

The Production of *Haniwa* and State Formation in Japan

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the nature of and temporal change in the craft organization of haniwa ceramic objects from the middle third to early sixth centuries AD in Japan. Haniwa production was a vital aspect of elite mortuary rituals that played an important role in the state formation process. The central polity developed a fixed set of mortuary rituals that utilized haniwa, and various local regions adopted this set of mortuary rituals. Production techniques evolved in the central polity and local polities at the same time, suggesting that the central polity maintained direct relationship with local polities, and the author argues for the strength of the central polity. The author also re-examines the relative chronology of cylindrical haniwa that were placed on the mound surfaces of giant keyhole-shaped mounded tombs or kofun. Since these kofun are considered as the burials of the highest-ranking elites who took turns to occupy the throne of the central polity, the author's new chronological framework suggests a continuity of the central polity from its location in the Nara basin in the fourth century to the Osaka plain in the fifth century.

KEYWORDS: Technological organization, craft specialization, center-periphery relationship, state formation, Japan

I. Research on *Haniwa* in the Context of State Formation in Japan

This paper discusses the structure of the central polity and relationships between the central polity and local elites in Kofun-Period (middle third to sixth centuries AD) Japan from the perspective of *haniwa* production. *Haniwa* were ceramic objects that were placed in rows in large quantities on the surface of elite mounded tombs called *kofun*. They are classified into cylindrical *haniwa* (Figure 1) and representational *haniwa* modelled after various objects (for good synthesis in Japanese, see Jōkura 2012, Takahashi 2012).

It was during the Kofun Period when society in Japan evolved toward the state. The Kofun Period is characterized by the construction of giant keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and the sharing of the standardized keyhole shape for elite burials. Archaeological studies on the state formation process have become especially active since 1991, following Tsude Hiroshi's (1991, in English 2006) proposition that Kofun Period society could be considered

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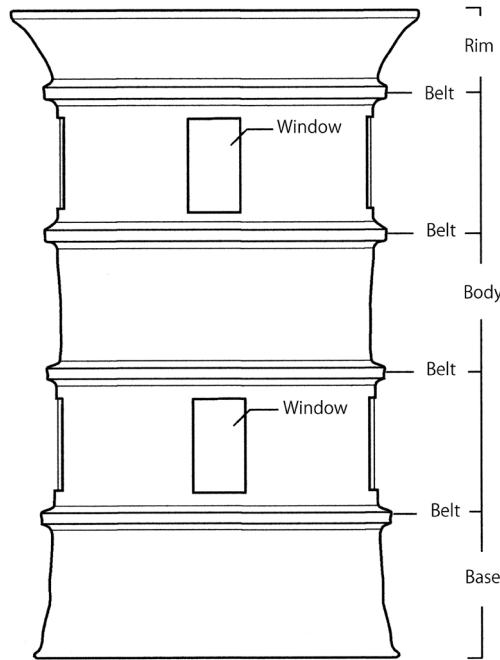


Figure 1. Terminology of Cylindrical Haniwa

at the level of an “early state,” a concept adapted from Classen and Skalnik (1981, 1986).

At present, debate continues as to when Japanese society crossed the threshold of the state during the 300 years of the Kofun Period. Disagreement stems from the fundamentally different positions of whether the strong central polity controlled local polities or whether autonomous local polities were independent from the central polity. In recent years, the latter position has been gaining support (e.g. Hōjō 1999; Hōjō, Mizoguchi and Murakami 2000; Ōkubo 2002). The author disagrees with the latter position because it does not fully explain why various local regions of Japan adopted the fixed set of mortuary practices, developed by the central polity. In other words, the latter position does not account for the central polity’s power to use the fixed set of mortuary practices as a mean to gain control over local regions (see Figures 2 and 3 for the locations of sites mentioned).

With this background in mind, the author focuses discussion on the production of *haniwa*, as they were an important element of the construction of mounded tombs, where various rituals, including royal succession, took place. The author draws attention to the spread of *haniwa* to various regions throughout Japan far away from the central polity, temporal change and spatial differences in *haniwa* production systems, the marshalling of craftsmen for *haniwa* production, and the local adoption of *haniwa* for ritual activity. By examining these aspects, the author considers the structure of the central polity and the relationships

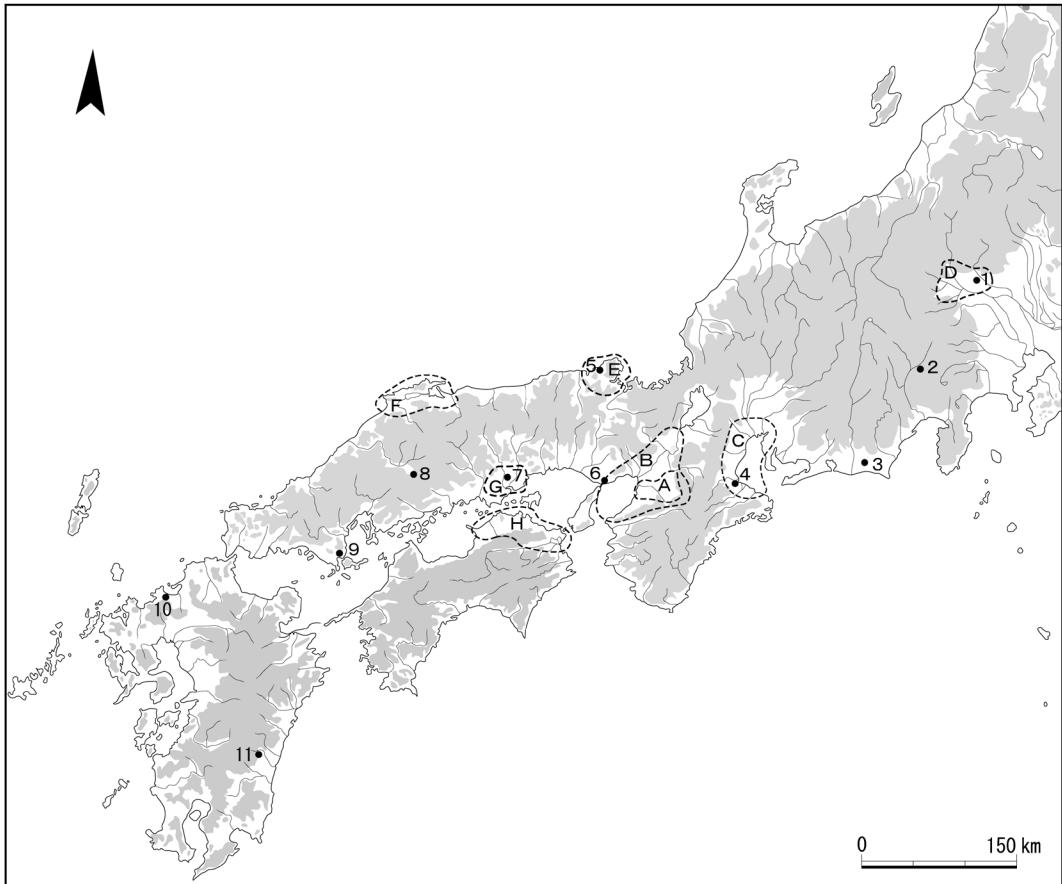


Figure 2. Regions and Sites outside the Central Polity Region

- A. Core Area of the Central Polity Region; B. Peripheral Areas of the Central Polity Region; C Ise Bay Coastal Region, D. Kamitsuke, E. Tango, F. San'in, G. Kibi, H. Eastern Shikoku
1. Ōta-Tenjin'yama, 2. Kai-Chōshizuka, 3. Shōrinzan, 4. Maeda-Machiya, 5. Amino-Chōshiyama, 6. Goshikizuka, 7. Zōzan (Tsukuriyama), 8. Yatani burial mound, 9. Yanai-Chausuyama, 10. Sukisaki, 11. Mesahozuka

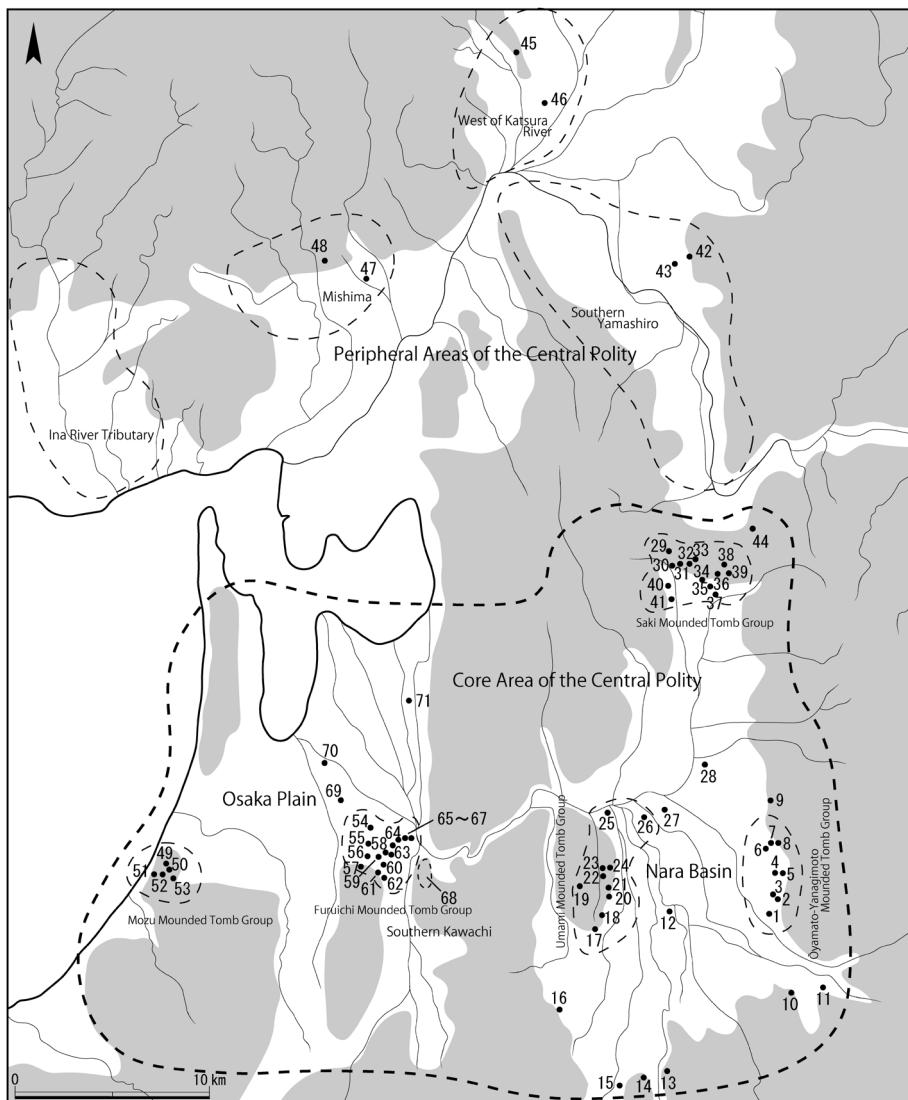
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between the central polity and local polities.

