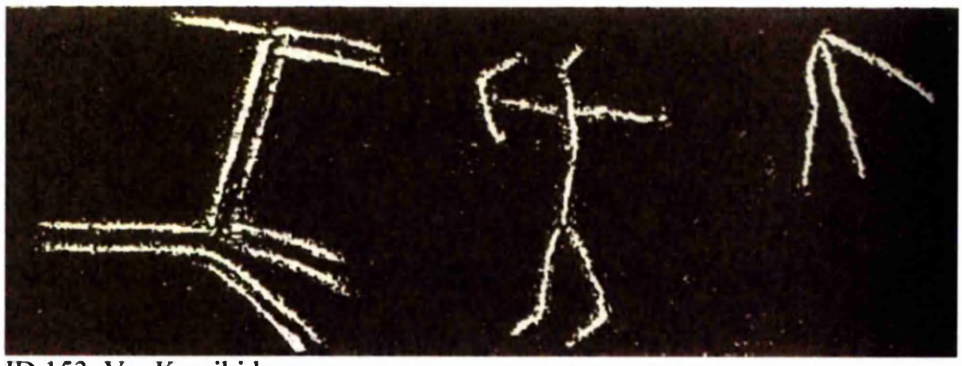
ID 148, IV Nishinotsuji

ID 149, III Nishinotsuji

ID 150, IY/early EY Funahashi

ID 151, FJ/IY Funahashi

ID 152, early EY Miyanoshita

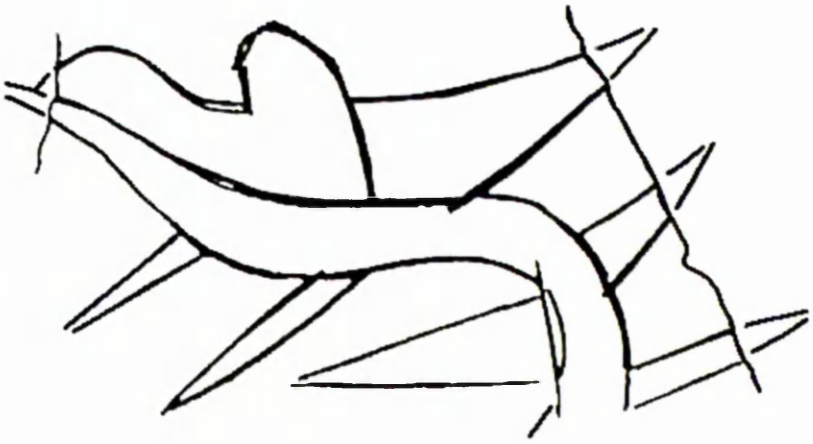


ID 153, V Kamikida

ID 154, end MY Yūchō

ID 155, LY Nakamine

ID 156, mid/late LY Komogura



ID 157, LY Amagase

ID 158, LY Amagase

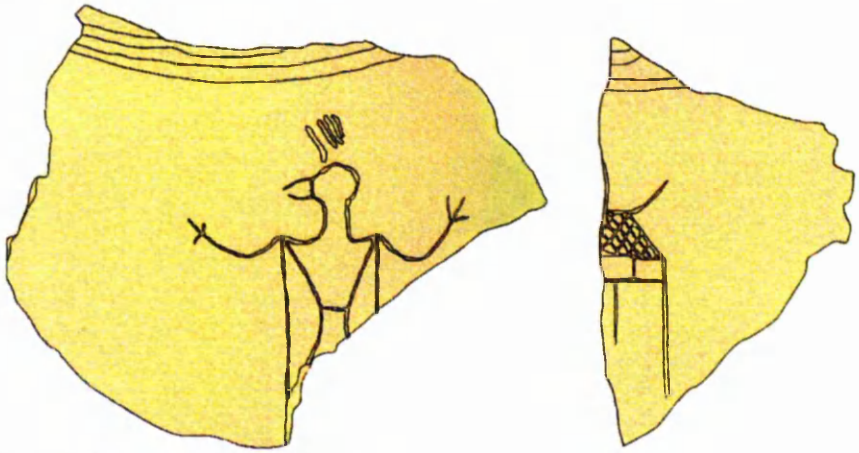
ID 160, LY Ashimorigawa

ID 161, III Inayoshi Sumita

ID 165, early EY Hyakkengawasawada

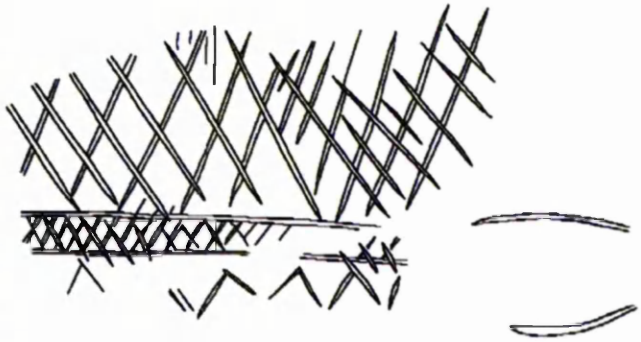
ID 166, (no date) Tsudera Nakaya

ID 167, LY Jōtō

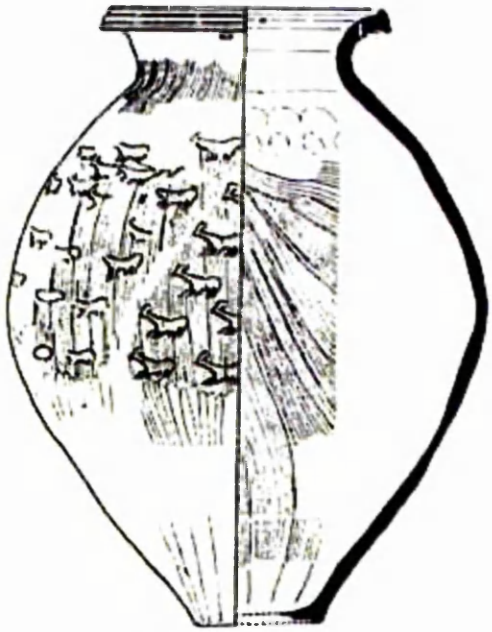


ID 170, (no date) Shinjōnoue

