Formation and Transformation of the Prestige good system and Identity : the case of the Japanese Archipelago from the 3rd through the 5th Centuries

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1.The subject of this paper

This paper examines, from the standpoint of archaeology, the creation of cultural identity and the process of its transformation of Japanese Wajin (倭人) society that formed the State in the peripheral area of ancient East Asia, from the perspective of the prestige good system. The term "identity" is a broad concept, including both individual and group identity that is defined as self-forming and self-reforming, reflexive process that selects itself out of several variously different reality-based options (cf. Giddens, 1991). This paper discusses mainly the aspects of the society of Japanese archipelago in the 3rd to 5th Century.

The evaluation of this archaeological phenomena is deeply related to the question of the ethnicity of Japanese and to the concept of self-identity that have continued to exist from the establishment of ancient Wakoku (倭国) all the way to the present (e.g. Mizoguchi, 2002). This paper discusses the question of how the actual image of the relationships between various different areas, induced from the site distribution of related arcaheological records overlaps with the identity and ethnicity, and the question of how we can explain the causality process that formed them.

In archaeology, the question of relationships between the distribution of archaeological records or the archaeological culture, and the ethnic groups has been debated over a long period of time (cf. Childe, 1956; Eggers, 1959; Jones, 1997). In the case of Japan as well, papers presented at the 48th general meeting of the society of Archaeological Studies: Region and Ethnicity , for instance, testify to the high interest in this question (*Kokogaku kenkyu (Quarterly of archaeological studies)*, 48-4, 49-2/3, 2002). Looking back into the history of studies in Japanese archaeology, we can build up several concrete images with regard to the relationships between areas inside the archipelagic societies in the 3rd through the 5th centuries, targeted in this paper. Yukio Kobayashi, for example, studied the relationships between the advent of the keyhole-shaped tumuli (Kofun 古墳) and the distribution of Sankakubuchi-shinjukyo type mirrors (triangular-rimmed bronze mirrors with divine and mythical beast motif 三角縁神獣鏡) along with the shared ownership of the Douhan-kyou mirrors (types of mirrors made with consistent design/dimensions), from the viewpoint of the renovation of the formalities by the authority of nobility (formal

validation of the patrilineal heredity (Kobayashi 1955). His study is aimed at explaining the social transformation from the Yayoi period to the Kofun period as a process developing the political relationships over a broad area centered around the Kinki region, which offers a basic understanding of later study. As another example, Sadao Nishijima has the standpoint viewing the difference in the distribution patterns of the keyhole-shaped tumuli and round/squared tumuli in every area of the archipelago, and in the form and scale the tumuli, as the representation of the fictional kinship relations formed through the medium of the Kabane (姓 : surname) system. (Nishijima, 1961). Though nowadays, the supposition that a Kabane system existed from the very beginning of the Kofun period is not necessarily agreed upon, this supposition, when viewed as a consistent hypothesis, continues to have considerable influence on later studies of others as the framework explaining the relationships between areas in the Kofun period.

Concerning concrete images of the actual relationships between areas centered in the Kinki area, there are two major viewpoints. One of these is the view represented by Yoshiro Kondo, who characterizes the beginning of the Kofun period as a formation of the system of tribal confederacy based on political alliances lead by the large tribal confederacy of Yamato, organizing tribal confederacy over wide areas, and this supposes the establishment of a fictional kinship relations as the background (Kondo, 1983). The second viewpoint as represented by Hiroshi Tsude claims that the hierarchical ranking of the form and scale of the tumuli from the most historically significant keyhole-shaped tumulus down to the bottom ranks, demonstrates that the forms of the tumuli indicate political aspects, in the background of which he sees the existence of distribution system of commodity organized around the distribution of ironware. He views the relationship between areas in the Kofun period as the one mediating "the political system of the keyhole-shaped tumulus" by its network and as a factor establishing "Early State". The distribution range of the keyhole-shaped tumuli, in which we find common cultural elements of all kinds, suggests the possibility of its becoming the basis for later formation of the "nation" (Tsude, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996 and 2005). (See Note 1). Migaku Tanaka claims that the distribution pattern of the keyhole-shaped tumuli was generated based on a common psychological basis rather than on the basis of political relationship (Tanaka, 1991). Another archaeologist, Kazuo Hirose proposes the concept of a "Keyhole-shaped tumulus State" as "a common interest community of the chiefs having territorial, military and diplomatic rights, and ideology in common, that was run by the Yamato polity" (Hirose, 2003).

In addition, in recent years, considering the society of the Kofun period as the turning point of the Kinki Yayoi society, a new viewpoint based various perspectives of the mortuary practice, the production of ironware and the distribution systems etc. critically reexamines the previous viewpoints, according to which the establishment of the Kofun period-like relationship between the various areas dating back to a time before the Latest

Yayoi period existed throughout the period and that assigning this time as the starting point of the Kofun period (Hojo et al, 2000; Mizoguchi 2000a). Various debates are going on about the points such as whether it is possible to regard the societies during the whole of the Kofun period together as Early State (Wada, 2000 and 2004), and how the reality of political dominance and the concept of the ethnicity conform to each other (Ohkubo, 2002), and such as the territorial problems that might arise in the areas over which tumuli are distributed and in the areas surrounding them (Kawano, 2005).

What these various studies indicate is that the such questions as how to explain concretely the distribution patterns of the keyhole-shaped tumuli and of the various mortuary goods called "prestige goods", and how to understand the political relationships existing over broad areas during the Kofun period and the trends influencing the regional societies must be explained, taking into account the large changes that occurred by means of a suitable framework and theoretical background. The matter of identity inside the archipelagic society will be evaluated differently, depending on the degree of the achievement and maturity of the social integration and the expected range used for measuring this. This question is, after all, one of the fundamental questions for investigating how the "Wakoku" of the Kofun period connects up with the later "Nippon(日本)."

From the standpoint of cultural anthropology, when considering the matters of identity and ethnicity, two questions that immediately arise are firstly, how they are named by others and secondly how the people in question perceive themselves, which can be classified into the concept of "being named" and the concept of "naming oneself" (Uchibori, 1989). For example, in the archipelagic society within the world of East Asia, the appellations being used by the Chinese Dynasties includes the following: Toi (東夷), Wajin (倭人), Wakoku (倭国), Shingi Wa-ou (親魏倭王), Antou Shogun Wakoku-ou (安東将軍・倭国王), whereas the appellations by which they named themselves include Shijisetsu totoku Wa , Paeckche , Shilla , Mimana , Kara , Shinkan , Bokan , Shichikokushogunji , Antou daishogun , Wakoku-ou (使持節都督倭・百済・新羅・任那・加羅・秦韓・慕韓・七国諸軍事・安東大将軍・倭国王), Wa-ou Bu (倭王武), Nihon (日本) and Tenno (天皇). How to perceive the relationship between "being named" and "naming oneself" provides important clues for understanding the self-identity of Wajin (倭人) of archipelago society.

What is important as related to these clues in the Kofun period of the archipelago is the discovery of the use of the appellation "the great King who ruled the world (治天下大王)" inscribed on the iron sword unearthed at the Inari-yama Tumulus in present-day Saitama Prefecture. Waou-Bu referred to himself as "Though retainer is foolish (臣雖下愚)" expressing himself as a "retainer" in the chapter of the Wakokuden (倭国伝) concerning emissaries of Waou-Bu (Bu the King of Wakoku：倭王武) and Wakatakeru Okimi（獲加多支鹵大王）in the Imperial Records of the Sung Dynasty (宋書), whereas Waou-Bu is

"the great King who ruled the world, which suggests to us that he used his two appellations properly. In other words, he is the secular king representing the chiefs of archipelago society vis-à-vis foreign empire, whereas he is the king of kings exerting an absolute political authority inside the archipelago, which suggests the dualism of authority. This viewpoint coincides with the characteristic of foreseeing diplomatic leader and the primitiveness based on religion pointed out about the nature of the regal power of the famous Queen "Himiko(卑弥呼)" (Ishimoda, 1971). These two viewpoints are the ones we cannot avoid when we investigate the questions of "being named"/"naming himself" and the identity of the archipelagic society in the period of the 3rd through 5th centuries.

In investigating "being named"/"naming one's self", the question is how to view the relationship of these naming methods with the various Chinese dynasties and the countries existing on the Korean Peninsula outside it. Some scholars claim the necessity to re-verify the argument of Sadao Nishijima(2000) who tried to explain the position of Wakoku within the world of East Asia in the framework of the system in which the Chinese Emperor graced the other kings with peerage, from today's viewpoint (Lee, 2000 ; Kaneko, 2006).

With the differing arguments mentioned above in mind, in this paper, we set forth two tasks for investigation.

(1) To explain archeologically the question of the transformation of the society of "Wajin" or "Wakoku" within East Asia and its identity there, from the viewpoint of the prestige good system, and to clarify the mechanisms based on which the prestige good system operated.

(2) To explain the interrelationship between the realities of the distribution pattern and range and scale of the keyhole-shaped tumuli and the prestige goods, and the relationship with identity in archipelagic society.