II. Reexamination of Previous Research into the Origin of *Haniwa*

It is widely accepted that ritual pottery stands and accompanying large jars used for rituals in the Late Yayoi Period in the Kibi region (G in Figure 2) evolved into cylindrical *haniwa* and to jar-shaped *haniwa* (Kondō and Harunari 1967; Ugaki 1984, 1997). The surface of

these ritual pottery stands was intricately decorated and painted red. Similarly, the large jars for rituals were painted red and heavily decorated with line incisions. These characteristic forms of pottery are only uncovered from burial mounds presumably of the elite class, and they are considered to have been elite status symbols of the Kibi region at that time. Kondō (Kondō and Harunari 1967) hypothesized that these sets of pottery were used in the ritual offering of food and drink to the dead, and that this ritual practice continued into the subsequent Kofun Period. As a result, a considerable amount of cylindrical *haniwa* and jar-



shaped *haniwa* were produced.

While the author generally supports this hypothesis, he proposes that another type of pottery also contributed to the appearance of jar-shaped *haniwa* in the middle third century. During the transition from the Yayoi to the Kofun Period in the third century, regional polities interacted with one another as evidenced by the active movement of pottery. In this context of regional interaction, the author argues that cylindrical *haniwa* and jar-shaped *haniwa* originated from ritual pottery stands and this second type of pottery.

The type of pottery in question are jars characterized by elaborately decorated rims and shoulders and very finely polished pottery surfaces. They were widely adopted from the late second to early third century, or toward the end of the Yayoi Period, from the Ise Bay coastal region (C in Figure 2) in the east to the central Kinki region (A, B in Figure 2) in the west. Japanese archaeologists suspect that this type of jar was used for rituals that took place atop of low burial mounds, in which food and drinks were offered to the dead. This type of jar was not associated with pottery stands.

This type of decorated jar is further classified into three sub-types, namely sub-type I, II, and III, based on differences in rim morphology. Each sub-type represents a different region, in which each first appeared. Sub-type I is characterized by an upright neck (Figure 4-2), sub-type II by a neck with the upper section wider than the lower section (Figure 4-3), and sub-type III by a rim extending downward (Figure 4-4). Sub-type II originated in the central Kinki region during the Late Yayoi Period (second century AD), and sub-type III originated in the coastal region of Ise Bay during the same period (Taguchi 1981). Decorated jars of sub-type I suddenly appeared in the middle third century when the standardized keyhole-shaped mounded tombs appeared and became dominant in the Early Kofun Period in the

Figure 3. Sites and Areas in the Central Polity Region

1. Hashihaka, 2. Shibutani-Mukaiyama, 3. Uenoyama, 4. Andon'yma, 5. Kushiyama, 6. Nakayama-Ōtsuka, 7. Nishi-Tonozuka, 8. Higashi-Tonozuka, 9. Nishiyama, 10. Mesuriyama, 11. Sakurai-Chausuyama, 12. Kuzumoto-Bentenzuka, 13. Ichio-Hakayama, 14. Wakigami-Kansuzuka, 15. Muro-no-Miyayama, 16. Shinjō-Yashikiyama, 17. Tsukiyama, 18. Shin'yama, 19. Samida-Takarazuka, 20. Nikiyama, 21. Suyama, 22. Nagareyama, 23. Nagareyama-Kita No. 3, 24. Bessho-Shita, 25. Kawai-Ōtsukayama, 26. Shimanoyama, 27. Sasakizuka, 28. Suishōzuka, 29. Gosashi, 30. Misasagi-chō, 31. Saki-Ishizukayama, 32. Saki-Misasagiyama, 33. Maezuka, 34. Ichiniwa, 35. Shimeno, 36. Konabe, 37. Tōin Compound of the Nara Imperial Palace, 38. Hishiage, 39. Uwanabe, 40. Sugawara-Higashi, 41. Hōraisan, 42. Shibagahara, 43. Kutsukawa Kurumazuka, 44. Kawaradani, 45. Terado-Ōtsuka, 46. Baba, 47. Imashirozuka, 48. Shin'ike, 49. Daisen, 50. Mozu-Gobyōyama, 51. Chino'oka, 52. Kami'ishizu-Misanzai, 53. Haji-Nisanzai, 54. Tsudō-Shiroyama, 55. Oka-Misanzai, 56. Goteji, 57. Minegazuka, 58. Banjōyama, 59. Hazamiyama, 60. Hakayama, 61. Karusato, 62. Maenoyama, 63. Konda-Gobyōyama, 64. Nakatsuyama, 65. Ichinoyama, 66. Akagozuka, 67. Chō'onji-Kita, 68. Tamateyama, 69. Tsukanomoto, 70. Kyūhōji, 71. Kayafuri No. 1

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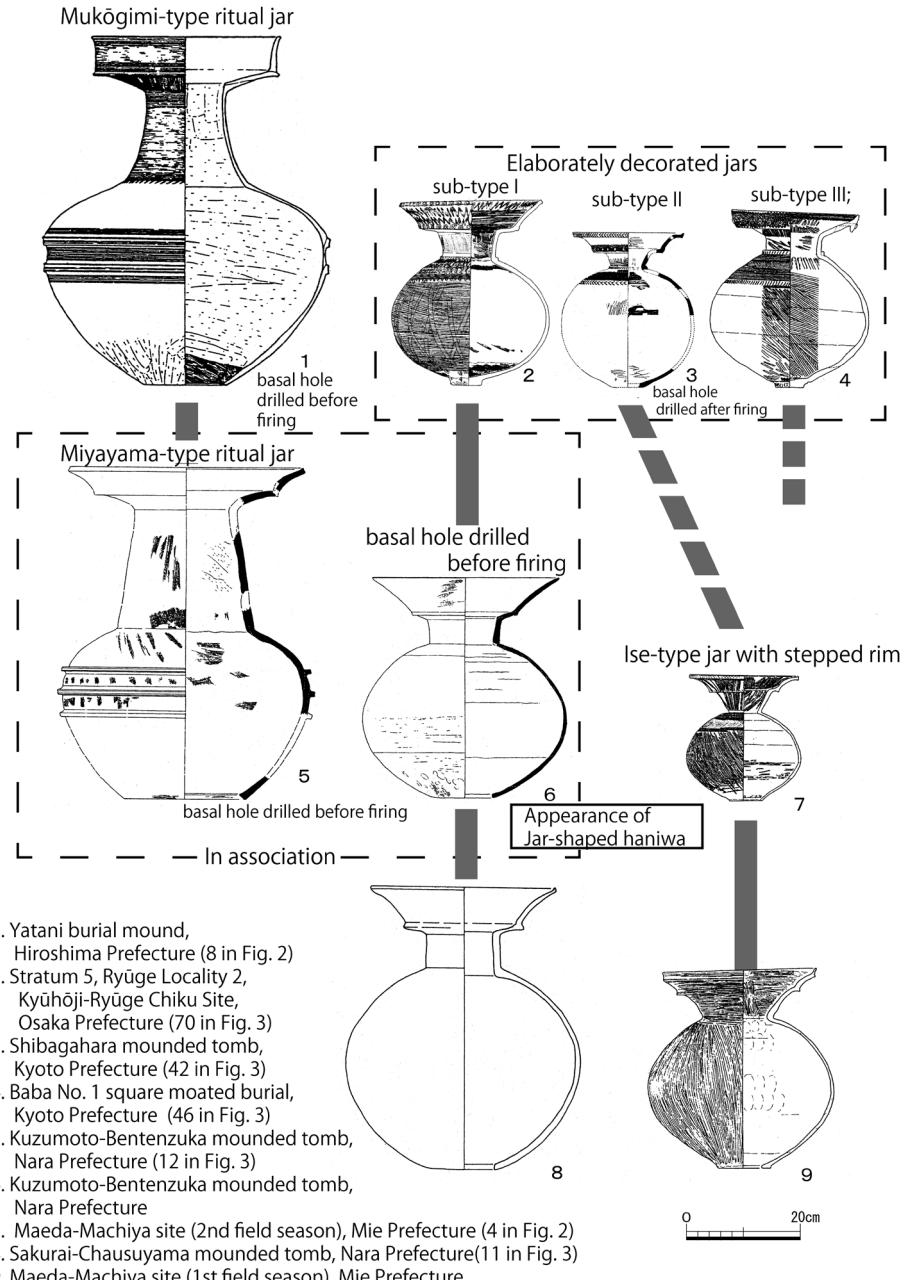


Figure 4. Process of the Emergence of Haniwa

southeastern Nara basin and Osaka plain (see Figure 3). This sub-type may have been the result of mixed adaptations between sub-types II and III. The widespread adoption of these sub-types of decorated jar seems to indicate that an aspect of regional mortuary rituals came to be unified through regional interaction.