ID 171, (no date) Minamigata

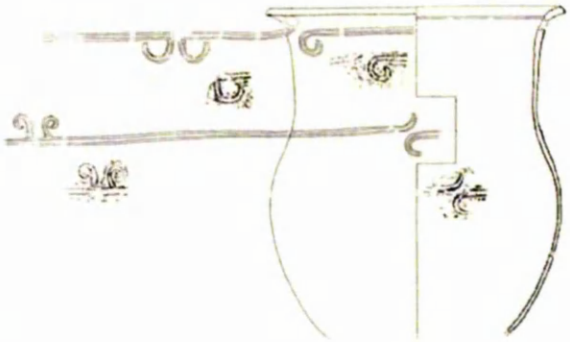


ID 172, III Kamo, Hyōgo



ID 173, MY Koma

ID 174, III/IV Karako Kagi



ID 177, late EY Yoshitake Takagi

ID 178, MY Karako Kagi

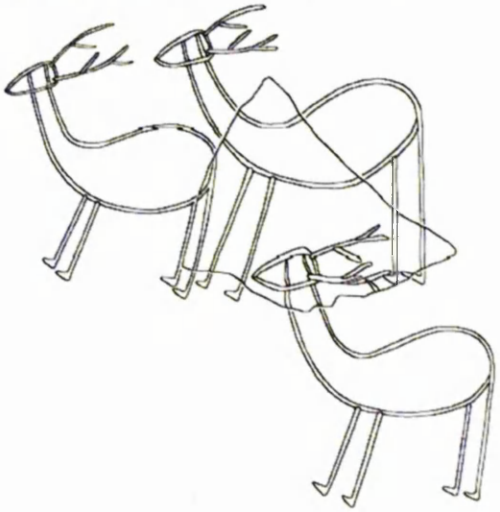
ID 179, III-1/2 Karako Kagi

ID 180, IV/V-1 Karako kagi

ID 182, MY Karako Kagi

ID 183, IV Karako Kagi

ID 185, III/IV Karako Kagi



ID 186, MY Karako Kagi

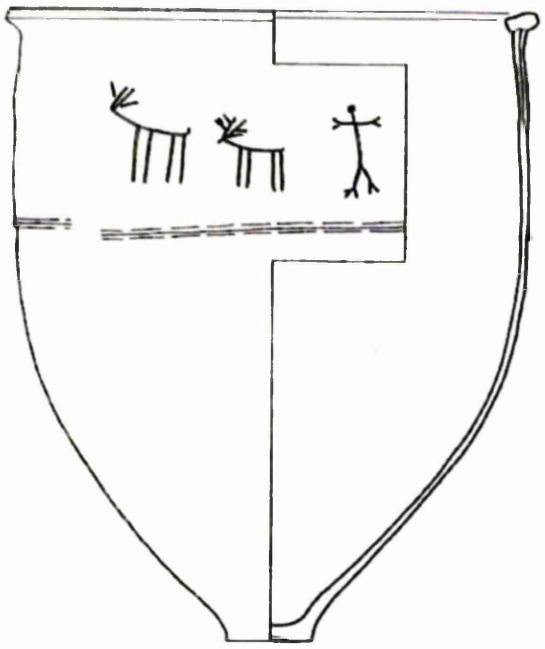
ID 187, MY Karako Kagi

ID 189, MY Karako Kagi

ID 206, IV Karako Kagi

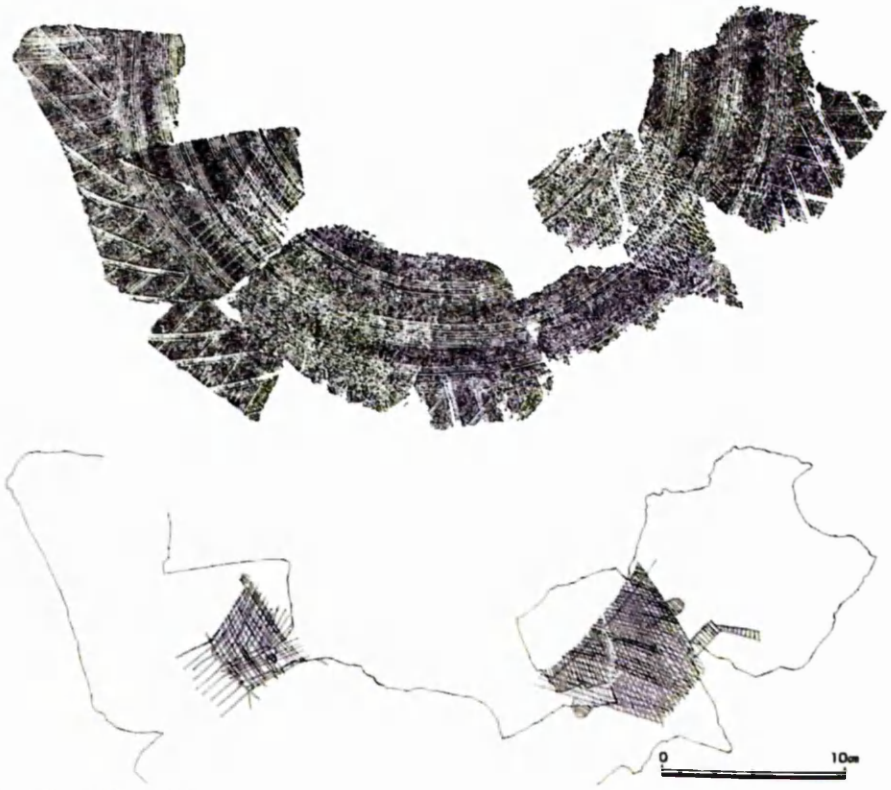
ID 215, early MY Morishoji

ID 218, no date Karako Kagi

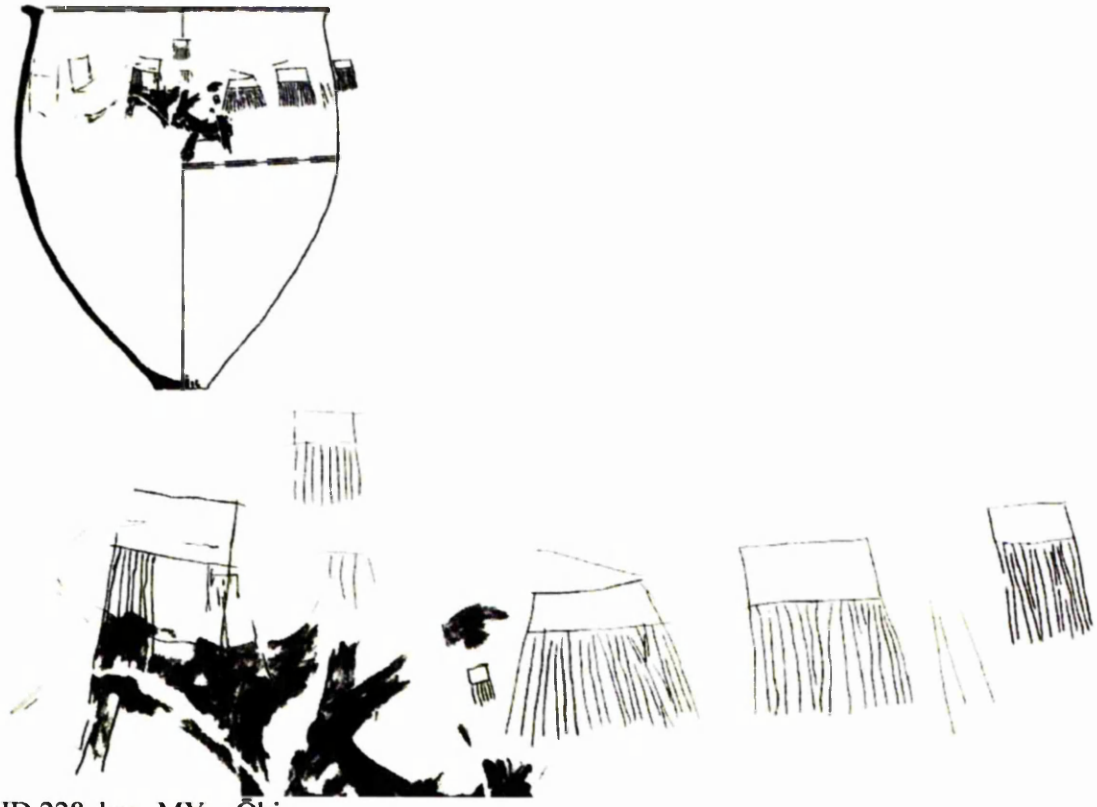