2.Defining the prestige good system

In this chapter, the concepts "prestige goods" and "prestige good system" used without formal definitions up to this point, will be investigated. The "prestige goods", concept originally proposed in the context of economic anthropology, was later introduced to explain the Chiefdom society and the process of the state formation as related to structural Marxist anthropology and archaeology under its influence. Jonathan Friedman and Michael Rowlands propose an epigenetic model of the Tribal system evolving into 'Asiatic States evolving into the Prestige good system and into Territorial and city states on the basis of the social relations of production (Friedman and Rowlands, 1977). If compared with the classification of society in the framework of the Neo-evolutionism (e.g. Service, 1971; Johnson and Earle, 2000), 'Asiatic' States and the prestige good system more or less correspond to [Simple/Complex] Chiefdom society. In the 'Asiatic' States, the society is

hierarchically constituted, depending on the conical clan. The prestige good system serves for distributing, in most cases, valuables coming from the outside in order to maintain and reconfirm the political alliances among chiefly elite, as the range of chiefdom societies developed. The prestige goods in this case, not necessarily being goods for survival, are, however, indispensable for maintaining social relations.

The prestige good system is characterized by the tendency of areas expanding from the central area originating the distribution of the prestige goods and creating small nucleus centers in every surrounding area which then form center and peripheral relations with the central area. These center and periphery relations have a close relationship to the so-called primary large-scale State and its related secondary smaller States and allow us to understand, in this context, the differential aspects of tribal society, chiefdom society, and State at each stage in the social evolution as a series of their structural parts remaining synchronically in various spatial locations. (Kristiansen, 1991).

In Territorial and city states, there appeared a commercial economy on the more and more reinforced competition between centers and on reinforced characteristics of independent city states resulting from the increased specialized production at the small centers established in every region as the prestige good system expanded and from the centralization of control of the distribution. As the goods became generalized as money for commerce, labor and lands became exchangeable, the hierarchical structure of the conical clan was destroyed, and the relation of classes drastically changed. Friedman and Rowlands propose a model in which this kind of economy expanded itself by uniting surrounding areas and bringing about a stable empire at the end (Friedman and Rowlands, *ibid.*). According to this model, chronologically applied to East Asia, the 'Asiatic' State is the Shang (商) Dynasty and the prestige good system is mainly the Western Zhou (西周) Dynasty, the Territorial State is the epoch starting from Eastern Zhou (東周) Dynasty, and Empire is the Qin (秦) Dynasty and Han (漢) Dynasty.

As per the above, the prestige good system is one of the useful model in discussing the increasingly complex stratified societies in the preliminary stages toward the establishment of the State. Though it is widely believed that most of the prestige goods came from long distance external trade, this is not necessarily a requirement as such for "prestige goods." I consider the following two factors to be indispensable for the formation of the prestige good system (Tsujita, 2001, 2005a, 2005b) : 1) prestige goods must be acquired, used and consumed exclusively by the elite, 2) the acquisition, use, consumption cycle of the prestige goods must be inextricably embedded in the process of social reproduction (See Note 2). In the prestige good system, it is a prerequisite that these prestige goods are always stably supplied and consumed down through the elite, in order that the relationships between the elite be smoothly maintained and that social reproduction inside every regional society be stably carried out. This, on the contrary, signifies that if the distribution and consumption of the prestige goods cease to be carried out stably, the social reproduction

itself will be disrupted (depending on the situation, the political control system may also break down), from which we can conclude that the prestige good system has unstable and fluid aspects (Kristiansen, 1987, 1991; Hedeager, 1992). The examples of interactions between the Mediterranean world and Central and Northern Europe during the prehistoric and ancient Europe offer us important clues for evaluating these questions (cf. Rowlands *et al.*1987 ; Kristiansen and Rowlands, 1998).

Keeping the above in mind, when we look at the East Asia, as the Japanese archipelago is located in the peripheral area of East Asia, when discussing the process of the state formation in the Japanese archipelago, it is necessary to widely view it in the framework of its relationships with the Chinese Dynasties as the primary States and the various areas of the Korean peninsula. This paper uses this perspective, when referring to the prestige good system and for analysis of the phases of the social evolution in the archipelago. Here, for example, our objective is not to simply apply the previously mentioned epigenetic model to the Japanese archipelago, but rather to use actual examples from the Japan archipelago for creating a model of the prestige good system and the process of state formation and, in addition, we discuss in depth the social evolution based on an archaeological model (cf. Yoffee, 1993).

In the case of Japanese Archaeology, Wako Anazawa has explained the distribution of Sankakubuchi-shinjukyo type mirrors from this perspective of the prestige good system (W. Anazawa, 1985 and 1995). He argues that in the Middle Yayoi period, in northern Kyushu, a prestige good system was established through negotiations with the Lelang (楽浪郡). However, the prestige good system collapsed in the Late Yayoi period (Anazawa, 1995). Also, Shin'ichi Nakamura studied the process of the stratification during the Middle Yayoi period in northern Kyushu, applying the model of the prestige good system (Nakamura, 1995).

Kazutaka Kawano proposes a model in which the prestige goods and prestige good system are renovated in the phase in which the inflow of imported prestige goods which can not be made in local area is interrupted, or the production and distribution of prestige goods which can be made in local area reaches a saturation level; prestige goods are generally classified into such two types, the value of the latter of which is guaranteed by the former (Kawano 1998). Kawano also claims that the period extending from the Early to the Middle Kofun period is characterized by the prestige goods economy. In addition, Tomo Ishimura who presented a model, in which it was not the prestige goods but rather to 'go beyond' the prestige good system stimulating the rise of social stratification, points out the possibility that the departure from the prestige good system began from the later part of the Early Kofun period, by comparing the prestige good system in Oceania with that of the Japanese archipelago (Ishimura, 2004). There are many unanswered questions concerning how the prestige good system and the social stratification interact each other, and concerning in which phase the "going beyond the prestige good system" in the archipelago

started, and concerning the actual background conditions for this, which can be one of the major focal points of discussion (See Note 3).

If we peruse the general framework first, I assume that it is possible to understand the period extending from the Early to Middle Kofun period in the framework of the prestige good system, as Anazawa and Kawano point out. And I understand that the period after the Late Kofun period is the one in which the basis of the centralized political control system continued and was substantially organized in parallel with the change in various cultural factors, such as kinship relations and mortuary practices, etc. In this paper, while keeping in mind the various arguments related to the prestige good system as were mentioned above, we will examine the question of the formation and transformation of the prestige good system from the Yayoi period to the Kofun period, and the question of identity resulting from them. We intend to argue how we can understand the political relationships among the elite of wide area of the archipelago was evolving, and how we can evaluate that process as the preliminary stage evolving toward the establishment of the Ancient State of Japan (Ritsuryo State) from the long term perspective.

3.Analysis

This chapter archeologically clarifies the aspects of each phases from the Yayoi period through the Kofun period, examining the following general 4 points concretely: 1) The relationships and external negotiations between the archipelago and the various regions in East Asia, 2) Archaeological phenomena within the archipelago, especially of mortuary practice, 3) Trends of the prestige goods or prestige goods-like goods within the archipelago 4) Analysis and interpretation of the prestige goods distribution mechanism and the actualities of the regional relationships. (See Note 4)

(1) The 1st Century BC (the latter half of the Middle Yayoi period)

It is important here to examine the general situation of the Yayoi period. The external contact of the society of the archipelago, especially in the Early and Middle Yayoi period can be chronologically partitioned roughly into 3 phases, such as firstly, arrival of the cultivation of wet paddy rice culture in the beginning of Yayoi period, secondly, the introduction of bronze implement culture from Korean peninsula from the latest part of the Early Yayoi period to the first part of the Middle Yayoi, and thirdly, the inflow of the Lelang-type Han culture. Among these, the most significant phase in considering the social evolution of the later society of the archipelago is the establishment of Lelang, which was the outpost of Han Dynasty, in 108 B.C. and its influence of the Han culture. In northern Kyushu area, large burial jar coffins with many Former Han mirrors and disk-shaped glass Han ornaments unearthed at the excavation site of Mikumo-Minamishouji in Maebaru city

and at some of the excavation sites of Sugu-Okamoto in Kasuga city in Fukuoka Prefecture, which leads us to assume that stratification already existed. However, as such items in the Late Yayoi period are not uniformly unearthed in every region, it is pointed out that the advent of the chiefly persons buried in luxurious tumuli such as the ones found in the jar coffin cemeteries in the latter half of the Middle Yayoi Period was still not firmly established (Mizoguchi, 2000b/2001). In northern Kyushu society in the latter half of the middle of the Yayoi period, groups of Mikumo and Sugu, getting Han mirrors by negotiating with Lelang, supposedly established alliances with peripheral smaller groups, by distributing the mirrors to them (Okamura 1999), which, just as pointed out by Anazawa (1995) and Mizoguchi (2002), can be seen as the dawn of the prestige good system. It can be thought that the prestige good system developed within the range of approximately northern Kyushu.