Furthermore, this type of decorated jars and the set originating in the Kibi region comprising ritual pottery stands and jars were “combined” in the core area of the central polity (the southeastern Nara basin) as a result of elite regional interaction toward the end of the Yayoi Period. Important changes were also introduced, such as the abandonment of the practical function of the jars and the arrangement of a significant number of these earthenware sets in rows. It was the combination of all of these elements that gave rise to the cylindrical *haniwa* and jar-shaped *haniwa* that characterize the Kofun period (Figure 4). Throughout this paper, the author intends to demonstrate that, by analyzing the process of the temporal change in and the regional adoption of *haniwa*, we can clarify the various relationships between the central polity and local elites based on rituals conducted atop elite mounded tombs.

III. *Haniwa* in the Core Area of the Central Polity

In this chapter, the author reexamines the process of the evolution of cylindrical *haniwa* in the Nara basin and Osaka plain where the central polity was located during the Kofun Period. Although Kawanishi’s (1978) proposal of the basic framework of the cylindrical *haniwa* chronology has been widely accepted, the basis of his research was limited at that time to fragments due to the lack of excavated complete examples. It, therefore, remained difficult for some time to understand the mechanism by which *haniwa* evolved over time. Since then, numerous examples of complete cylindrical *haniwa* have been excavated. Drawing from these data, the author explains the process of temporal change in cylindrical *haniwa* from their appearance to the end of their production, taking into consideration the overall morphology, detailed attributes, and production techniques.

The production techniques newly adopted as ritual pottery stands evolved into cylindrical *haniwa* include the following: 1) A single, thick clay belt attached to the basal portion in order to sustain the weight of the whole cylindrical *haniwa*; 2) a line, broken line or a series of dots in a line marked on the surface to indicate where belts should be affixed so that they could be placed at regular intervals; and 3) the addition of thin bands to reinforce the affixed belts. These three characteristic techniques were all already adopted at the Nishi-Tonozuka mounded tomb (7 in Figure 3) in Tenri City, southeastern Nara basin, where a significant amount of cylindrical *haniwa* was placed in rows atop the mound surface for the first time.

The author’s analysis reveals that a single tradition of *haniwa* production techniques, including the three techniques discussed above, was passed down generation to generation

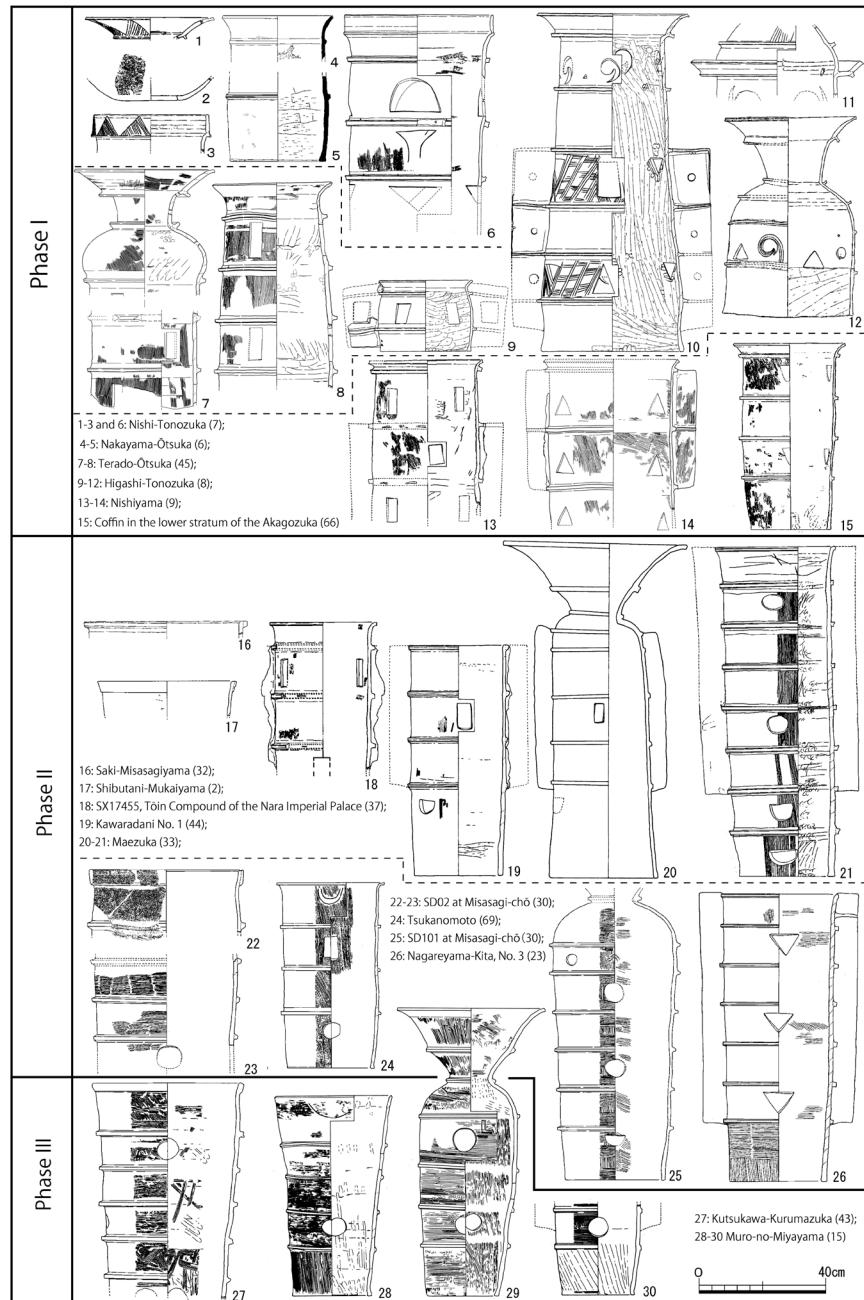


Figure 5. Chronology of Haniwa in the Core Area of the Central Polity (Phases I-III)

(Numbers in parentheses correspond to those in Figure 3 and the list of site reports at the end of this paper)

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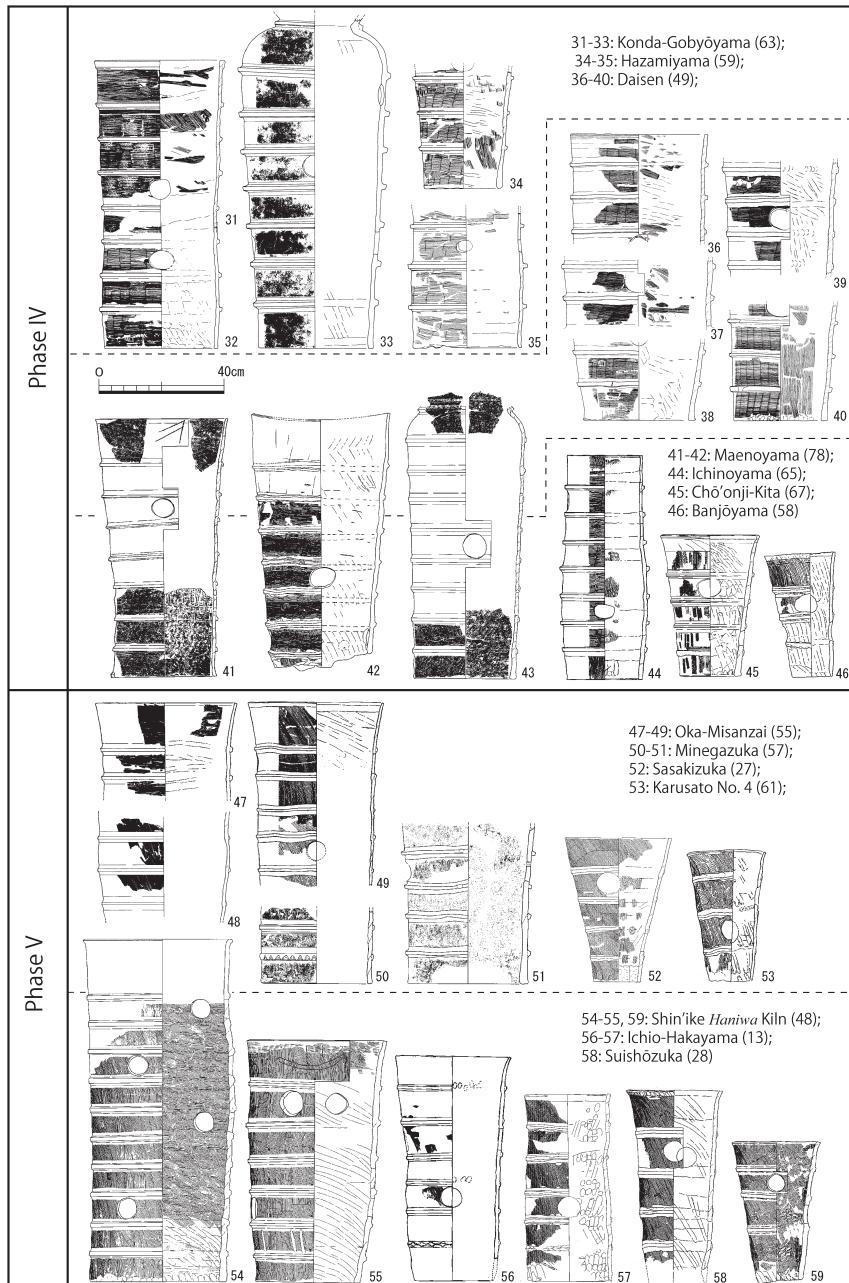


Figure 6. Chronology of Haniwa in the Core Area of the Central Polity (Phases IV–V)
(Numbers in parentheses correspond to those in Figure 3 and the list of site reports at the end of this paper)

throughout the Kofun Period in the Nara basin and Osaka plain (Figures 5 and 6). It is highly likely that groups of *haniwa* craftsmen who were involved in the continued production of cylindrical *haniwa* from the beginning of the Kofun Period. In response to an increased demand for the production and distribution, it is clear that the scale of the *haniwa* production system became larger, and the craftsmen became more and more specialized.