ID 221, beg. MY Misawa Hasako no Miya

ID 225, III-3/4 Shibu

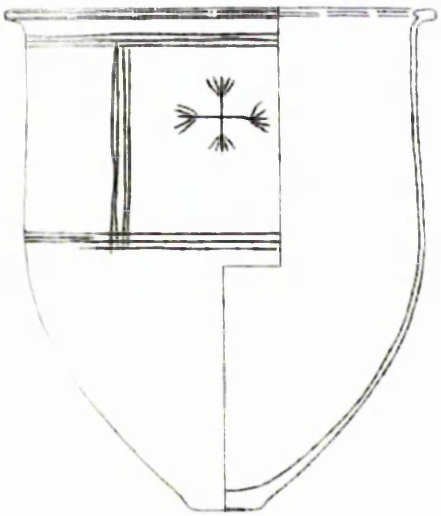


ID 226, III-3 Shibu



ID 228, beg. MY Ōki

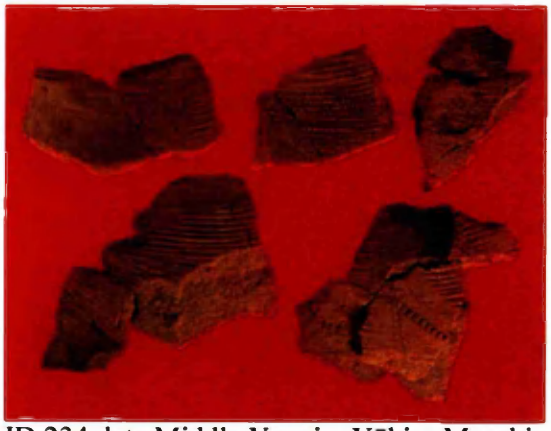
ID 230, VI-3 Karako Kagi

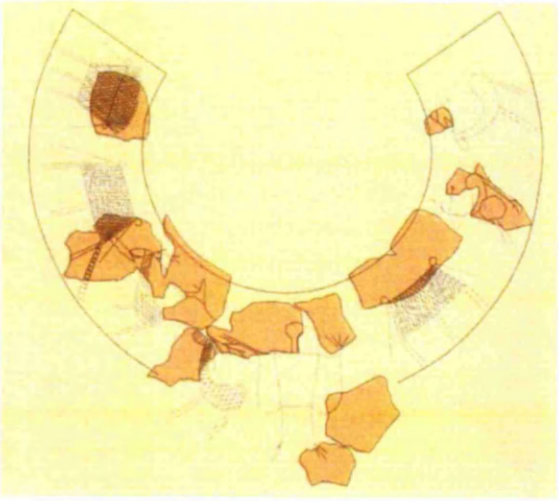


ID 231, end EY/beg. MY Higashiyamada Ipponsugi

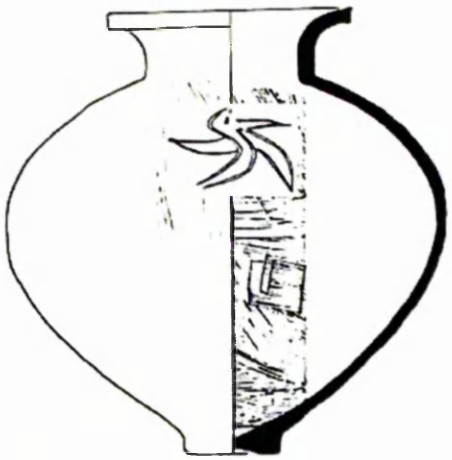
ID 232, V/VI Uenoyama

ID 233, VI-3 Shibu





ID 234, late Middle Yayoi Yōhisa Maechi



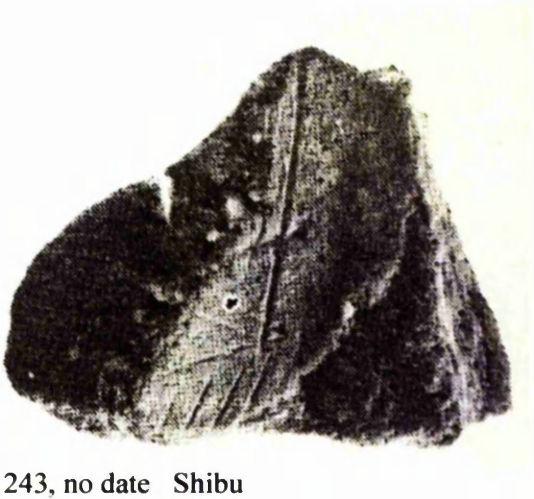
ID 236, no date Onji

ID 237, no date Yōkaichijikata

ID 239, IV Iseyama

ID 240, V Nishinotsuji

ID 242, LY Shibu



ID 243, no date Shibu

ID 244, (no date) Tsuboi

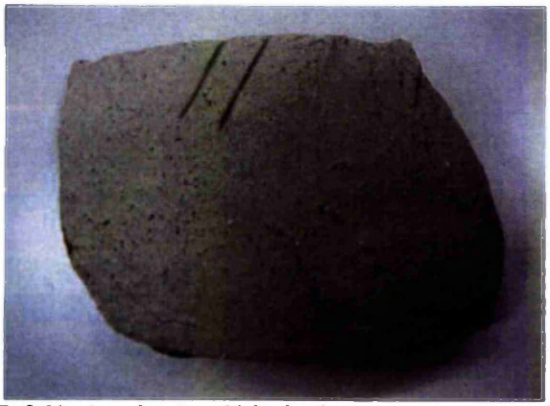