(2) The 1st Century through the early half of the 3rd Century A.D. (The Late Yayoi through the Latest Yayoi Period)

In the Late Yayoi period was reached, in the northern Kyushu area, the practice of using jar burial coffin started to decline and stone board coffins were used in large area. As the practice of burying many imports like in the Middle Yayoi, is limited only to some of the sites, such as that of Iwara-Yarimizo in Fukuoka Prefecture, it is not necessarily confirmed that the prestige good system in the latter half of the Middle Yayoi Period continued to develop stably, just as Anazawa pointed out (Anazawa, 1995). The frequent consumption of large bronze implements as part of communal ritual using wide-form bronze pikes(広形銅矛) continued in parallel with the above-mentioned process of the decline of import artifacts as mortuary goods. In addition, in the Kinki and Tokai areas also, the ritual employing the use of large bronze bells (突線鈕式銅鐸) became popular which is in clear contrast with the Setouchi and San'in areas where the changeover to mound tumuli began in an earlier stage (Iwanaga, 1998/2004).

The process of differentiating the chiefly elite in every area went on in the latter half of the Late Yayoi period, which, as pointed out, might be the basic cause that the practice of the above-mentioned ritual using bronzeware decline (Iwanaga, 1998 ; Tanaka, 2000). In addition, the variety of the interred personages began to become more restricted, which revealed explicit the reality of only a handful of privileged chieftains in the chiefdom society to be pronounced (Tanaka, 2000; Mizoguchi 2000b/2001). From the Setouchi area eastward, in all areas, large mound tumuli were constructed. At this stage, basically the area ranging from the northern Kyushu area to the western Setouchi area was the advanced area in the production of ironware and their distribution (Murakami, 1998/2000b). With the weakening of the Later Han Dynasty, the inflow of Han mirrors was tending to decrease as a consequence of which, broken mirrors and small imitated mirrors distributed around the northern Kyushu (Takakura, 1981). However, as these broken or small mirrors mostly

unearthed out of excavations of small, isolated villages, cultural layers or the moat of settlements or cemeteries, are neither unearthed consistently in the whole period, nor are buried as mortuary goods limited to the tumuli of chiefly elite. Thus, it is not possible to explain them as the result of the prestige good system (Tsujita, 2001/2005a). Rather, this period can be seen as the one in which the separation of the dominant chiefly elite was gradually advancing in the way mentioned above. From such a point of view, our concrete image of Wakoku 'king' (倭国王帥升等) in A.D. 107 that appears in the Biography of Eastern Barbarian (東夷伝) of the Chronicle of the Later Han Dynasty (後漢書)", is the one organized in a federation consisting mainly of the local elite in the northern Kyushu.

Though at this stage, the production of ironware and their distribution tends to be regarded as an important topic, it is more important that the distribution of bronze resources enabled the massive production of large bronzeware in the northern Kyushu and in the areas of Kinki and Tokai (Ohga, 2003). I thinks the vast area circulation network mediating the distribution of bronze resources and the question of how this circulation network contributed to the formation of the environment up to the beginning period of the Kofun period are very important topics that would be investigated in the future.

Up to the first half of the 3rd Century that marks the Latest Yayoi period, regional distinction in tumulus forms became explicit, such as the mound tumulus with 4 protruding corners constructed in San'in and Hokuriku areas, the keyhole-shaped tumuli (with round mound) in the areas from Setouchi to Kinki, and the keyhole shaped tumuli with square mound constructed in Tokai area. The question is how to understand the relationships between different regions from the Late to the Latest Yayoi period, and what this indicates concerning the identity of Wajin society. Concerning this stage, historical records allow us to suppose that the many regional elite co-supporting Himiko and Wakoku contacted Gongsunshi (公孫氏) government in Liaodong, but there are several arguments for and against these explanations, each based on archeological data. For example, against the common arguments that try to explain that the relationship among regions that was formed by the process in which the Gamontai-shinjukyo type mirrors (画文帯神獣鏡：Later Han mirrors with divines and mythical beast) were monopolistically acquired from the Gongsunshi government by Yamataikoku (邪馬台国) polity and then distributed to every region, was directly and continually succeeded as a renewed relationship among regions in the Kofun period (e.g. Okamura, 1990; Fukunaga, 2001 and 2005). Contrasting this, it is pointed out that it is difficult to explain the rise of the Kofun period by the by tracing backward in time the leading powers in Kinki or Yamato, or by a retrospective inferences to the Kofun period itself, and making judgments from conditions surrounding the tumuli and the production of ironware (Hojo, etc. 2000; Hojo, 2005).

I estimates that there can be different explanation about bronze mirrors as mentioned below, if we base our reasoning on the chronology of archaelogical sites, without the assumption that the Later Han mirrors were imported in real time to the Kinki or near

regions from which they were distributed all over the archipelago. In this period, broken mirrors originating from the Northern Kyushu and distributing eastward, and crushed but originally complete mirrors buried as mortuary goods, are unearthed even in the east of Setouchi, which shows no specific distribution center, but shows piecewise scattering. We can also explain in this context the crushed mirrors of Gamontai-shinjukyo type mirros, in the Hagiwara #1 tomb in Tokushima Prefecture and the Ayabeyama #39 tomb in Hyogo Prefecture. I assume that those who had diplomatic and trading relationships were not limited to a single center even in Northern Kyushu, and there were several external negotiation centers spreading eastward even beyond Setouchi, whereas it was only after Himiko sent messengers to Wei(魏) in the second quarter of the 3rd Century that the foreign negotiation center centralized to the Kinki area, massively imported complete Han mirrors to the archipelago and distributed them to local chiefly elite of wide regions in archipelago (Tsujita, 2001/2005a). It means that the description of Wa-Han region belonging to the Daifang, the outpost of Han Empire: "倭韓遂属帯方" in the Chronicle of Wei Dynasty "魏志" refers to the situation mentioned above.

Therefore, it is considered that the political alliance just before the beginning of the Kofun period was a loose chiefdom confederacy gathered from Kinki, Setouchi through the Northern Kyushu was going to establish its foundation in Nara basin, as it is difficult to assume that a broad political integration over Japanese archipelago was achieved by the "initiative of Kinki/Yamato" mediating the distribution of the prestige goods, even if we suppose that the political alliance existed, centered around the Yamataikoku in Kinki region. This standpoint does not assume that a prestige good system, which covered broad area, centered around the Kinki area was established toward the Latest Yayoi period. Instead of the prestige good system mediating the political system, we suppose the existence of an "Invisible Divine King", Himiko, as the symbol of the federation system during the early half stage of the 3rd Century (e.g. Ohbayashi, 1977; Yoshida, 1995). As the instability of the succession to the kingship after Himiko's death indicates, the dual aspects of Himiko's kingship not only as a foreseeing diplomatic leader but also as the one that served the religious ability "鬼道" that could coexist inside that particular individual Himiko, were proper to the individual generation of Himiko. (Kawaguchi, 1987; Nito, 2001). One of the means created to fill the vacancy caused by Himiko's death, was the keyhole-shaped tumuli and the mortuary rituals carried out there, where various mortuary goods such as mirrors and the like, were used and consumed as an integral part of these rituals. In this sense, it is possible to presume that the prestige good system of broad area centered on Kinki region was established, taking the opportunity presented by Himiko's sending messengers to Wei Dynasty. The changes from the Yayoi period into the Kofun period, in the sense indicated above, can be understood as discontinuities and very rapid changes accompanied with a leap.

(3) From the middle of the 3rd Century through the 4th Century (the Early Kofun Period)

The big changes that came about in the political relationship within Japanese archipelago described above occurred in the middle part of the 3rd Century. The Early Kofun period corresponds to the stage at which, just after complete (not broken/small imitated) Later Han mirrors and Wei-Jin(魏晋) mirrors began to be imported massively into the Kinki area, the distribution system of complete mirrors on the scale of the entire archipelago was established, which triggered the parallel processes in which the relationships among different regions centered in the Kinki area, was reorganized, in parallel with which establishing order and the "creation" of mortuary ritual at keyhole-shaped tumuli rapidly advanced, and such mortuary ritual were adopted by every region.

Modeling of the communication mechanism from the viewpoint of recent studies of the Yayoi mortuary practice that enabled the phenomena to take place in broad areas in the beginning of Kofun period, is being carried out (Mizoguchi, 2000b). Below, I analyzes in a concrete way the relationships between the various regions in the Early Kofun period, based on the trends in tumuli and mortuary goods.

First, we can view the contacts and negotiations with overseas in the first part of Early Kofun period (from the middle of 3rd Century through the end of the 3rd Century) as the negotiation with Wei and Western Jin Dynasties, started by Himiko's sending messengers to Wei Dynasty and as the contacts with Gaya (加耶)region in the south of Korean Peninsula, activated after the fall of Lelang and Daifang resulting from the southward expansion of Koguryo (高句麗) on the Korean Peninsula in the latter half of the early period of the Kofun period (4th Century).

As regards the distribution and the form/size of tumuli in the Early Kofun period, the center of distribution is located in Nara basin, Kinki region, and large keyhole-shaped tumuli are constructed in high concentrations. In areas other than Nara basin, the largest tumuli are more or less 100 meters and there is no keyhole-shaped tumulus larger than 200 meters in size outside the Kinki area in the Early Kofun period. In general, there was a tendency for tumuli to be constructed at the scale of small plain area consecutively (Tsude 1988). As a consequence of this, no keyhole-shaped tumulus of a local chief of an area corresponding to Kuni (国), which means later administrative unit of Ancient Japan, can be found to differ from other keyhole-shaped tumuli, but constructing a series of tumuli of similar sizes or a coexistence of several similar series of tumuli in every small area were common.