The results of the author's analysis contradict the common assumption that "royal lineages" fluctuated in the Nara basin and Osaka plain during the Kofun Period¹. This argument is based on the observation that the location of the largest keyhole-shaped mounded tomb shifted from one tomb group to another among the five spatially distinctive tomb groups in the Nara basin and Osaka plain (e.g. Tsude 1988; Fukunaga 1999a). The results of the author's analysis reveal that the temporal change seen in the *haniwa* production of the central polity was so systematic that it is highly likely that the foundation of the *haniwa* production system remained more or less unchanged, regardless of which royal lineage within the central polity, represented in the mounded tomb groups of the core area, *haniwa* were produced from.

IV. The Adoption and Development of *Haniwa* in Areas Surrounding the Central Polity

In this chapter, the author examines the process of the temporal change in cylindrical *haniwa* in regions surrounding the Nara basin and Osaka plain (Figure 3), namely, the area to the immediate west of the Katsura river (present southwestern Kyoto Prefecture; Tsude 1981), the southern part of the ancient province of Yamashiro (southern corner of the present Kyoto Prefecture; Wada 1988, 1994), the ancient county of Mishima (northern corner of the present Osaka Prefecture), the Ina river tributary (northwestern corner of the present Osaka Prefecture and southeastern corner of the present Hyōgo Prefecture; Seike 2001, Hirose 2003b, 2011, Tanaka 2010), and the southern part of the ancient province of Kawachi (southern half of the present central Osaka Prefecture). The results of the author's analysis indicate that *haniwa* production techniques originating in the central polity region were constantly introduced to these areas directly. This suggests that from the very start of the Kofun Period elites of the central polity and local elites in these areas shared various rituals through *haniwa* production.

It is important to note that the local *haniwa* production in these areas did not continue from the Early to Middle Kofun Period, or from the fourth to fifth centuries. It is evident

¹ [Editor's note] Japanese archaeologists tend to assume that mounded tombs built over some time in a single mounded tomb group represents a cemetery of elites of a single lineage (e.g. Tsude 1988, 1990). Because bone preservation in Japan is very poor, this hypothesis largely remains untested but widely accepted.

that information about *haniwa* production was adopted intermittently, attending each construction of a mounded tomb by local elites. In the Mukō Mounded Tomb Group (45, 46 in Figure 3) in the area to the immediate west of the Katsura river and the Tamateyama Mounded Tomb Group (68 in Figure 3) in the southern part of the ancient province of Kawachi, the construction of elite mounded tombs continued from the beginning of the Kofun Period. Even in these mounded tomb groups, characteristic aspects of *haniwa* changed every time a new mounded tomb was built. To put it in other words, *haniwa* in these local areas did not change smoothly over time. This suggests that a relationship between the central polity and local elites was “renewed” every time a local elite died.

In the first half of the Early Kofun Period (the late third and early fourth centuries), *haniwa* were not standardized within the central polity but were rather diverse in terms of production techniques and detailed morphology (Figure 5, Nos. 1–6, 9–12). Local elites of surrounding areas selectively adopted aspects of the *haniwa* of the central polity. Consequently, the *haniwa* adopted by mounded tombs in surrounding areas were distinctive from one mounded tomb to another (Figure 5, Nos. 7–8, 13–15).

From the second half of the Early Kofun Period (the middle and late fourth century), the production techniques and morphology of *haniwa* became standardized and evolved over time without any discontinuities (Figure 5, Nos. 16–18, 27–30). Although the author suspects that local elites in areas surrounding the central polity adopted information about and the production techniques of *haniwa* every time a mounded tomb was built, temporal change in their morphology and production techniques was nevertheless very smooth.

Based on the above, the author supports the chronological framework proposed by Kawanishi (1978). His framework was principally based on data from the areas to the immediate west of the Katsura river and the southern part of the ancient province of Yamashiro. The reason why his framework has been applicable to numerous regions of Japan is that local elites, especially those in areas surrounding the central polity, adopted information about and production techniques of the central polity, owing to their direct relationship with the elites therein.

V. Significance of the Widespread Distribution of Jar-shaped *Haniwa*

As discussed in Chapter II, jar-shaped *haniwa* evolved from decorated jars, which were used for mortuary rituals conducted on the top of low burial mounds in the early third century in areas from the Ise Bay coastal region in the east to the central Kinki region in the west. These decorated jars evolved into jar-shaped *haniwa*, having come to be used in the central polity in the middle third century together with the ritual pottery stands and jars originating in the Kibi region.

Although different types of decorated jars had been used together at a single burial mound in the early third century, their transformation into jar-shaped *haniwa* witnessed their placement in large quantities on a single mounded tomb or even within in a single area therein.

In this chapter, the author examines the production techniques of five different types of jar-shaped *haniwa* and considers the historical background behind their widespread distribution. The five types are the Chausuyama, Kibi, Eastern-Shikoku (Ōkubo 2002, 2006; H in Figure 2), Ise (Taguchi 1981; C in Figure 2), and San'in (Nonoguchi 1996; F in Figure 2) types, which are distributed in the central polity and its surrounding regions.

The author's analysis confirms that the five types are indeed distinguishable in terms of production techniques and minor morphological differences. This indicates that, rather than *haniwa* craftsmen from the central polity traveling to other regions, the local *haniwa* craftsmen behind their production were different. Despite these technological and morphological differences, two practices were shared between the central polity and local polities. First, circular holes were drilled into the bottoms of all jar-shaped *haniwa*, thereby "killing" their original function as containers. Second, the jar-shaped *haniwa* were placed in rows on the top of mounded tombs as if to enclose or demarcate the area where the burial chamber or coffin was located underground. This suggests to the author that the widespread distribution of the jar-shaped *haniwa* was not the result of the elites of the central polity giving direct guidance to local elites, but rather, it was local elites who actively adopted the rituals utilizing jar-shaped *haniwa*.

In addition, patterns of and temporal change in the spatial distribution of jar-shaped *haniwa* suggest that local elites politically interacted and sometimes allied with one another, somewhat independently from the elites in the central polity in the Early Kofun Period. Furthermore, the spatial extent of the regional interaction sphere expanded.

From the middle phase of the Early Kofun Period (the early to middle fourth century), the size of jar-shaped *haniwa* drastically increased. Along with this increase in size, they came to be placed more frequently in line with cylindrical *haniwa* atop mounded tombs. The author suspects that the drastic increase in the size of the jar-shaped *haniwa* was influenced by the height of the cylindrical *haniwa* and from the elites' intention to place both jar-shaped and cylindrical *haniwa* in the same row atop their mounded tombs. If the author's suspicion is correct, the jar-shaped *haniwa* were produced in the same ideological context as cylindrical *haniwa*.

VI. Adoption and Development of *Haniwa* in Other Regions of Japan

In this chapter, the author examines the various processes by which *haniwa* came to be

spatially distributed in different regions far away from the central polity region. To achieve this goal, the author proposes the three different models to explain the various patterns of the spatial distributions (Figure 7): The transmission model (Figure 7-1); local production model (Figure 7-2); and the model of coexistence of distinctive *haniwa* traditions on a single