ID 307, IV Karako Kagi

ID 314, (no date) Karako Kagi

ID 340, IV Karako Kagi

ID 352, (no date) Shimizukaze

ID 359, (no date) Shimizukaze



ID 361, (no date) Shimizukaze

ID 365, late MY Yaokuhara

ID 455, (no date) Karako Kagi

ID 456, IV Karako Kagi

ID 457, IV Karako Kagi

ID 464, IV-2/V-1 Karako Kagi

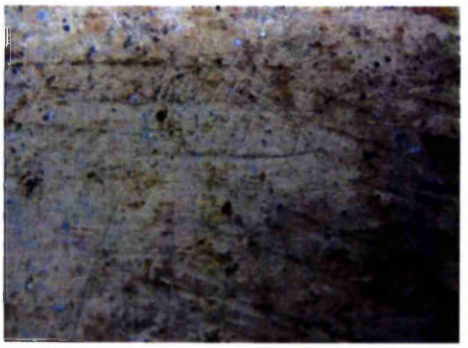
ID 468, IV Karako Kagi

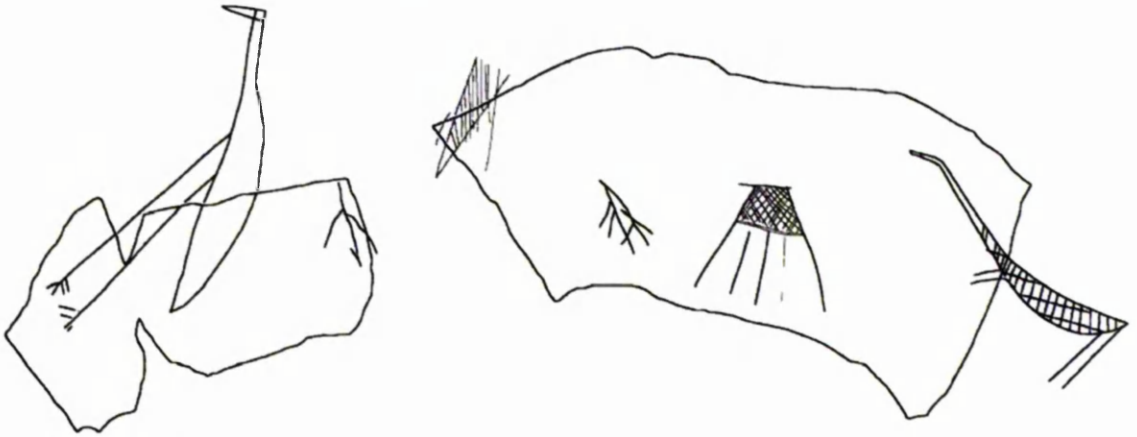
ID 469, IV Hagota

ID 475, IV Karako Kagi

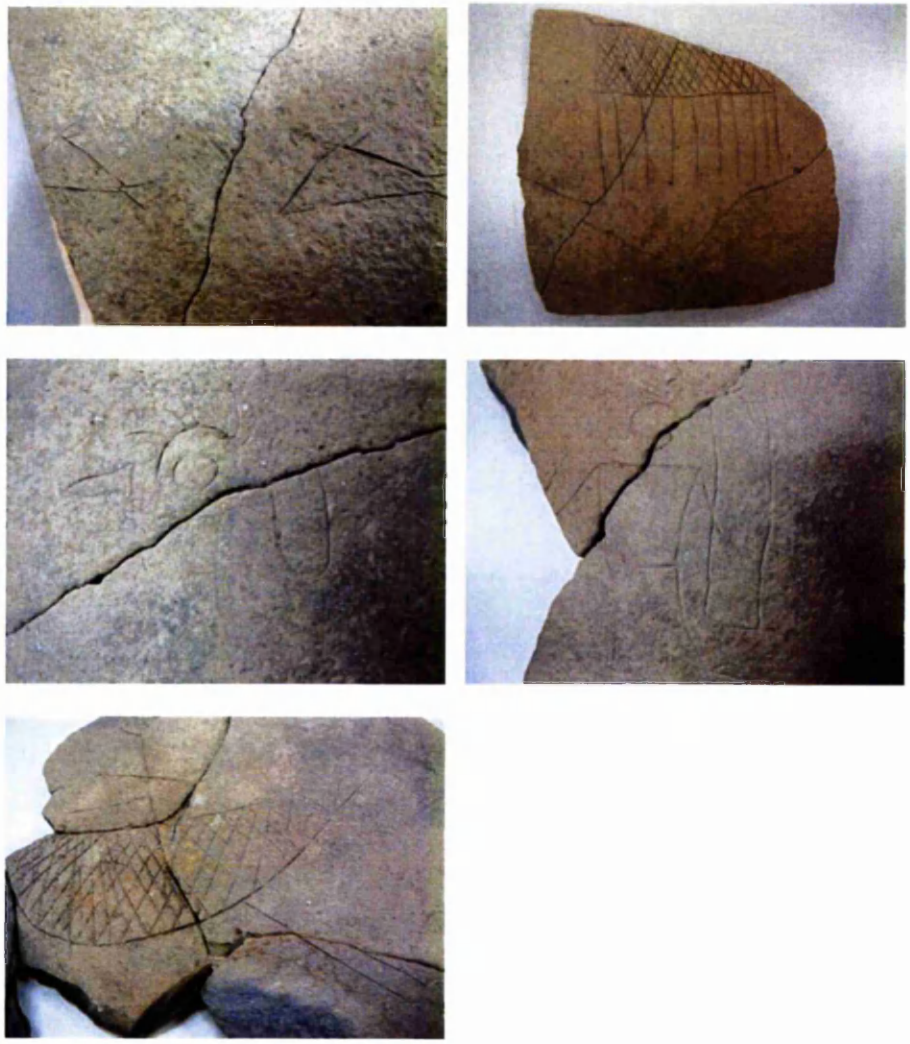
ID 477, IV Karako Kagi

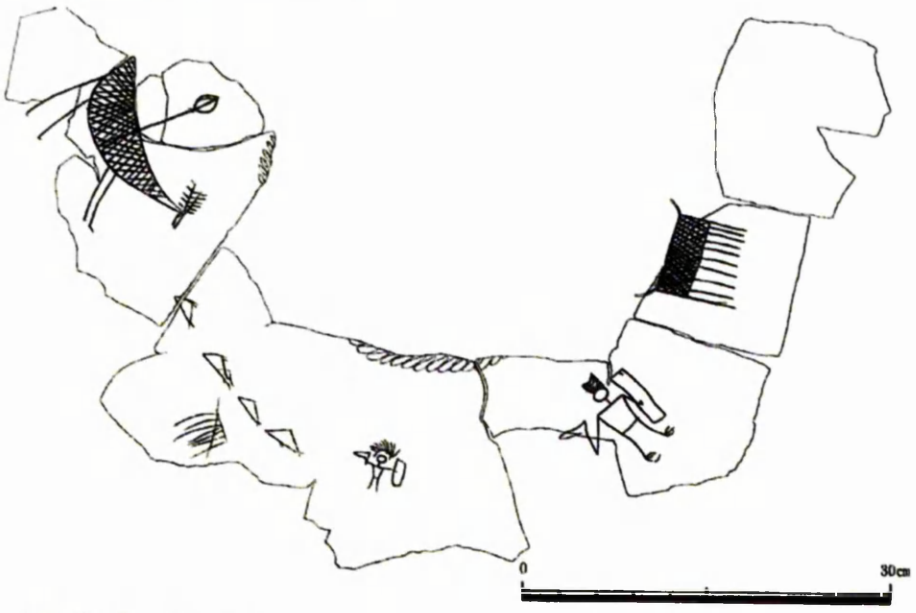
ID 478, III/IV Karako Kagi





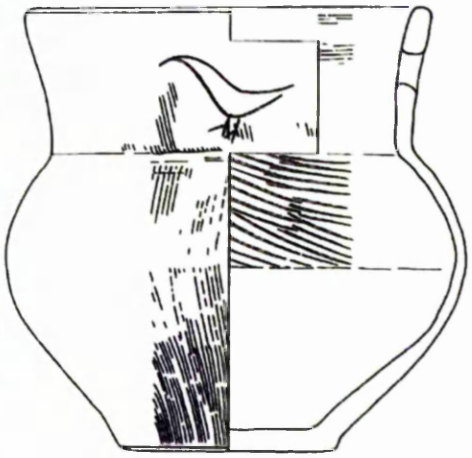