The important difference between the Kofun Period and before the Latest Yayoi period, lies in the fact that mortuary goods and other various artifacts are now concentrated in Kinki area, and others of the same kind are only scattered in other areas. A similar difference is observed as regards the production sites of ironware (Murakami, 1988; Nojima, 2000). Examples of mortuary goods circulating in all regions that characterize the

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Kofun period, are the various bronze mirrors such as the Sankakubuchi-shinjukyo type mirrors(三角縁神獣鏡) and the like, and Sokanto (素環頭: ring head without decoration) swords and other iron weapons and utensils, bracelet-shaped jasper ornaments: Kuwagataisi (鍬形石) / Sharinseki (車輪石) / Ishikushiro (石釧), and bronze arrowheads.

The appearance of bronze mirrors in the Early Kofun period began with the various imported mirrors such as the Later Han mirrors, Wei-jin mirrors, and Sankakubuchi-Shinjukyo type mirrors, but soon after, the imitated mirrors (倭製鏡) made in Wa (倭) modeled after those imported mirrors began to be massively produced within the Japanese archipelago. Those mirrors made in archipelago, diversifying in their design and diameter from extra-large (25cm>) to small(>14cm), became smaller and smaller in their size in the course of the Early Kofun period. As regards the distribution of various bronze mirrors in the beginning of the Kofun period, the distribution system of complete mirrors on the basis of the diameter length of the complete Eastern Han / Wei-Jin mirrors, was established (Tsujita 2001), and Yamato polity distributed to local chiefly elite of vast regions those imported mirrors, combining with Sankakubuchi-shinjukyo type mirrors. The distribution strategy, ranking according to the diameter length of the imitated mirrors (Wada, 1986; Kurumazaki, 1993; Shimogaki, 2003, etc.), can be considered as being passed down from the distribution strategy, ranking according to the diameter length of the imported mirrors. In other words, these bronze mirrors were distributed to local chiefs of vast regions, discriminating the ranking between different regions, in such a way that especially large-sized ones were distributed in and around the Kinki area, while smaller ones were distributed in wider area (However, Sankakubuchi shinjukyo type mirrors were distributed in vast areas independently of their size).

Here, from the viewpoint of regional societies and the relationships among different regions in the Kofun period, let us examine the relationship between the distribution of mirrors and the other mortuary goods at tumuli in various regions. As we find many examples in which the most recent mirrors are buried in a tumulus from the same time, which we come to know by comparing the time when the tumulus was constructed and the time when the mirrors unearthed from them were made, the estimated time of the production of mirrors or their combination is deemed to be one of the indicators for estimating the time of a tumulus (See Note 5). This suggests that at every moment of the alternation of generations, contact of the local elite of every region with the Yamato polity and the establishment of various political alliances with the Yamato polity might have been renewed (Tsude,1970 : pp.65-66; Kondo, 1983: p.192). But on the other hand, there are also many cases in which older mirrors are buried in a newer tumulus, which suggests that those mirrors might have been administered and inherited through several generations as heirlooms. (Morishita, 1998). As for the way of acquiring and burying mirrors, we can point out that there are two patterns, i.e., 1) every generation acquires the mirror and buries it, 2) several generations manage and inherit the mirrors and then bury them as mortuary

goods.

The smallest unit of a regional society engaged in the maintenance, management and burial of mirrors can be considered as the unit of the group approximately corresponding to the tumulus building groups. We can surmise that the inheritance of chieftaincy or alternation of generation in the local elite could be carried out smoothly by means of the procedures in which every group renewed their political relationship with Yamato polity through acquisition of a new mirror at the moment of their chieftain's death causing the alternation of generation or else through the administration and inheritance of the part of the total mirrors that the ancestral generation of the elite had acquired.

When we study the renewal of various political relationships at each generation, the research carried out by Seiji Okada and some scholars about the enthronement ceremonies of okimi (the great king 大王) will be of great help (Okada, 1992; Yoshida, 1996; Kumagai; 2001). They mention when okimi succeed a previous okimi to the throne, a number of retainers recommend the new okimi, and the new okimi, in return, appointed, or reappointed, these retainers, from the 5th to 6th century downward. This strongly supports the viewpoint that even inside the core of the kingship, such political relationships were renewed on the basis of direct ties between personal characters at the moment of the
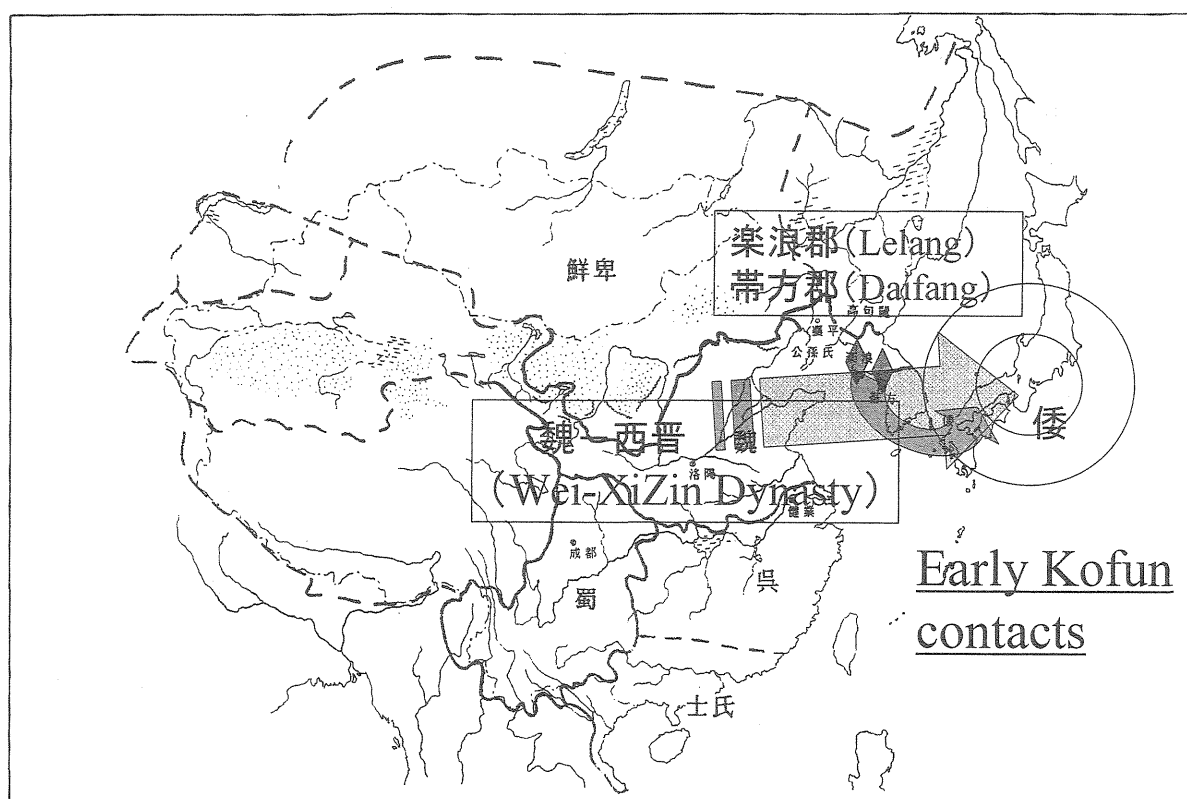

Fig.1　Japanese archipelago in East Asia
(Early to middle third century AD)

Modified from
Oba（1995）.

preceding king's death, resulting in a successful alternation of generation, a procedure which took place from the 5th century onward. (See Note 6)

Several other observations of regional differences have been made. An example of this is that in some regions a lot of Sankakubuchi-shinjukyo type mirrors are unearthed and in other regions the imitated mirrors are unearthed (See Note 7). This phenomena show that those mirrors of each kinds were selectively distributed to specific group units. If we take into consideration the circumstances of selective distribution of mirrors and the fact that the mirrors were acquired at the moment of chieftain's death or of the alternation of generation, it is very probable that the acquisition of the mirrors by the groups of every region took the form of a "going upward to Kinki region" (Shimogaki, 2003; Morishita, 2005), i.e., that the various groups of every region made a trip to Kinki area and acquired their mirrors (See Note 8). Here we can see that the logic of the distributor, i.e., Yamato polity, controlling the groups of every region by selectively distributing the prestige goods to them, and the logic of those groups in every region to need for these the prestige goods is evident. Especially, in the logic of the latter, the relations of interests between the chieftain and his constituent groups or between the constituent groups, and the competitive relations resulting from them, interacted to each other in many critical ways.

We can affirm that the position of the local elite at this stage was temporary and unstable, judging from the fact that the relationships had to be renewed at every generation change by means of acquisition of prestige goods, and from the fact that the concentrations of chieftains' tumuli were not continuously constructed at one single location (Kondo, 1983). When considering, in concrete terms, the images of the various regional societies in the Kofun period, including the informations about the persons who were buried in tumuli, and in addition, to the distribution and the transformation of the tumuli in the course of history, important clues for our research can be obtained. Based on the analysis of the unearthed bones of persons buried in tumuli, we can conjecture what their kinship relations were. Yoshiyuki Tanaka suggests that the inheritance of rank through several generations of persons buried in tumuli still remained unstable in the early half of the Kofun period because of the bilateral kinship relations that continued to exist from the Yayoi period (Sources: 1995, 2000 and 2003). The way mirrors were acquired and buried as mortuary goods, as we have seen here, is consistent with the actual image of these kinship relations. Therefore, it is necessary that we consider the group unit as corresponding to the tumulus construction unit which was, however, not something solid and stable but something changing and unstable (See Note 9).