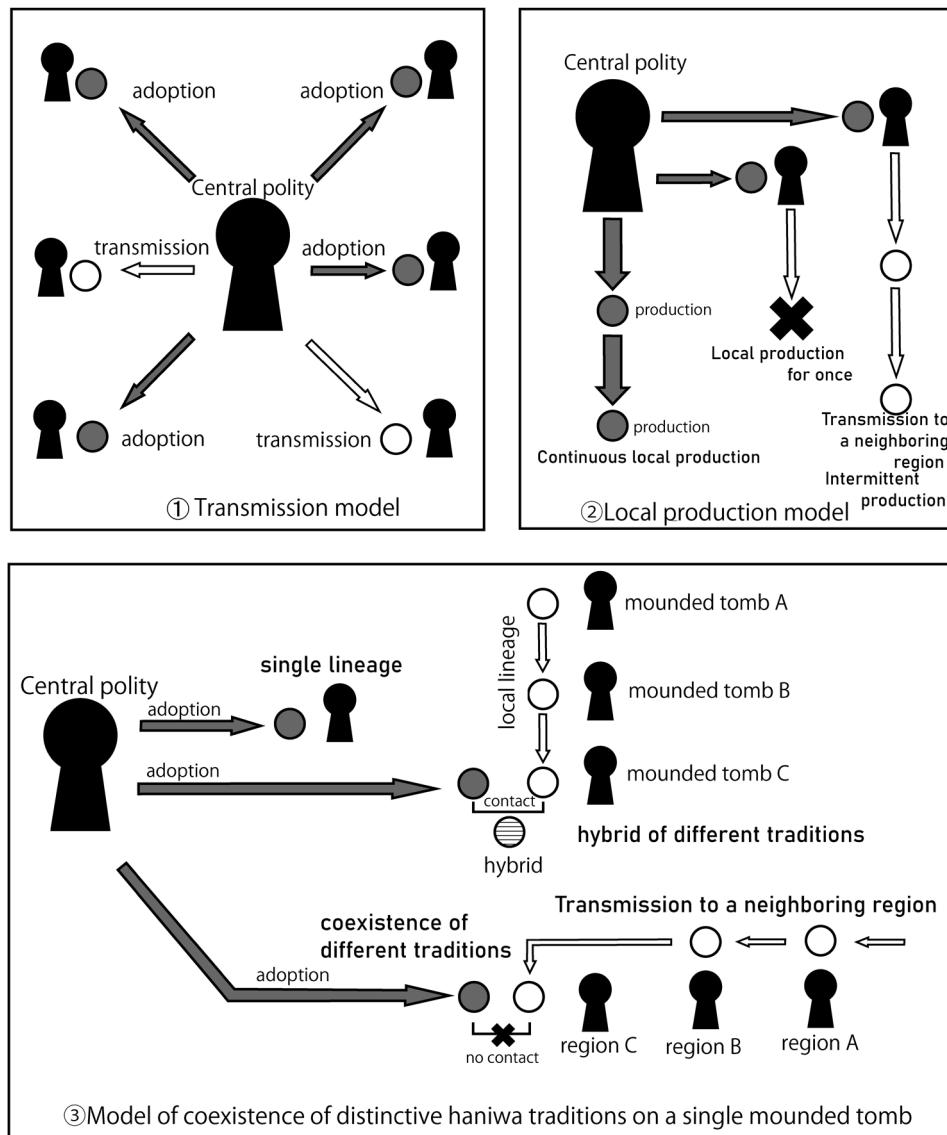


Figure 7. Models Explaining How Haniwa Production Techniques Were Adopted by and Transmitted to Local Elites

mounded tomb (Figure 7-3).

The transmission model distinguishes between direct and indirect transmission (Tsujikawa 1999). In the case of direct transmission, *haniwa* craftsmen were dispatched from the central polity to a local region where the production technology and other information concerning *haniwa* were adopted in the local region. In the case of indirect transmission, only information about *haniwa* production and how they should be placed on the surface of a mounded tomb was transmitted to a local region.

The local production model distinguishes between four cases (Todoroki 1973, Fujisawa 2002, 2003): 1) *Haniwa* production techniques directly transmitted from the central polity were locally replicated precisely each time a new mounded tomb was built; 2) *haniwa* production techniques directly transmitted from the central polity were adopted attending the construction of a single mounded tomb only once and were subsequently not adopted in the same region; 3) although the local production of *haniwa* was intermittent, some information about *haniwa* production was carried over into the subsequent constructions of mounded tombs in the same region; and 4) similar to the third case, but some information about *haniwa* production was carried over into subsequent constructions of mounded tombs in neighboring regions.

The coexistence model of distinctive *haniwa* traditions on a single mounded tomb is self-explanatory. It is sometimes the case that *haniwa* made with distinctively different production techniques were placed together on the surface of a single mounded tomb. While one tradition used technology directly transmitted from the central polity, the other used technology carried over from the construction of an earlier mounded tomb in the same or neighboring region. Referring to these models, the author discusses regional differences and commonalities in the adoption of *haniwa* production, with particular focus on the differences between western and eastern Japan.

In the Early Kofun Period, the transmission of jar-shaped *haniwa* to western and eastern Japan was in most cases indirect; in other words, there is little evidence for *haniwa* craftsmen being dispatched to local regions. In the early and middle phases of the Early Kofun Period (late third and early fourth centuries), the distribution of cylindrical *haniwa* was limited. From the middle phase of the Early Kofun Period (early to middle fourth century), however, they came to be widely distributed in western Japan and in many cases the production techniques were directly adopted from the central polity. While cylindrical *haniwa* can also be found in eastern Japan during the Early Kofun Period, in most cases this was the result of indirect transmission.

In other regions during this time period in both western and eastern Japan, local *haniwa* production in most cases involved production techniques directly adopted from the central polity attending the construction of a single mounded tomb and subsequently not continuing in the same region. In eastern Japan from the middle to late phase of the Early Kofun Period

(middle to late fourth century), *haniwa* production techniques transmitted from the central polity were acquired locally and then further adapted by elites of neighboring region in some cases.

The eastern Japanese case is exemplified by the cylindrical *haniwa* uncovered from the Shōrinzan keyhole-shaped mounded tomb of 107 meters in Shizuoka Prefecture (on the Pacific coastal region of central Japan; 3 in Figure 2) whose production techniques were further transmitted to other mounded tombs in central and eastern Japan (Hashimoto 1976, 1980). The author refers to those cylindrical *haniwa* made based on the Shōrinzan examples as belonging to the “Shōrinzan tradition.” The expansion of the spatial distribution of the *haniwa* in the Shōrinzan tradition coincides with the expansion of the spatial distribution of large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in eastern Japan, which had previously been highly sporadic. It is likely that the Shōrinzan case reflected a political relationship with the central polity.

Meanwhile, in various regions of western Japan from the middle phase of the Early Kofun Period to the beginning of the Middle Kofun Period (the beginning of the fifth century), the *haniwa* production techniques of the central polity were directly adopted by local polities for the construction of a single mounded tomb and did not take hold within the local polity (Figure 8, top). This suggests that the relationship with the central polity was renewed every time a local elite died, and that the relationship was with individual local elite rather than a network of regional elites. This stands in sharp contrast to the cases in eastern Japan where the relationship with the central polity was indirect and the *haniwa* production techniques were acquired from polities in a neighboring region. Production techniques transmitted from one region to another without direct adoption from the central polity.

In western Japan, there are a few similar examples of production techniques indirectly transmitted from the central polity or adopted from nearby polities. In such cases, however, these *haniwa* were arranged together with examples displaying production techniques directly adopted from the central polity. This suggests that, even if some *haniwa* were very regionally distinctive and seem unrelated to those of the central polity, the rituals utilizing these *haniwa* and the ideology behind them were fundamentally the same as those of the central polity.

In the early phase of the Middle Kofun Period (early fifth century) in limited areas of western Japan, mounded tomb groups consisting of giant keyhole-shaped mounded tombs at their apex, scallop-shaped keyhole-shaped mounded tombs with disproportionately small frontal portions, circular mounded tombs, and square mounded tombs appeared. Differences in the shape and size of mounded tombs were hierarchical in nature, and Japanese archaeologists commonly assert that these differences had social and political connotations (e.g. Tsude 1991, Wada 1994). Cylindrical *haniwa* made with technology directly adopted from the central polity were without exceptions placed atop the mounded

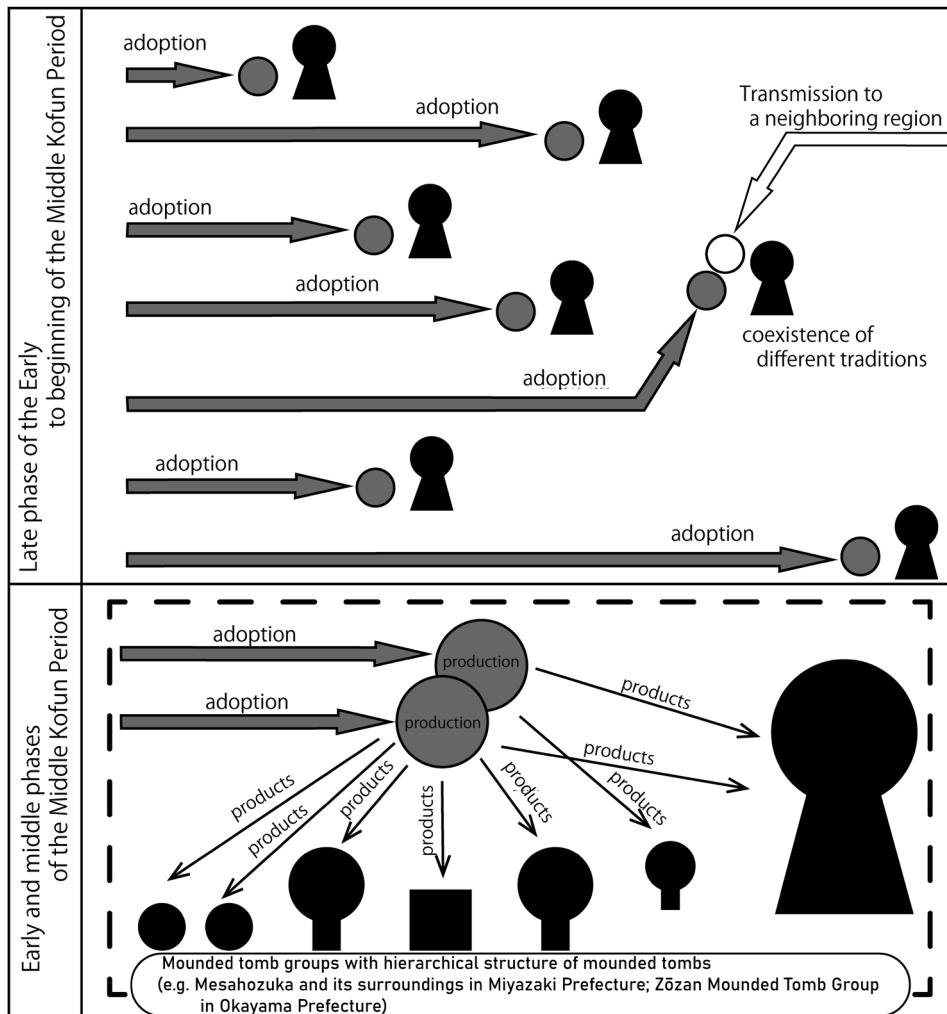


Figure 8. Models Explaining How Haniwa Production Techniques Were Adopted by Local Elites in Western Japan

tombs of these hierarchically structured mound groups, which were rather unusual in regions outside of the central polity (Figure 8, bottom). This clearly indicates that the formation of this hierarchical structure was a creation of the central polity.