ID 480, IV-2 Shimizukaze



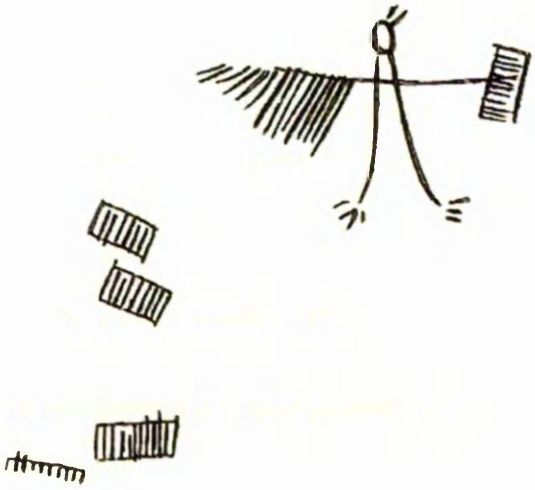


ID 485, IV-2 Shimizukaze

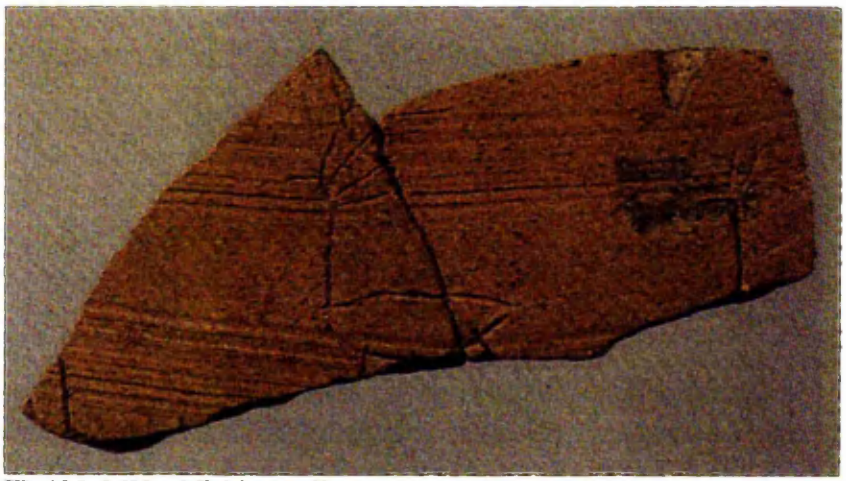
ID 487, IV-2 Karako Kagi



ID 491, end LY Naka



ID 493, VI Kamisui



ID 495, MY Nishinotsuji

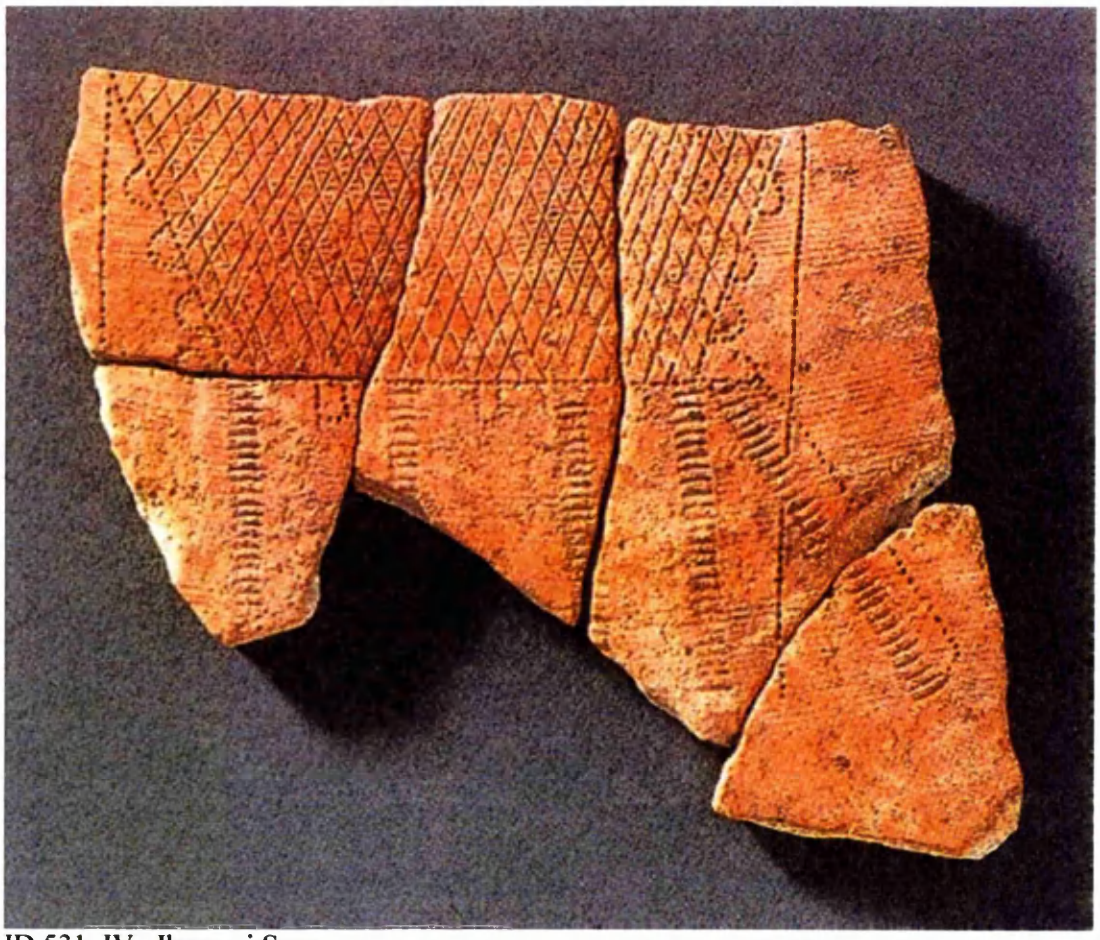
ID 496, IV Yotsuike

ID 501, IV Ōgakiuchi

ID 502, IV Kume Takahata

ID 504, IV Kume Takahata

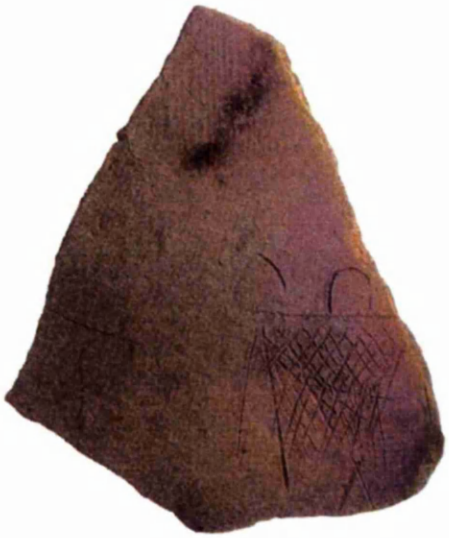
ID 530, end MY/beg. LY Bunkyō



ID 531, IV Ikegami Sone

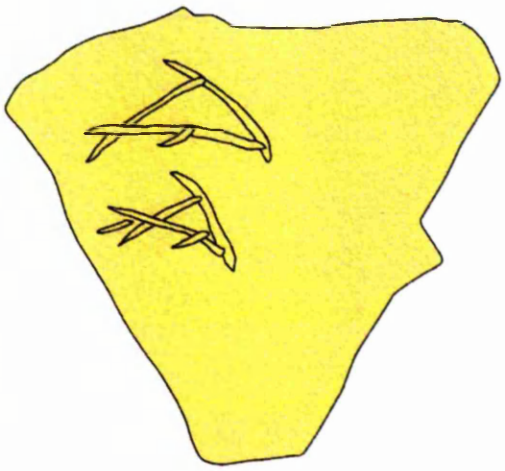
ID 532, late half MY Betsunajitani

ID 533, LY Hoshigaokanishi



ID 535, MY　Tsuboi Daifuku

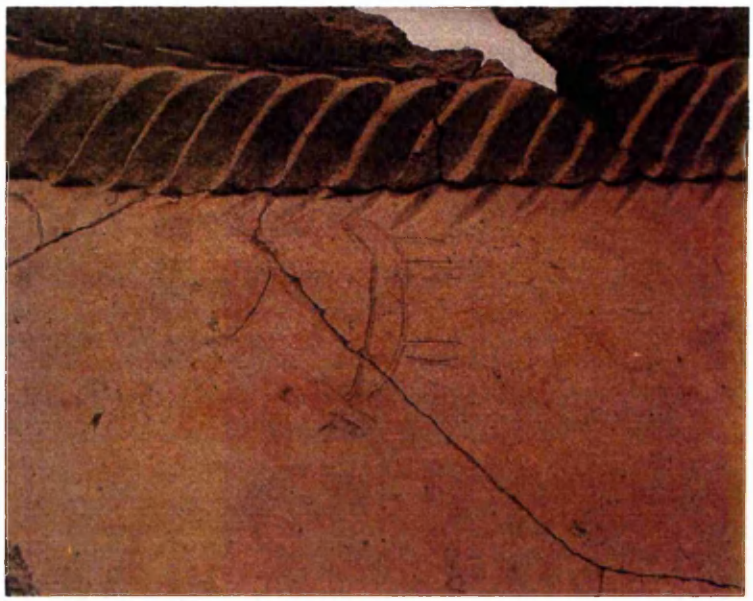
ID 539, end MY　Shiro