We can see the situation of the Early Kofun period mentioned above as a result of the prestige good system that existed throughout the entire archipelago, because the acquisition and consumption of the mirrors in every region are inseparably embedded in the process of social reproduction explicit in the ways that they are used and interred as mortuary goods in the mortuary ritual adopted by the local elite of every region. Here, I have named the

process, "the prestige good system of the Early Kofun Period /Centripetal competitive relationships model" (Figure 2). This model is inspired by the Koji Mizoguchi's model (2000b:p.216) that shows the interdependent 'tree-like' structure between local elite in wide area and the distance to recognize coexistence each other from the Latest Yayoi to Kofun Period. Here, the model of "the prestige good system of the Early Kofun Period" shows that how the relationship between the local elite of every region and Yamato polity was reproduced and transformed in the process of social reproduction, mediated by distribution and consumption of prestige goods in the Early Kofun Period. The various prestige goods such as the mirrors etc. can be understood to have been ideological apparatus to legitimize the succession of chieftaincy across generations. We surmise that the local elite of every region reconfirmed their newly acquired positions and legitimized their own position by renewing the relationship with the Yamato polity through acquisition and consumption of prestige goods or by inheriting the prestige goods from generation to generation.

The society of Japanese archipelago during the 3rd through the 4th century is characterized by these chiefdom societies (or a stage of societies close to that) uniting themselves through the prestige good system to form chiefdom confederacy. In other words, this was a result of the fact that the local elite of every region actively adopted the
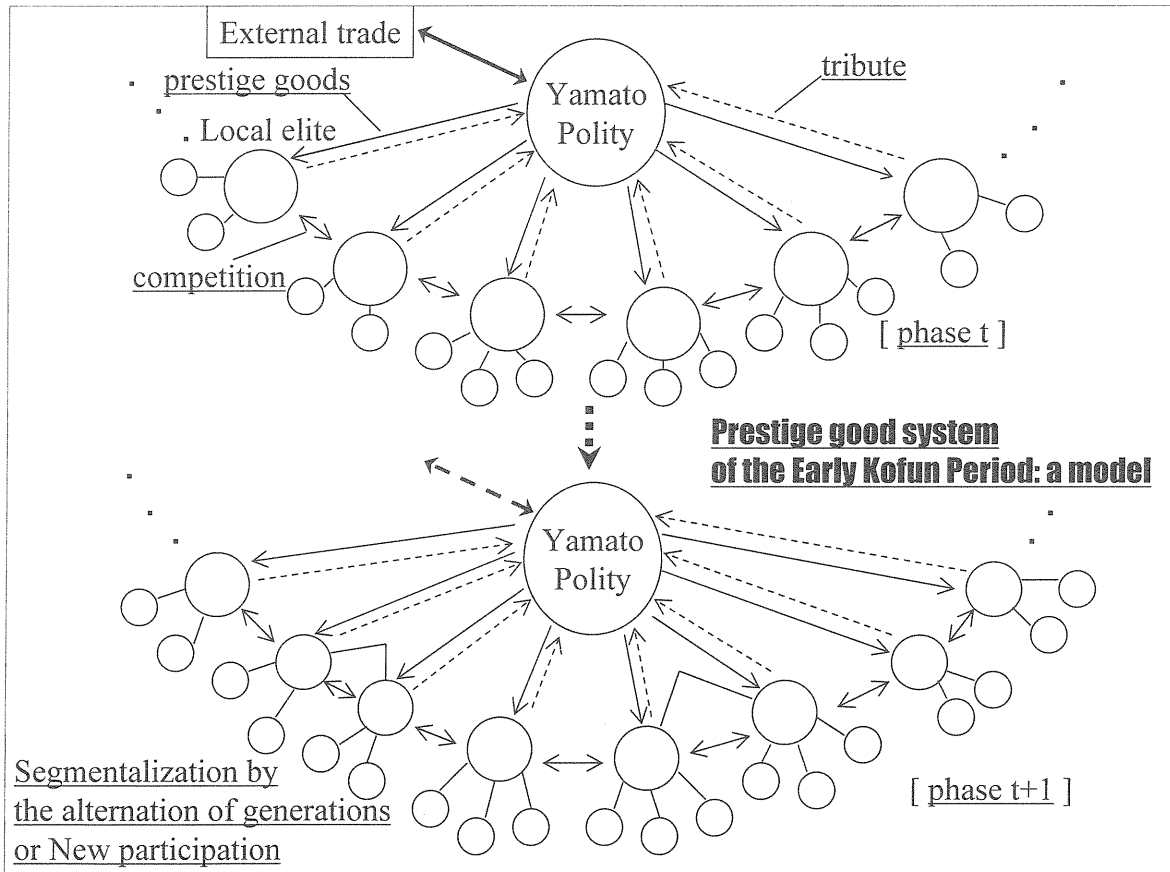

Fig.2 A Model of Prestige good system of the Early Kofun Period.

new mortuary ritual invented by the Yamato polity with various prestige goods. Though these real situations in every region, although the seemed to be the same at first sight, it can be seen that there was the degree of integration and complexity that differed from region to region. The characteristics of this process were the competitive relationships between the local elite of all regions concerning how to acquire the prestige goods. This was triggered by the chieftain's death or alternation of generation in the local elite of every region. We perceive that the prime mover that operated the vast prestige good system came from the local elite of every region. Even though was a broad interreginal relationship, it was a superficial relations which the competitive relations related to prestige goods and alternation of generation in the local elite, developed in an unstable and fluid way, which differed from the commonly supposed centralized political dominance of the Yamato polity.

Here it is necessary to confirm that this was a dual structure such as the center-periphery relations corresponding to the relation between Wei-Jin Dynasty - Lelang/Daifang and Wakoku in the East Asia, and the center-periphery relations around the Yamato polity inside the archipelago. It was the reorganization, in this sense, of the relationships between regions around the Kinki area that became one of the major issues at the beginning of the Kofun period. In the latter half of the Early Kofun period, as Wei-Jin Dynasty declined and Lelang-Daifang were fallen, Yamato polity contacted the southern part of the Korean Peninsula. The prestige good system inside the archipelago continued to work, using prestige goods which can be made in archipelago such as the imitated mirrors. Because the distribution of the mirrors almost ceased at the end of the Early Kofun period after the major series of the imitated mirrors became miniaturized and the quality of the bronze became degraded, it is probable that the production system producing various metallic utensils was reorganized. Compared to the prestige good system mentioned above and in combination with the situation of the Middle Kofun Period that will be described below, the change from the Early to the Middle Kofun Period is more important than the change from the early half of to the latter half of the Early Kofun Period.

(4) The 5th Century (The middle period of the Kofun period)

From the end of the Early Kofun Period to the beginning of the Middle Kofun Period, we can observe a drastic change in the prestige good system throughout the entire archipelago. This includes such phenomena as the move of the large-scale tumuli in Kinki area and the change of chieftains' tumuli in every region resulting in covarying. This is also the time in which the archipelagic society changed from a traditional ritual-oriented to a military-oriented type of organization, just as we can read in the article describing the war between Wa and Koguryo on the Stela of Koguryo (高句麗好太王碑). This point will be examined in the concrete detail below.

First, as regards foreign contacts, it is indubitable that the change from the end of the

Early Kofun period through the beginning of the Middle Kofun period is deeply related to the tension that existed in the international situation in East Asia. However, it not possible to ascertain precisely what kind of relation between the circumstances described in the article of war on the Stela of the Koguryo kingdom and the trends among of the groups of large-scale tumuli in Kinki area were, because there are so many uncertain factors about absolute chronology from the end of the Early Kofun Period through the beginning of the Middle Kofun Period. It is pointed out that among the foreign contacts in the early half period of the 5th Century, the contact with 金官加耶 in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula was especially close (cf. Kumagai, 2001; Tanaka 2005). As regards contacts with the Chinese dynasties, the Five Kings of Wa (倭の五王) began to send diplomatic missions to the Song（宋）Dynasty. The diplomatic mission sent by King Bu (武) of Wa in 478 was the last one, because the Song Dynasty was destroyed in the next year, 479. Contact with the Chinese dynasties was interrupted until the Mission to the Sui (隋) Dynasty in the year 600, and the contacts with various areas on the Korean Peninsula such as Paekche and so on, were activated instead.