It is also important to note that the scale of production and some aspect of the production system differed somewhat from region to region. In western Japan, *haniwa* craftsmen were generally dispatched from the central polity to assist local *haniwa* production and strictly controlled the quality of the final products. In the case of the Ōta-Tenjin'yama keyhole-

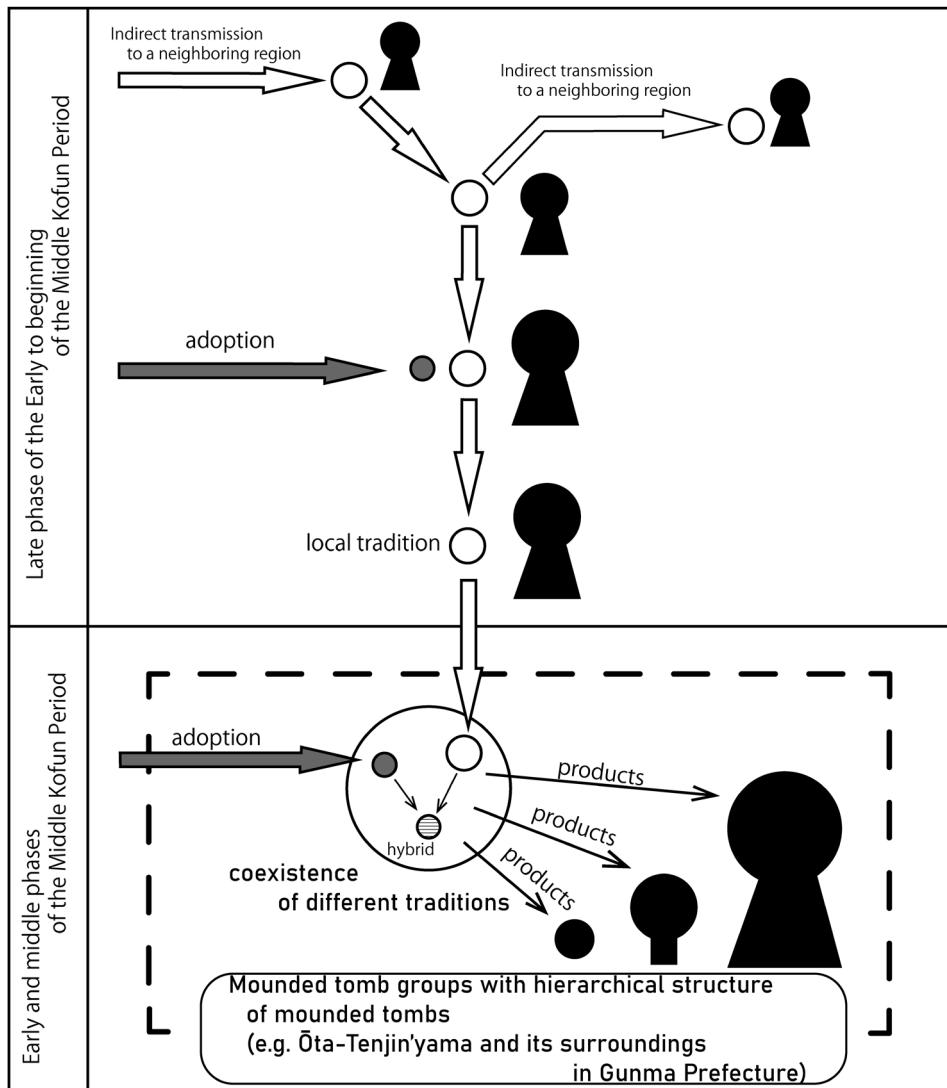


Figure 9. Models Explaining How Haniwa Production Techniques Were Adopted by and Transmitted to Local Elites in Eastern Japan

shaped mound tomb in Gunma Prefecture in eastern Japan (1 in Figure 2), cylindrical haniwa produced with technology locally adopted in the preceding chronological phase were placed together with those produced with technology newly adopted from the central polity, as well as those produced with technology that mixed both (Figure 9). This suggests that some degree of local autonomy in the *haniwa* production was allowed by the central

polity.

To reiterate, there are many cases of the indirect transmission of *haniwa* production techniques from neighboring polities rather than direct adoption from the central polity in eastern Japan in the Early Kofun Period. This suggests that the central polity was more concerned with maintaining political relationships with local polities in western Japan than with those in eastern Japan from the beginning of the Kofun Period until the early phase of the Middle Kofun Period.

VII. Aspects of *Haniwa* Craft Organization and their Background

This chapter discusses various aspects of the organization of *haniwa* craftsmen. By analyzing the direction of “brush marks” and tool marks left on the surface of *haniwa*, it has recently become possible to identify individual craftsman, by their habits or mannerisms, and individual tools used (Yoshida 1973; Inuki 1995, 2002, 2005). This allows us to consider the relationships among craftsmen and groups of craftsmen, and ultimately, the nature of their organization.

The author first compares the scale and structure of the organization of *haniwa* craftsmen attached to 200 meter-class keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and those less than 100 meters during the Early Kofun Period. In the former case, it is likely that *haniwa* craftsmen working for a single, large mounded tomb were organized into many groups, each of which consisted of four or five craftsmen. A single group produced cylindrical *haniwa* with “windows” (openwork) of the same design and the same marks engraved into the rim. The craftsmen of all the groups working at the same mounded tomb were apparently required to produce *haniwa* with the same space (distance) between parallel belts around the body. This indicates that, while craftsmen were organized into small groups, all the groups were under the strong control of a high-ranking elite who commissioned the construction of his/her mounded tomb (Figure 10).

Turning to the production of cylindrical *haniwa* for relatively small mounded tombs, only a group of four to five craftsmen was employed. Indeed, the scale of organization differed greatly between large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and relatively small mounded tombs.

The interpretation for the large keyhole-shaped mounded tomb presented above was derived from the author’s analysis of the significant amount of cylindrical *haniwa* excavated at the 194-meter-long Goshikizuka keyhole-shaped mounded tomb (6 in Figure 2), dated to the fourth quarter of the fourth century and located in Kobe City, southern Hyōgo Prefecture (Hirose 2007). Since giant keyhole-shaped mounded tombs measuring over 200 meters long can be seen from the beginning of the Kofun Period (middle third century) in the core area of the central polity region, it is highly probable that the *haniwa* production system had become more or less established in the early phase of the Kofun Period, or by the beginning

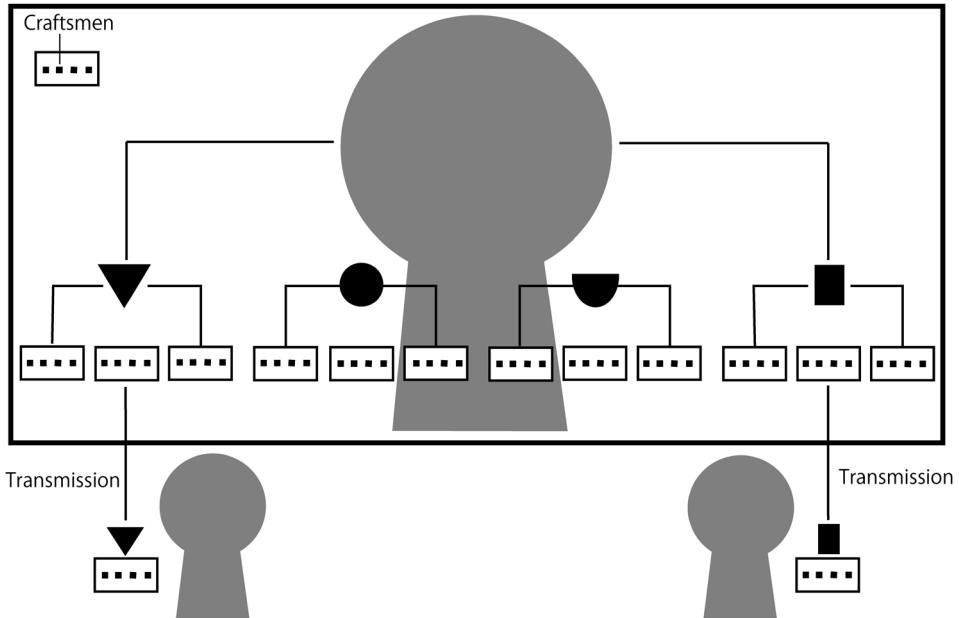


Figure 10. Model of Haniwa Craft Organization under the Highest-Ranking Elite

of the fourth century. Accordingly, by the time when the Goshikizuka mounded tomb was built at the latest by the late phase of the Early Kofun Period, it is highly likely that *haniwa* craftsmen were specialized and the *haniwa* craft organization was systematic.

In the subsequent Middle Kofun Period (fifth century), the size of large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs further increased, which also led to an increased demand for *haniwa* production. In the fifth century, the practice of standardizing the shape of windows among members of the same craftsmen group discontinued, making it difficult to grasp the whole picture of the *haniwa* production system at that time. Nevertheless, as small groupings of cylindrical *haniwa* shared the same incised mark on their inner surface, the author suspects that *haniwa* craftsmen working for the construction of a single, large mounded tomb were organized into small units, all of which were under the strict control of the elite who commissioned construction of the mounded tomb.