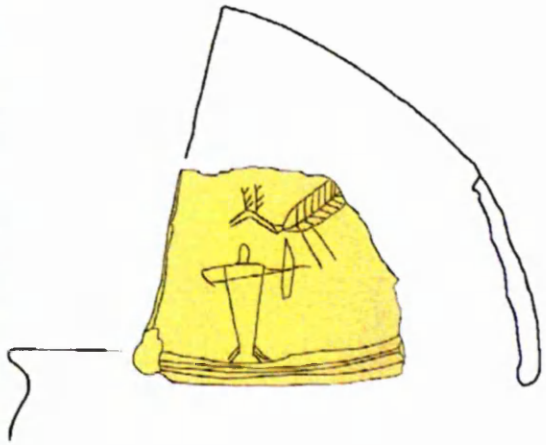
ID 542, MY　Chabatake Yamamichi

ID 544, LY　Fukuoto

ID 545, LY　Takema Miyanomae



ID 547, MY Kamei



ID 548, late LY Ochikata

ID 549, late LY Tsushima Emichi

ID 550, IV Ikegami Sone

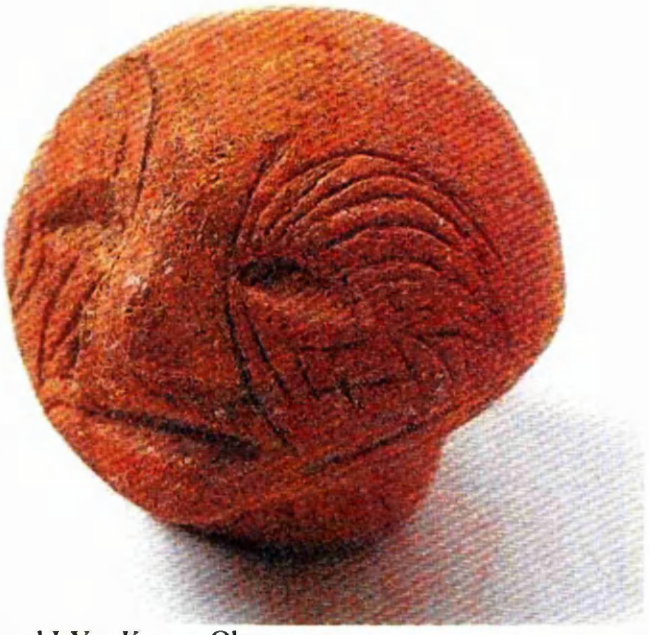
ID 551, MY/LY Kasanuki

ID 552, end MY Uryūdō

ID 553, late LY Junchi Tōkyū

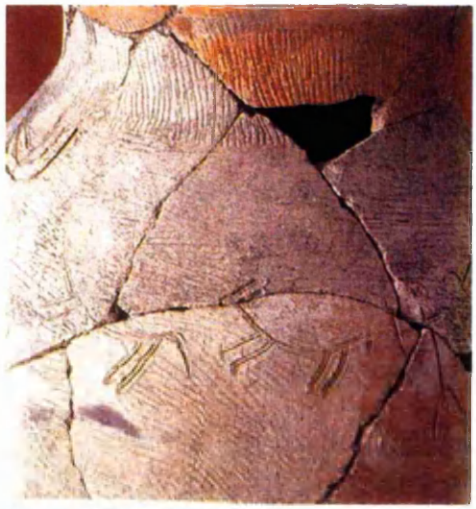
ID 555, LY Kamei

ID 556, MY Kamo Mandokoro



ID 557, end LY Kamo, Okayama

ID 558, LY Hyakkengawa Kaneki



ID 560, III Yōkaichijikata

ID 561, Middle Jōmon Usujiri B, Hokkaido

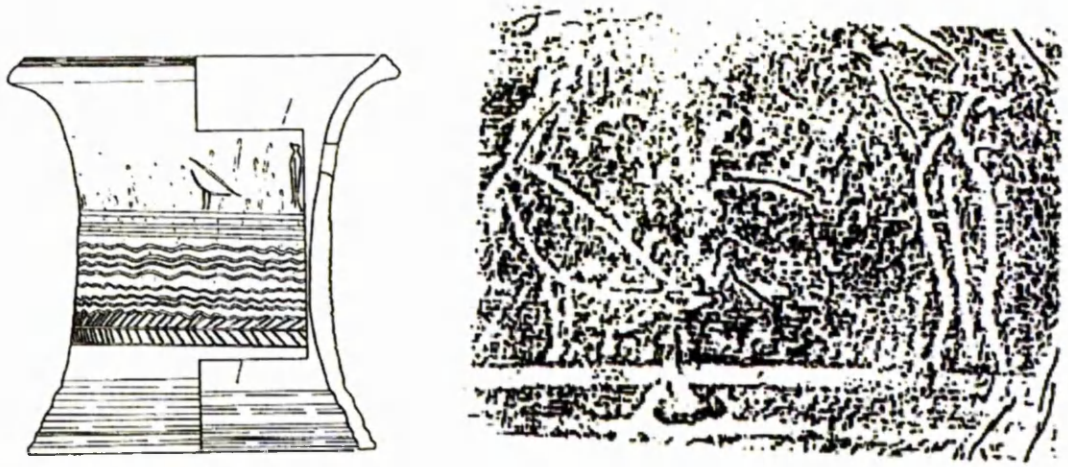
ID 562, beg. Late Jomon Nirakubo, Aomori