Regarding the trends of the tumulus groups, we can identify the following trends. In the Middle Kofun Period, on-going series of tumuli including the large-scale tumuli of the Kinki, began to be constructed simultaneously over broad areas where tumuli had not been constructed previously (Tsude, 1988). As on-going series of tumuli during the Early Kofun Period and that in the Middle Kofun Period are often consecutive and overlapping, the construction of these series of tumuli during this period can be seen as a reorganization of interregional relationships. The construction area of large-scale tumuli inside the Kinki region moved to the Furuichi tumulus group or the Mozu tumulus group in the Kawachi plain where the scale of the keyhole-shaped tumuli of the great kings attained their peak. Large-scale keyhole-shaped tumuli as large as those of the great kings were also constructed also in Okayama Prefecture. As far as the scale of the tumulus is concerned, the tumuli of the great kings are not necessarily the largest (Shiraishi, 1999/2000). The range of construction areas of the keyhole-shaped tumuli attained their maximum configuration. The northern limit was the Tsunozuka Tumulus in Iwate Prefecture. In southern Kyushu, the Yokose tumulus, with a scale of 140 meters, was constructed in Kagoshima Prefecture and the area around the Ohsumi Peninsula became the approximate southern limit of the keyhole-shaped tumuli. In their periphery, there are areas which did not adopt the Kofun culture (Kawano, 2005).

When we examine the various regions, we note that there came about situations that look as if the chief representatives of the area corresponding to the administrative units of Ancient State made an appearance. Such examples occurred in the southern part of Kyoto and in Okayama Prefecture which constitute examples of the trend of conspicuously large-scale keyhole-shaped tumuli constructed in several regions from the early half through the middle of the 5th Century (Wada, 1994). However, this development was so

temporary that it does not stably survive for several generations,after the latter half of the 5th Century. From the latter half of the 5th Century through the first half of the 6th Century, in Youngsan river basin area of the southern part of Korean Peninsula, keyhole-shaped tumuli (長鼓 Tumulus) accompanied by earthenware cylinders were produced, a development that was probably brought about by the relationship between Wa and Paekche in that time (Chosen Society sources, 2002).

When the trends related to mortuary goods are examined, in the Middle Kofun Period, the prestige goods of the former period such as Sankakubuchi-Shinjukyo type mirrors or bracelet-shaped jasper ornaments disappear, and iron weapons and arms became the mainstream. During the first half of the Middle Kofun Period, the production and distribution of iron armor and helmets such as Sankakuban-kawatoji/byodome-tanko (armor made with iron triangular boards held together with leather thongs/metal pins), or Shoukakutsuki-kabuto (helmets with metal protrusions) which were buried as mortuary goods in every area, were produced. In Baicho small square tumuli (陪塚) within a large-scale tumulus group in Kinki area, these iron items were buried in massive quantities as mortuary goods and we can observe that the quantity of consumption of ironware is far more important in the Kinki area than in other areas. From the latter half of the Middle Kofun Period, from the time that the Five Kings of Wa dispatched a mission to Song Dynasty onward, bronze mirrors of the same size/design made from same originals, such as Gamontai-shinjukyo type mirrors (画文帯神獣鏡) and Gazokyo type mirrors (画象鏡 figured mirrors), distributed throughout the archipelago. Iron swords and sabers inscribed with the words, "rule the world (治天下)" from the latter half of the 5th Century through the 6th Century were unearthed.

We now review the real situation of the relationship among regions, its mechanism, and the identity resulting from it in the Middle Kofun Period, based on the archeological records mentioned above. From the end of the Early to the beginning of the Middle Kofun period, we can observe over broad areas simultaneous repercussions of the changes in the tumuli series over time and changes in the main mortuary goods. For instance, in the burial of mortuary goods like iron armor and helmets, we can observe that just as was the case of mirrors in the Early Kofun Period, the chronological position of the mortuary goods changes correspond to the time of Tumuli when they were built (Fujita, 1988). From this we can conjecture that the renewal of the relationships with the Yamato polity took place at every generation in the local elite. Seeing that the appearance of the conspicuously large-scale keyhole-shaped tumuli continued only for a brief moment of time, we must conclude that the situation of governing the regions corresponding to the administrative unit of Ancient State of Japan was unstable. Related to what we argued above, the stage of the the Middle Kofun period can be described as being a situation might be named the prestige good system of the Middle Kofun Period, basically succeeding the situation in the Early Kofun Period. Based on this interpretation, it is reasonable to view the change from

the Early period to the Middle Period as a "renewal" of the prestige good system of the Early Kofun Period that became the prestige good system of the Middle Kofun Period, as Kawano (1998) points out. The relation vectors between regions or between local elite having become more complex than those in the former period, this period is characterized by the fact that the activities proper to each region, such as the relations between regions or between a region and the Korean Peninsula, other than the relations between Kinki and these regions became more explicit. Our position, derived from analyzing the former period is that the Yamato polity changes in strategy from one period to another caused the move of the tumuli other locations, such as the move of the large-scale tumuli from the Nara basin to the Kawachi plain, establishing the focal point of their stronghold, i.e., the Court, inside the Nara basin and developing a new frontier for tumuli in this period (cf. Kondo, 1983; Kumagai, 2001; Yoshimura, 2001). The Middle Kofun Period can be seen as the peak of the construction of many large-scale tumuli and the prestige good system because large quantities of prestige goods such as iron weapons and arms were widely distributed and consumed during this period.

Here the fundamental question concerns the degree of maturity of the political ruling system in the archipelagic society at the stage of this period, and the concrete image of "Tenka (天下)" in the expression "The Great King who ruled the world (治天下大王)" (cf. Otsu, 1999; Kumagai, 2001; Kawamoto and 2002/2003/2005). According to the inscriptions on the iron saber unearthed at the Inariyama tumulus excavation in Saitama Prefecture and on the iron sword at the Etafunayama tumulus excavation in Kumamoto Prefecture during the period of the Great king Wakatakeru in the latter half of the 5th Century at the latest, a political relationship that can be named "a man-based system (人制)" administered by functionaries called Tensoujin (典曹人: functionary) or Jotoujin (杖刀人: sword carrying official) dispatched to the central government by the local elite in every region (Yoshimura, 1993) would have been established. It is pointed out that the distribution pattern of this "man-based system" and the mirrors of the same size/design could have coincided to a certain degree (Azuma, 2002). Concerning the "identity" issue, the most fundamental question is what relationships there were between the distribution range of the keyhole-shaped tumuli and the prestige goods and the expression "conquered 55 countries of eastern hairy races, 66 countries of the western strangers, and 95 countries in the north beyond the sea (東征毛人五十五国，西服衆夷六十六国，渡平海北九十五国)" in the chronicle of Song (宋書). The question of the mismatch between the "naming oneself" and "being named" of "Wakoku King Bu (倭王武)" should also be studied. We will review them in another chapter.

(4) From the latest 5th Century through the 6th Century (The Late Kofun Period)

From the latest 5th Century through the 6th Century, various archeologically detectable changes took place. One of the most important changes is the creation and the wide

adoption of the chamber tomb of the Kinai畿内 (Kinki) type (Habuta,1998). From studying unearthed human bones, it can be pointed out that it is after the latter half of 5th Century that patrilineal ideology was adopted (Tanaka 1995), and not only mortuary ritual but also the principles of kinship relations began to fundamentally change accordingly, we can surmise.

Concerning changes in historical trends related to the tumuli themselves, the construction of tumuli which, in the 5th Century, tended to be centered in such regions as the Furuichi and Mozu tumuli groupings, came to an end, and tumuli for the Great Kings began to become conspicuous. Such large-scale keyhole-shaped tumuli exceeding 200 meters came to be limited to the Great Kings' tumuli in Kinki region and the overall number of large-scale tumuli construction in provincial regions dropped. We can surmise from many examples of areas where in the 6th Century, the distribution pattern shows that a single tumulus corresponded to one regional unit of the old "gun(郡)", administrative unit of Ancient State of size and that the local chiefs later become the "gun" administrators (郡司) appeared already in this period. Another drastic change that took place simultaneously with this in the Late Kofun Period is the appearance of the mass small-sized tumuli, which can be seen as active segmentalization of developing collateral kinship groups resulting from the advance and development of patrilineal society (Tanaka, 1995). From the latter half to the end of the 6th Century, the construction of the keyhole-shaped tumuli that had taken place in every archipelagic region except in a part of the area in Eastern Japan, came to an end which should probably be seen to signify that a change in the regional ruling structure itself in every region was taking place.

Concerning contact with the outside of archipelago during this period, diplomatic missions were not sent to the Northern Wei (北魏) Dynasty, etc., but there was frequent contact with such areas as Paekche and other areas of the Korean Peninsula, including the Youngsan River basin area, in which construction of key-hole type tumuli ended around the second quarter of the 6th Century (cf. Park, 2002).

Major mortuary goods during this period were iron decorated swords and sabers and harness items with gold decoration in place of iron armors and helmets. These items, by the time of the 6th Century, most being produced in Kinki area near the seat of the Yamato polity, distributed and were buried as mortuary goods in tumuli and mass small-sized tumuli in every region, preserving discrimination for different ranks (Niiro, 1983 and 2002). Concerning the decorated swords, we can conjecture a very complex distribution process involving relations with influential clans inside the Yamato polity, as can be observed in the conspicuous regional differences depending on the kind of ring head (環頭) of the various types of swords.