In the fifth century, the distance between parallel belts around the body of cylindrical *haniwa* became the same and the shape of the windows came to be standardized as circles. In other words, the overall design of the cylindrical *haniwa* of the fifth century became simplified in comparison with those of the fourth century, when the designs of the windows differed by craftsmen group. The simplification in the overall design resulted from control over the *haniwa* production system by the central polity (Figure 10). The author speculates that the central polity desired to simplify and standardize the overall design of cylindrical

haniwa in order to cope with the drastic increase in the demand for *haniwa* production, the need to train a large number of *haniwa* craftsmen, and the need to facilitate quality control.

The *haniwa* production system changed again at the beginning of the Late Kofun Period or the late third quarter of the fifth century². In the core area of the central polity, major production centers from which cylindrical *haniwa* were distributed to a wide variety of mounded tombs were established. A representative example is the Sugawara-Higashi *haniwa* kiln (40 in Figure 3) in Nara City, whose products were widely distributed in the northern and central Nara basin (Kanekata and Nakajima 1992, Takahashi 1994).

At the workshop attached to this kiln, the same mark was incised onto the inner surface of the *haniwa* produced by several different craftsmen groups. In other words, these markings were adopted according to distribution allotments. Indeed, while more than ten different markings were used at the Sugawara-Higashi *haniwa* kiln, cylindrical *haniwa* with only one type of marking were supplied to the 50-meter-long Suishōzuka scallop-shaped mounded tomb (Tanaka 2013; 28 in Figure 3). This suggests that a designated allotment of cylindrical *haniwa* was supplied to a specific mounded tomb.

These examples of the production and distribution of *haniwa* during the Early, Middle, and Late Kofun Period vividly illustrate the evolution of the *haniwa* production systems in the core area of the central polity region. As the demand for cylindrical *haniwa* increased over time, the production systems became more and more specialized and permanent, and the nature of *haniwa* increasingly commodity-like.

VIII. State Formation and the *Haniwa* Ceramic Production

A. Structure of the central polity from the perspective of *haniwa*

As mentioned earlier, there are five mounded tomb groups where giant keyhole-shaped mounded tombs of more 200 meters in length were built. These groups are located in southeastern, northern, and southwestern Nara basin and east-central and south-central Osaka plain.

Japanese archaeologists interpret spatial and temporal differences in the distributions of giant mounded tombs among these tomb groups as the result of either shifts in the royal lineage that occupied the highest-rank (e.g. Tanaka 2001, Fujita 2006) or simply as changes in the location of elite cemeteries (e.g. Kondō 1983, Mizuno 1985). In recent years, the former position has gained support from archaeologists specializing in Kofun Period archaeology (e.g. Fukunaga 1999a).

² [Editor's note] Hirose adopts Wada Seigo's (1987) chronological framework in which he defines that the Late Kofun Period started in the late third quarter of the fifth century. The majority of Kofun Period specialists consider that the Late Kofun Period started at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. In English, Barnes (2007) introduces Wada's (1987) framework, somehow ignoring the framework adopted by the majority.

Recent studies of *haniwa* have tended to favor the former position (Takahashi 1994, Kanekata 1997). For example, the standardization of the *haniwa* production system began with the start of giant mounded-tomb construction in the northern Nara basin in the middle fourth century (late phase of the Early Kofun Period). Additionally, the assemblage of *haniwa* typical of the Middle Kofun Period (fifth century) emerged at the same time as the construction of giant keyhole-shaped mounded tombs on the Osaka plain.

However, the author challenges the position that suggests shifts in royal lineages as the reason for spatial and temporal differences in the giant keyhole-shaped mounded tombs. In Chapter II above, the author has reexamined the chronology of *haniwa* based on temporal change in their production techniques and the assemblages. Figure 11 presents a revised chronology of major mounded tombs in the five groups based on the author's own chronological framework of *haniwa*. A significant revision is that the Shibutani-Mukaiyama keyhole-shaped mounded tomb (2 in Figure 3) of 300 meters in length in the southeastern Nara basin and the Gosashi keyhole-shaped mounded tomb (29 in Figure 3) of 267 meters in length in the northern Nara basin are considered newer than previously argued.

The author's revision necessitates a reinterpretation of the temporal change in mounded tomb groups in the Nara basin and Osaka plain. First, the Shibutani-Mukaiyama keyhole-shaped mounded tomb in the southeastern Nara basin was constructed after a large keyhole-shaped mounded tomb located in the mounded tomb group in the northern Nara basin. Second, the Gosashi keyhole-shaped mounded tomb in the northern Nara basin was constructed at the same time as or slightly after the construction of the Tsudō-Shiroyama keyhole-shaped mounded tomb (54 in Figure 3) of 208 meters in length on the Osaka plain, which marked the beginning of the Furuichi Mounded Tomb Group.

These two new interpretations strongly suggest that two major mounded tombs existed concurrently in the southeastern and northern Nara basin in the middle or third quarter of the fourth century. This was also the case in the fourth quarter of the fourth century in the northern Nara basin and east-central Osaka plain. In other words, the location of mounded tombs group did not shift from the southeastern Nara basin to the northern Nara basin or from the Nara basin to the east-central Osaka plain. The data rather suggest the existence of autonomous polities or lineages represented by concurrent mounded tomb groups.

Based on a detailed analysis of the relationship between mounded tomb groups of the Nara basin and Osaka plain, the author presents the following hypotheses. First, toward the end of the fourth century, the high-ranking elites buried in the Saki Mounded Tomb Group were more powerful than those buried in the Furuichi Group, based on the fact that the Gosashi mounded tomb was larger than the Tsudō-Shiroyama mounded tomb. As other Kofun Period specialists have previously pointed out (e.g. Shiraishi 1989), there are keyhole-shaped mounded tombs over 200 meters in length built toward the end of the fourth century in the Umami Mounded Tomb Group in the southwestern Nara basin, such as the Suyama

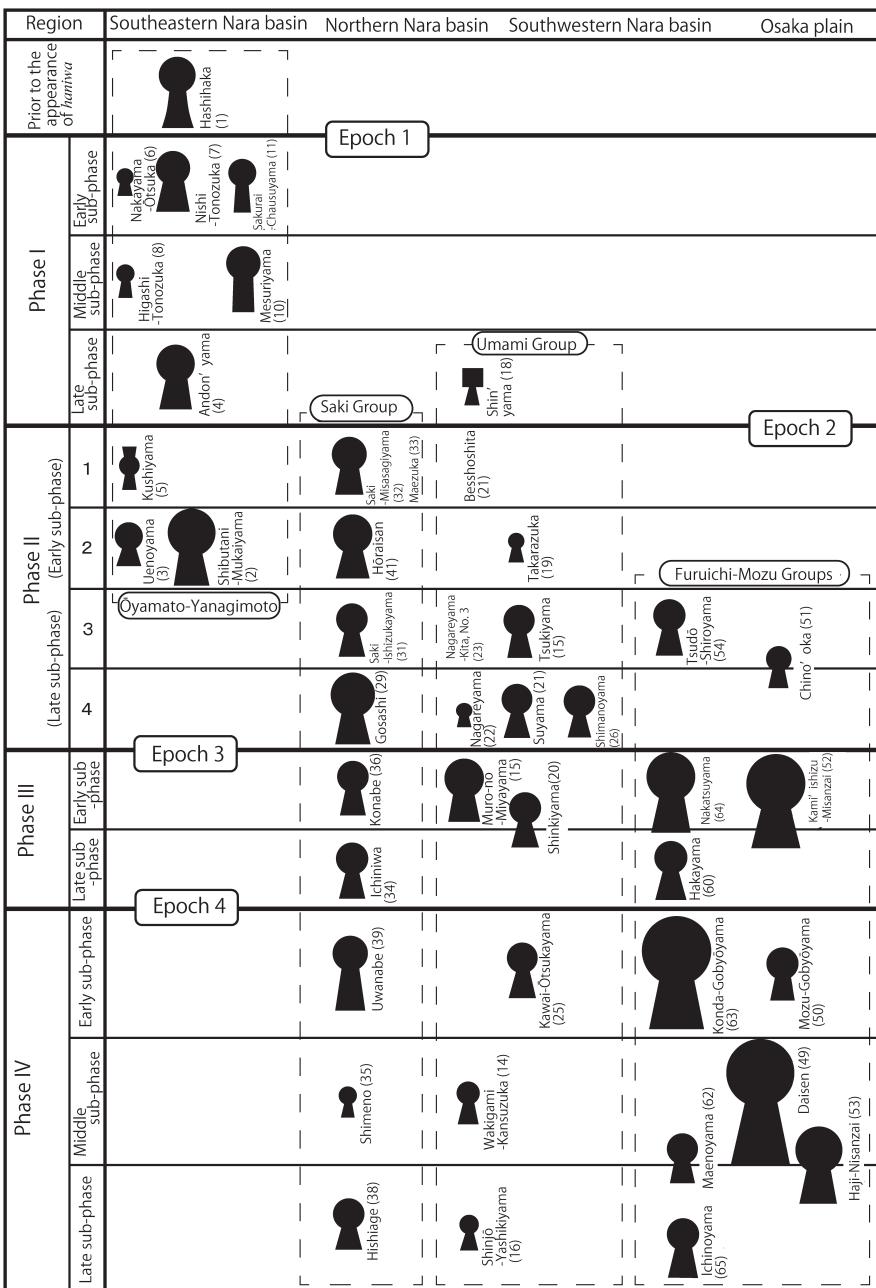


Figure 11. Epochs in Haniwa Production and Temporal Changes in the Large Keyhole-shaped Mounded Tombs in the Core Area of the Central Polity (The number in parenthesis indicates the location in Figure 3)

keyhole-shaped mounded tomb (21 in Figure 3) of 220 meters, Shimanoyama keyhole-shaped mounded tomb (26 in Figure 3) of 200 meters, and Tsukiyama keyhole-shaped mounded tomb (15 in Figure 3) of 210 meters. This indicates that, when the construction of large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs began in the Furuichi Group, the high-ranking elites buried in the Saki, Umami, and Furuichi Mounded Tomb Groups were equally matched in strength.