ID 565, (no date) Myōji

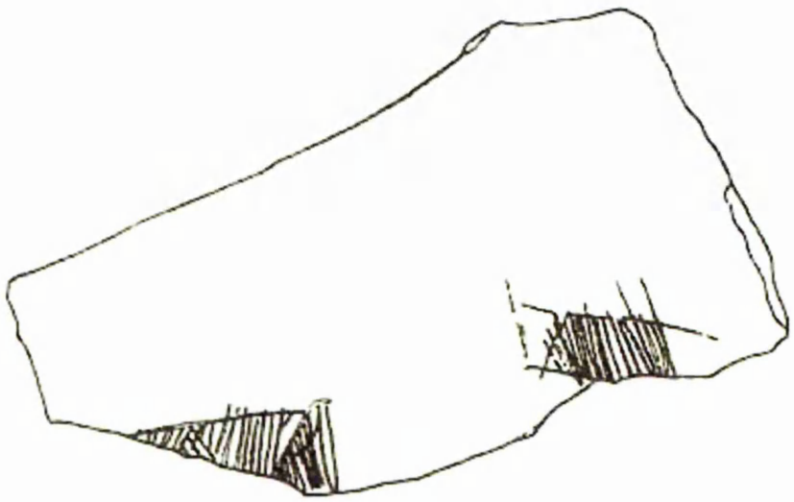
ID 566, (no date) Shinsakominami

ID 567, (no date) Tsushima Okadai

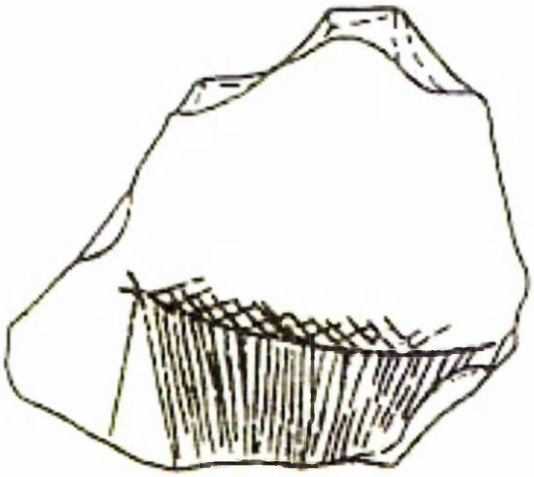
ID 568, (no date) Ayaragikō



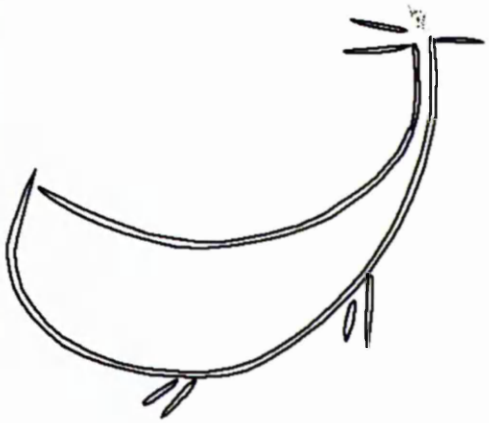
ID 569, IV/V Byōdōbō Iwamuro



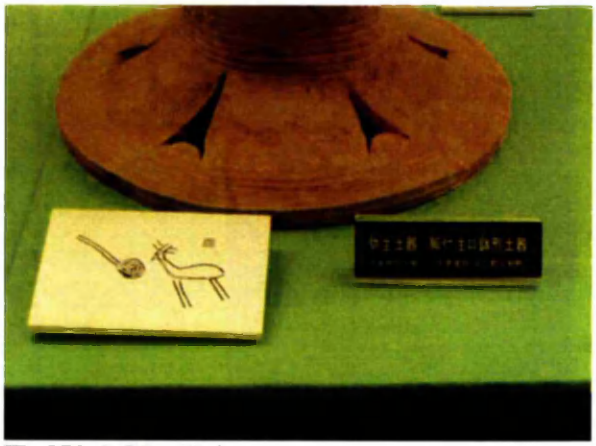
ID 570, no date Nagatera



ID 571, no date Nagatera



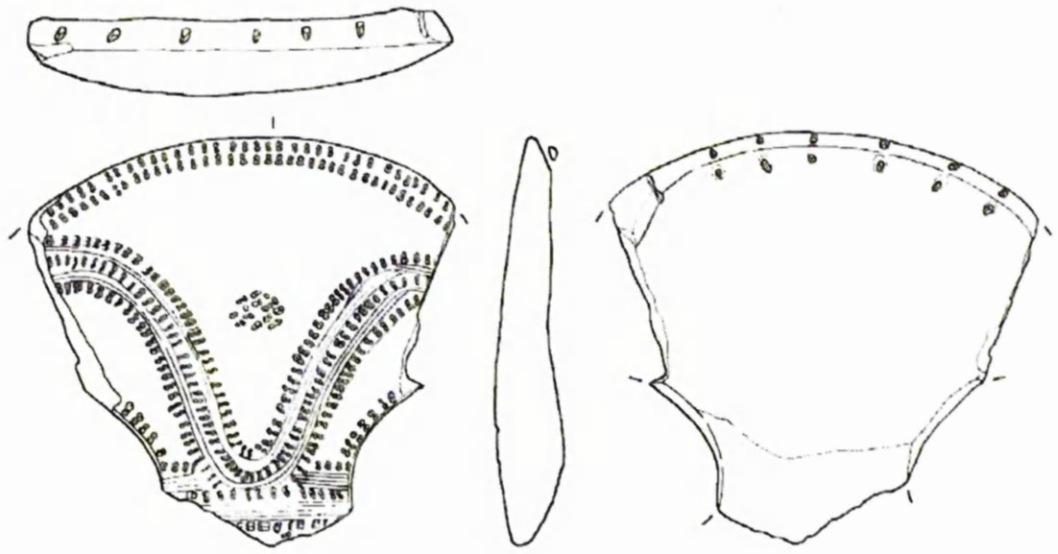
ID 572, end MY/beg. LY Jizōdō



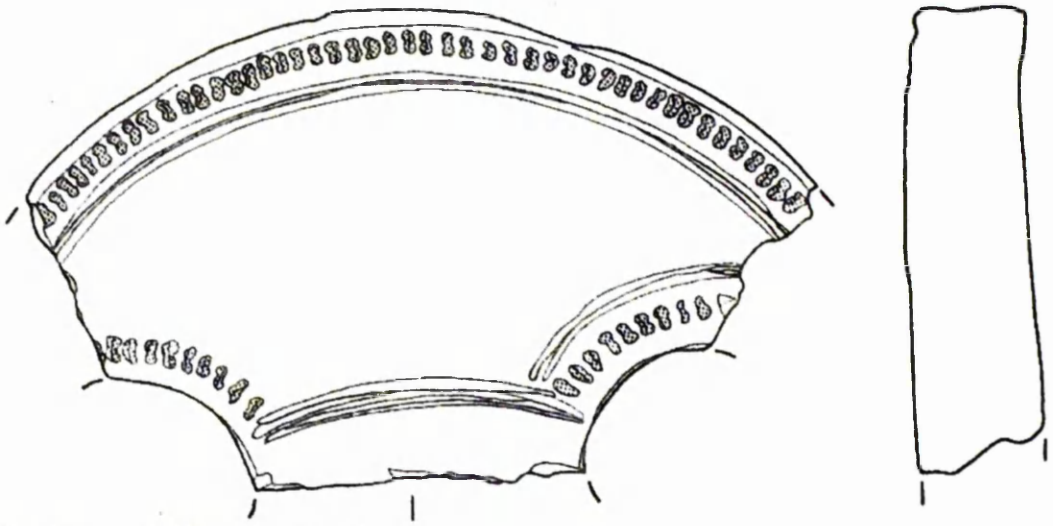
ID 573, MY Yahara

ID 574, MY/beg. LY Hirabayashi

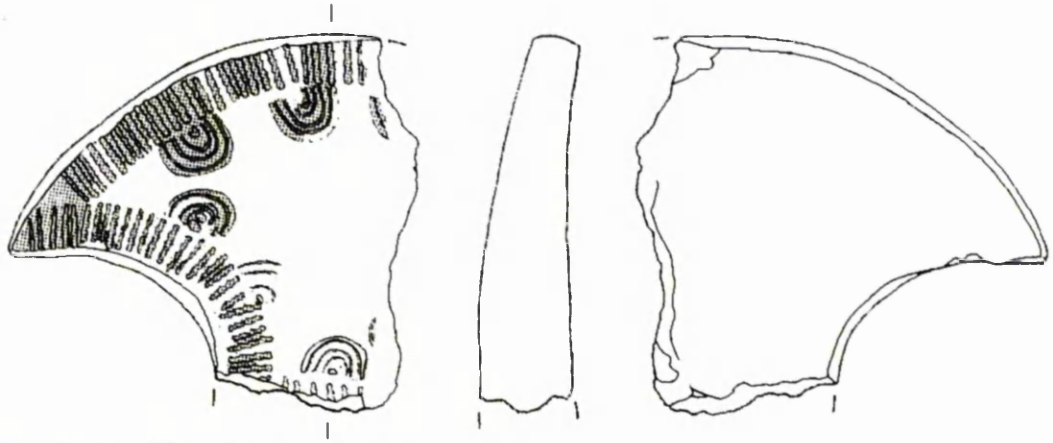
ID 575, EY Nishikawatsu