As can be seen from the phenomena described above, we surmise the change that took place from the Middle Kofun Period to the Late Kofun Period as follows. As the change in large-scale tumulus groups and the change in the major mortuary goods went on almost

side by side, we can conjecture that reorganization of relationships among regions throughout the entire archipelago was taking place, just like the change from the Early to the Middle Kofun Period. We can surmise also that the creation of the clan system (ウヂ) and reorganization of local elite was developing as a consequence of the solidification of the family unit and the stable consolidation of the production unit, resulting from the development of the patrilineal society (Tanaka, 1995; Iwanaga, 2003). As regards the trend of prestige goods and the like concerning this point mentioned above, it is possible to find mortuary goods such as decorated swords and harness items in keyhole-shaped tumuli and mass small-sized tumuli like the former period, but the social hierarchy   depends on the principles of relatives consisting of the patrilineal direct kinship and collateral kinship system which is different from the situation up to the Middle Kofun Period in which the acquisition and consumption of prestige goods were inseparably embedded in the process of social reproduction. The situation in the 6th Century seen as the preceding period before the Taika （大化） Reform can be seen as a stage at which a new more substantial regional ruling system was going to make its appearance, ending the unstable and fluid center-periphery relationships that were in place and functioning before the 5th Century. We can surmise that because of this new situation that was developing, such administrational systems and as the Beminsei (部民制: political system of owning people for production), Kuninomiyatsuko system (国造制: system of regional chieftains), and Miyake system (ミヤケ制: system of granary for storing harvests) were rapidly organized (Yoshida, 1973 and 2005; Kano, 1993; Iwanaga, 2003).

In this sense, the transition from the Middle period to the Late period of the Kofun period, was an epoch-making period, in which changing the bilateral kinship relation into a patrilineal one and changing the mortuary ritual and other changes were interacting to each other, and from the viewpoint of the prestige good system, the infrastructure indispensably supporting a more substantial centralized system, were being organized, after the departure from/going beyond prestige good system where power relationships had been organized by acquirement and consumption of prestige goods from the 3rd through the 5th Century. Thus, it can be seen that this change prepared the basis on which to establish the Ancient Ritsuryo State of Japan.

4.Discussion

(1) The prestige good system and social change during the Yayoi and Kofun periods

Based on the arguments mentioned above, we can summarize as follows the societal change from the Yayoi period through the Kofun period, from the viewpoint of the prestige good system:

The latter half of the Middle Yayoi Period can be seen as the dawn of the prestige good

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system in the northern part of Kyushu, mediated by the contact with Lelang. In the former half of the Late Yayoi Period, the prestige goods of the former periods did not develop continually, but ritual involved the use of large-sized bronzeware flourished in the northern Kyushu and Kinki area. In the latter half of the Late Yayoi Period, although chiefdom society manifested itself, specific prestige goods were not distributed by specific centers to broad areas, and rather were distributed restrictively. By the Latest Yayoi Period, i.e., the stage at which political federation cosupporting Himiko was established, the federation can be surmised as an unstable one gathered around "an invisible devine kingship" rather than the a ruler established by the prestige good system because we cannot find a broad area integration symbol in the material culture during this period.

The Early Kofun Period can be characterized by the reorganization of the relationship among regions around Kinki area through the massive inflow of the complete Later Han mirrors and Wei-Jin mirrors into Kinki, and by the "invention" – putting-in-order of the mode of mortuary ritual and the adoption of these ritual in every region. In the Early Kofun Period, the centers of acquisition and distribution of prestige goods were centralized around the Yamato polity, and the unstable, fluid relationships and the competition for acquisition of prestige goods as symbols of legitimate power at the moment of chieftains' death or of alternation of generation in every region developed, which can be seen as the process of the prestige good system of the Early Kofun Period, established in the beginning of the Kofun Period.

In the Middle Kofun Period, the prestige good system is renewed in such a way that the major construction series of tumuli were changing along with the simultaneously changing major prestige goods in parallel with the changing international situation in East Asia. The scale of the keyhole-shaped Tumulus attained its maximum in this period, which can be seen as the peak of the prestige good system, from which broad area political relationship renewable at the alternation of generation, such as "Great King who ruled the world (治天下大王)" or "Man-based System (人制)" in the latter half of the 5th Century. This development attained its maximal limit in the period of the Great King Wakatakeru (獲加多支鹵大王). This was a period when there was an unstable political situation inside the archipelago. This was also the period of the downfall of Song Dynasty that probably contributed indirectly to general unrest. Construction of the large-scale tumuli such as Furuichi and Mozu tumulus groups in the former half of the 6th Century (the construction of the Mozu tumulus group finished toward the end of the 5th Century). And the disappearance of most of prestige goods of the Middle Kofun Period symbolize the reorganization of the relationship between regions of this period. Further, in Sixth century, the prominence of the Great Kings' tumuli as those represented by Imashirozuka Tumuli in Osaka and Misemaruyama tumuli in Nara, manifested itself around this time.

The Late Kofun period, which is the stage at which much of the basic administrative infrastructure was established, hastened by the segmentation of the collateral family

branches resulting from the growth of patrilineal society and by the development of pioneering new land (Tanaka, 1995) and these changes can be seen to be the stage of departure from/going beyond the prestige good system in the sense that the acquisition-usage-consumption of prestige goods by the local elite was no longer the necessary and sufficient condition of social reproduction, though something like "prestige goods" was still existing. It was rather a stage at which preparations for establishing the system of the ruling over individual persons and of the more centralized political dominance, on condition that units of production stably continue to work for production. So we can includes this stage in the category of "the pre-stage of the State" (Tokumoto, 1975; Iwanaga, 2003 and 2006).

In the process as mentioned above, the society of the archipelago contacted the outside world in the form of the continent and the Korean Peninsula, i.e., the advanced area of East Asia, such as the Han Dynasty and its outpost like Lelang-Daifang. This also included such areas as Wei, Western Jin; the Song Dynasties and Paekche and Gaya also existed at this time and as a consequence, developed the prestige good system inside. After the 5th Century, the Yamato polity developed the prestige good system on the basis of the Wa-version conception of "Tenka (天下)" found in the expression "Great King who ruled the world (治天下大王)" by analogy with the Chinese conception "天下". As pointed out before, what is found here is a formation of a dual structure consisting of the center-periphery relation centered on the Chinese dynasties in East Asia and the center-periphery relation centered around the Kinki area inside the archipelago. Here, it is possible to discern how the process of the state formation in the archipelago advanced on the basis of, for instance, the prestige good system in the peripheral areas of East Asia.

(2) The formation of Wajin society identity seen from the prestige good system

From the Early to the Middle Kofun period (from the middle of the 3rd Century through the 5th Century), the prestige good system developed in establishing relationships with Wei-Western Jin Dynasties and with the Chinese Southern Dynasty (Song) and various areas on the Korean Peninsula. What we can confirm here is that the Yamato polity, representing the archipelago vis-à-vis the outside world, managed to advance, if unstably and fluid, establishing relations with local elite of every region of the archipelago, by means of the prestige good system, while the foreign areas they contacted changed one after another, as the international situation in East Asia changed (See Note 11). As has been seen above, the group unit carrying out construction series of tumuli renewed its relationship with the Yamato polity by acquiring and consuming prestige goods at the occasion of the chieftain's death or the alternation of generation. Concretely speaking, this process shows that regional societies and their identity were based on such group units in reality, and were included and coexisting in/with the concept of "Tenka (天下)", as imagined by the ruling elite at this historical stage. Analyzing the expression in Wao Bu's

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(倭王武: Wakoku King Bu's) report, the expression "conquered 55 countries of eastern hairy races, 66 countries of the western strangers, and 95 countries in the north beyond the sea (東征毛人五十五国，西服衆夷六十六国，渡平海北九十五国)" in the chronicle of Song (宋書), it is considered that the "mojin (毛人: hairy race)" and "shuui (衆夷: alien race)" were not outside but inside Tenka (天下) of Wakoku (Azuma,2002), just as such the recognition that the "hairy races" and "alien races" were the various powers in Eastern Japan and Wajin society of the western Japan (Ishigami 1987), just as such as the recognition that they were various ethnic groups in the peripheral areas (Tanaka 2004) , so I surmise that the group unit (i.e., group unit corresponding to one of the on-going construction tumuli groups) constituting a regional society, probably corresponds to the "kuni (国: country)" in the Wao Bu's report.

When we argue the question of development of the perceived "identity" of Wajin society in a broad sense, it is necessary to distinguish the concept "Tenka (天下)" from the politically dominating area in reality. Having a political relationship and being politically dominated are not necessarily equivalent. The "naming oneself" of "Wakoku King Bu" includes below: "Wa"(倭) along with "Paekche"(百済), "Silla" (新羅), Minama (任那), Kara (加羅), "Shinkan" (秦韓) and "Bakan" (慕韓)". This allows us to conjecture that the ruling class of Wakoku of that time wished to have political dominance over the entire area including various areas on the Korean Peninsula. However, Paekche was never acknowledged. Based on the fact that not only mortuary goods partially similar to those of Wa but also a lot of artifacts of Paekche culture are unearthed in the keyhole-shaped tumuli in the Youngsan river basin, it would be difficult to include those various areas on the Korean Peninsula into the political dominance area of the Yamato polity on a real basis. The answer to the question concerning whether all the distribution ranges of the prestige goods of the Middle Kofun Period and the keyhole-shaped tumuli were equivalent to the area politically dominated by the Yamato polity is not affirmative for all cases. One of the major reasons for this is that, as we have seen above, is the various political relationships centered around Kinki area mediated by the prestige good system, were developing but were unstable and subject to fluctuations. For example, the statistical distribution of unearthed mirrors of similar types of the Middle Kofun Period is only scattered, and does not directly mean territory of domination or social integration by Yamato polity. Therefore, I surmises that on the basis of the identity of each regional society, the actuality of political domination by the Yamato polity at this stage was dependent on direct point-to-point personal relationships with each regional chieftain being reestablished and renewed at every change of generation. So it is pointed out that the stage at which the identity of the various regional societies and the identity of the dominant elite were integrated into one single identity across the entire archipelago, was essentially equivalent to the formation of the State. The Kofun period, in which qualitative maturing of the society took place as mentioned above, this development advanced step by step and can be seen as a preparatory

stage for the formation of the State.

When this view is used, the relationship established between regions by means of the prestige good system from the 3rd through the 5th Century can be seen as qualitatively different from the center-periphery relationship from the latter half of the 5th Century through the 6th Century onward. It is important that from the latter half of the 5th Century through the 6th Century, i.e., in the Late Kofun period, an epoch-making qualitatively pivotal change in kinship relations (Tanaka 1995), mortuary practice (Habuta 1998), and in trend of constructing tumuli and manufacturing (Wada 2003/2004), etc., as pointed out from various viewpoints, took place in parallel with the establishment of order on the basis of a substantial centralized political dominating system. In this respect, as Seigo Wada points out, it is difficult to synthesize the Early and Middle period where a chiefdom confederacy manifested itself and the Late Kofun Period, and thereafter, where regional dominance was established, into a single phase (Wada 2004). As argued above, the statistical distribution range and its background of the keyhole-shaped tumuli changed from period to period and the formation of identity in every regional society developed in a complex way. The substantial formation process of the State can be seen as closely linked with the problem of how to convert from the unstable prestige good system depending on the external authority and the distribution of the prestige goods to political domination based on a more substantial production/management unit.

5.Conclusions

We have reviewed the societal change from the Yayoi period through the Kofun period by examining the prestige good system and identity. As regarding the actual images that have been discussed up to this point, as was stated in the foreword, the viewpoint discussed here agrees with that of Anazawa and Kawano, i.e., that the latter half of the Middle Yayoi Period and the Early and the Middle Kofun Period as the prestige good system, and with the recognition of several predecessor archaeologists that find an important phase transition between the Early and Middle Period and the Late Kofun Period. The author's original argument differed from the conventional recognition concerning the prestige good system and can be summarized in the following 3 points:

1. Being different from the conventional viewpoints that attempt to explain the society of the archipelago in the Latest Yayoi Period as the the prestige good system centered around Himiko in the Yamataikoku, the author argues, a broad range prestige good system extending across the entire archipelago was established in the beginning of the Kofun period and rapidly developed, in parallel with the invention of mortuary ritual to be carried out at keyhole-shaped tumuli.

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2. Being different from the conventional viewpoints that consider the Kofun period as a tribal confederacy or as Early State, the author argues that the Early and the Middle Kofun Period was a process of establishment and development of a broad area prestige good system, and in the Late Kofun Period, the basis of more substantial political domination developed, in parallel with various changes in kinship relations etc.

3. The author explains the prestige good system in the Early and the Middle Kofun Period as consisting of unstable, fluid, and competitive relationships centered around the Yamato polity that was distributing prestige goods to local chiefly elite in all regions, who acquired the prestige goods at the moment of the preceding chieftain's death or at each generation.

As is mentioned in Chapter 2, this paper intends to suggest an archeological model of the prestige good system, taking into account the archaeological phenomena in Japanese archipelago, on the basis of the preceding arguments concerning the prestige good system. When all the related factors are reviewed, it can be concluded that the social evolutionary process followed by the author's model differs from that followed by the epigenetic model developed by Friedman and Rowlands (1977). In addition, the studies carried out by Earle (1991) and by Kristiansen (1991) also point out that the difference between staple finance and wealth finance results in a different structure of chiefdom society and a different process of the state formation that occurs thereafter. It will be necessary to explain the process of the social evolution discussed in this paper as a model of the agricultural society proper existing in the Japanese archipelago. Therefore, the prestige good system of the archipelago cannot simply be compared to a prestige good system that a nomadic people has as its base of existence. With this fact in mind, the author recognizes that there is a necessity to carry out further studies, comparing various prestige good systems, using the infrastructure factors as a starting point.

The social evolution in the Japanese archipelago, as pointed out by Izumi Niino (2002), is valuable as an example of a society that, never invaded or ruled by outer state, evolved , keeping itself at a certain distance from the outside world. The author's future research will be to ask what will be discovered, if we compare the prestige good system as mentioned in this paper, with the cases of other various Asian areas such as Korean Peninsula, China, and South East Asia, or with the case of the center-periphery relation in Europe (Rowlands, *et al.*1987), or with the case of the formation of the State in the New World (See Note 12).

Note 1: For points of controversy related to Tsude's work on the theory of Early States and State formation (1991, 1996, 2005), see the following: (Iwanaga: 1991, 1992, 2002, 2003 and 2006; Ishigami, 1992; Suzuki, 1996; Yoshida, 1998b; Wada, 1998, 2000, and 2004; Sato, 2002; Sasaki, 2004, etc.).

Note 2:   In the Japanese archaeology, the term "ishinzai 威信財" (prestige goods) is frequently used with such meanings as "goods that shows prestige," or "status symbols." Therefore, regardless of the era or particular area involved, mortuary goods that are unearthed from graves being excavated and other items obtained through long distance trade tend to be classified as "prestige goods". For instance, there are cases in which they say that "prestige goods" existed even in the Jomon Period, or they call the ceramic items or the castles of the Japanese Middle Ages "prestige goods" in a broad sense. These items might certainly have characteristics of "prestige goods", but readers would understand that it is impossible to call the societal system of the Jomon Period or of the Middle Ages a "prestige good system" in the sense of the "prestige good system" argued in this paper. When discussing a specific material culture as regards prestige goods, the critical point is whether that cultural system itself results from the prestige good system as argued in this paper.

Note 3:   In addition, as a recent trend, prestige goods are classified into "distribution type", "circulation type" (Ohga 2003; Ishimura 2004).

Note 4:   In this paper, regarding the absolute chronology referred to, the discussion will refer to the specific periods listed as follows: the latter part of the Middle Yayoi Period corresponding to the 1st Century B.C., the Late period to the Latest period of the Yayoi Period corresponding to the 1st through the early half the period of the 3rd Century A.D., the Early Kofun Period corresponding to the middle of the 3rd Century through the 4th Century, the Middle Kofun Period corresponding to the period around the 5th Century, the Late Kofun Period corresponding to the end of the 5th Century through the 6th Century.

Note 5:   This logic is applicable to Sankakubuchi-shinjukyo but not necessarily applicable to all the imitated mirrors. As there is a time lag between the actual date of production and the time when the item buried in many cases of the imported mirrors (Han mirrors, Wei-Jin mirrors), it is impossible to use the imported mirrors as an indicator.

Note 6: It is only after the Nara Era that the mutual reconfiramation between the king and the retainers at the moment of generation change ceased to be practiced.

Note 7: For instance, in the case of Yamaguchi Prefecture, regional difference is perceivable such as that in Kumage region (Yanai Chausuyama tumulus and Shiratori tumulus), the imitated mirrors during the latter half of the Early Kofun Period are unearthed, whereas in Asa region (Choukoujiyama tumulus/Matsuzaki tumulus, etc.), Sankakubuchi-shinjukyo type mirrors are unearthed (Tsujita, 2005c).

Note 8: This concept proposed by Hiroyuki Kawanishi (2000) classifies the distribution of Sankakubuchi-shinjukyo in the Early Kofun Period as the "trip downward" in which someone in the central polity carries the mirror downwards, which after the middle of the 5th Century, changed into the "trip upward", in which some regional chieftain makes a trip to the central polity to acquire a mirror. The author surmises that the trip upward to Kinki was in practice for distributing and acquiring the goods over a broad area during the Kofun period, as Shimogaki (2003) and Morishita (2005) point out.

Note 9: In connection with this matter, it is pointed out that the tendency of fixing the place for constructing the chieftains' tumuli, manifested itself after the latter half of the 5th century (Habuta, 2004).

Note 10: Katsuyasu Kawaguchi, basing his views on the form of the inscriptions found on the iron swords unearthed at the Etafunayama tumulus excavation, points out that the gifting of iron swords within the area of the Japanese archipelago has its roots in similar gifting practices in the Chinese dynasties and would have been practiced by the great King (大王) down to lesser local elite, and similarly still down to someone else, etc. (Kawaguchi, 1987 and 1993) inside the archipelago.

Note 11: As general background, it can be surmised that although there were changes in the Imperial dynasties, the structure of the relationships with surrounding areas tended to be maintained, which was a special characteristic of the East Asia world. (Nishijima 2000)

Note 12: This paper was made by modifying Tsujita (2006b) to which Figures 1 and 2 have been added and some minor revisions have been carried out. I would like to extend thanks for their help to the following persons who are involved on a daily basis in teaching related subjects: Yoshiyuki Tanaka, Shozo Iwanaga, Kazuo Miyamoto and Koji Mizoguchi. In addition, I would like to thank the participants of the COE Workshop for their valuable comments.

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