ID 576, end EY/beg MY Aoyakamijichi



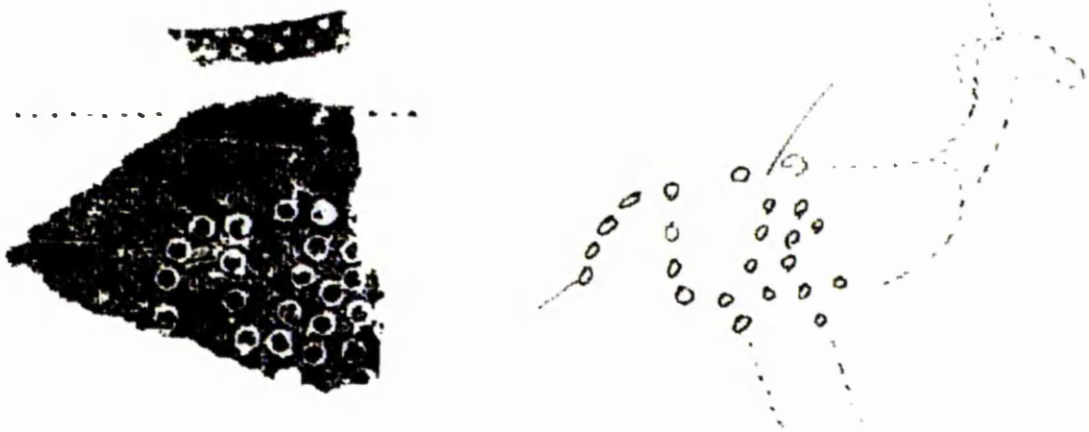
ID 577, mid MY Aoyakamijichi



ID 578, late LY Aoyakamijichi

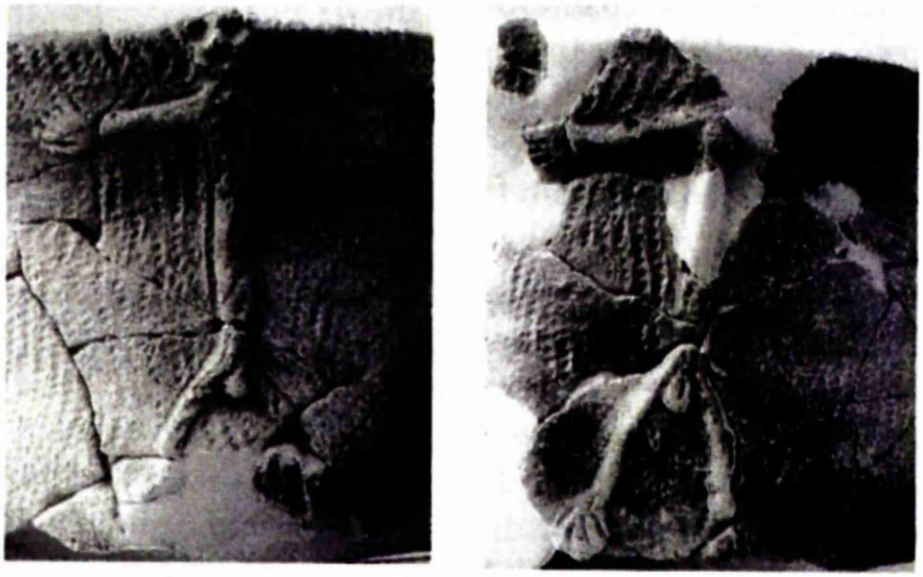
ID 579, early EY Furuichi

ID 584, no date Takiyama



ID 587, III/IV Miwa

ID 588-590, Final Jōmon Iwate (left); Aomori (Middle); Nagano (right)



ID 591, Early (Middle) Jōmon Niigata

ID 592, Middle Jōmon Kanagawa

ID 593, Middle Jōmon Yamanashi

ID 594, Middle Jōmon Nagano

ID 595, Late Jōmon Hokkaidō

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ID 560'	Miyashita and Hashi 1997:45

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