Second, according to the author's new chronological framework, it is highly likely that the construction of large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs started in the Osaka plain soon after their construction ended in the southeastern Nara basin. This leads the author to present the bold hypothesis that the lineage of high-ranking elites who had built their mounded tombs in the southeastern Nara basin moved their graveyard to the Osaka plain toward the end of the fourth century.

As discussed in detail above, a single tradition of *haniwa* production techniques was carried down generation to generation through the Kofun Period in the Nara basin and Osaka plain. The author posits that a more or less single system of *haniwa* production was adopted at the five mounded tomb groups in the central polity because the assemblage of *haniwa* and the *haniwa* production techniques were shared among them. Behind this phenomenon was frequent interaction of *haniwa* craftsmen who participated in the production of *haniwa* for different mounded tomb groups, or the participation of *haniwa* craftsmen at different mounded tomb groups. The author's interpretation is supported by the observation that epochs in *haniwa* production do not correspond to the beginning and end of the construction of large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in these mounded tomb groups (Figure 11).

These interpretations strongly suggest that changes in *haniwa* production were triggered by "shifts" in the paramount chieftainship represented by the different mounded tomb groups. Furthermore, frequent interactions among groups of *haniwa* craftsmen working at the mounded tomb groups in the southeastern, northern, and southwestern Nara basin suggests that, while polities or elite lineages represented by these mounded tomb groups were autonomous, their relationship was not hostile but cooperative. While the author supports the previous hypothesis that different royal lineages took turns occupying the position of the paramount chieftainship (Shiraishi 2000, 2008), changes in the rulership were not associated with military confrontation or aggression.

Let us turn our attention to the relationship between the mounded tomb groups in the southeastern Nara basin and Osaka plain. The author finds it highly unlikely that the end of the construction of large mounded tombs in the southeastern Nara basin was unrelated to the start of the construction of the mounded tombs on the Osaka plain. Geographically, these two areas were connected by the Yamato River. Archaeologically, the relationship between these two areas was very close in terms of the ceramic production techniques of the highly characteristic Shōnai-type pottery of the early third century (e.g. Tanaka 2005).

More importantly, *haniwa* from the Shibutani-Mukaiyama mounded tomb (2 in Figure 3) and the nearby Uenoyama keyhole-shaped mounded tomb (3 in Figure 3; 125 m in length), both built at the same time in the late fourth century, are nearly identical to those excavated from the Kayafuri no. 1 square mounded tomb (71 in Figure 3; 27 meters per side) located on the east-central Osaka plain. This clearly indicates that the two areas maintained a close relationship in terms of *haniwa* production and mounded tomb construction.

Based on these new interpretations, the structure of the central polity can be reconstructed as follows: The central polity was always based in the Nara basin. In the Early Kofun Period, the paramount chief was chosen from several royal lineages. In the Middle Kofun Period, members of the royal lineage that had built mounded tombs in the southeastern Nara basin moved their graveyard to the Osaka plain, which was home to groups of people with whom they had maintained close relationships since the beginning of the Kofun Period.

The existence of different royal lineages, taking turns as paramount chieftain, indicates that the central polity was not stable. Nevertheless, members of these royal lineages were cooperative from the standpoint of the *haniwa* production. There was no “seizure” of rulership nor “replacement” of the central polity.

Let us take a closer look at the relationships between the central polity and local elites in regions surrounding the core area. In the Otokuni area (present southwestern Kyoto Prefecture; 48–55 in Figure 3), for example, while the location of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs with a circular rear section shifted within the area, *haniwa* production continued under an unchanging relationship with the central polity. Although Tsude (1988, 1990) argues that shifts in the location of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs resulted from “replacement” of royal lineages occupying the paramount chieftainship of the central polity, an analysis of *haniwa* production suggests that these shifts were not a reflection of political turmoil within the central polity, but rather a reflection of strategies carried out by the central polity in an attempt to gain further control over local areas.

B. Center-periphery relationships and the transmission of rituals from the standpoint of *haniwa*

In order to consider the center-periphery relationships during the Kofun Period, the author has paid attention not only to cylindrical *haniwa* and representational *haniwa* in the central polity region but also to local jar-shaped *haniwa* and locally adapted cylindrical *haniwa*. It is important to understand these objects in a broader context (Figure 12).

It is well known that jar-shaped *haniwa* were more prevalent than cylindrical *haniwa* in local regions outside the central polity region in the Early Kofun Period. Indeed, production techniques of these local jar-shaped *haniwa* were distinctive, which suggests a considerable degree of autonomy of local polities. Some Japanese archaeologists have suggested that the adoption of cylindrical *haniwa* was restricted to the central polity region, allowing local

THE PRODUCTION OF HANIWA AND STATE FORMATION IN JAPAN

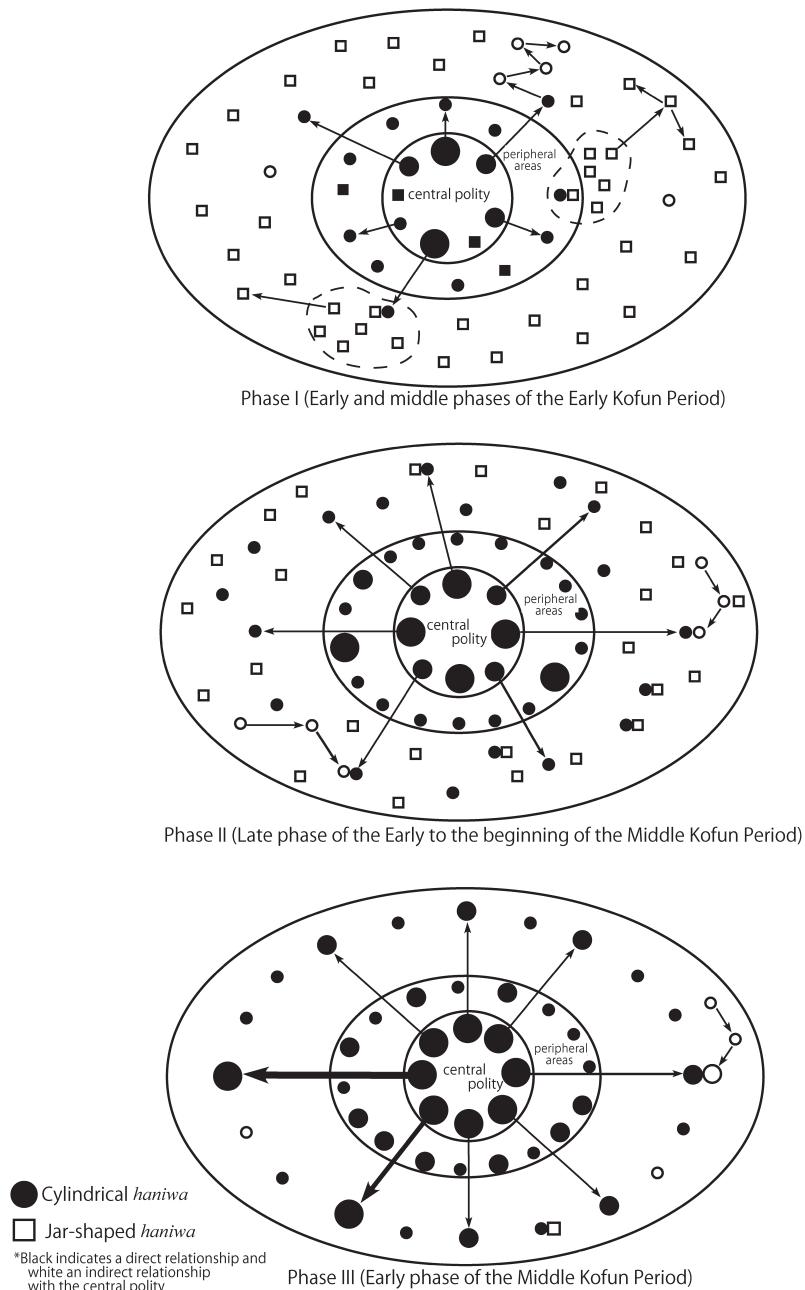


Figure 12. Models Explaining How Haniwa Production Techniques Were Adopted by and Transmitted to Local Elites from Phase I to Phase III

polities to adopt only jar-shaped *haniwa* (Shioya 1992). The author, however, argues that it was actually the local polities that preferred jar-shaped *haniwa*.

The author's argument is based on the following observations: 1) Jar-shaped *haniwa* were also adopted by some large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in the central polity, such as 278-meter-long Hashihaka (1 in Figure 3) in the southeastern Nara basin, the earliest keyhole-shaped mounded tomb in Japan; 2) the morphology of jar-shaped *haniwa*, such as a spherical body, stepped rim in cross-section, and hole drilled through the base before firing, was widely shared among regions in western and eastern Japan; and 3) by the middle fourth century, both jar-shaped and cylindrical *haniwa* came to be adopted together at numerous mounded tombs. These suggest that both the practice of arranging jar-shaped *haniwa* and the practice of arranging cylindrical *haniwa* along the mound surface were initiated by the central polity. Indeed, the widespread adoption of jar-shaped *haniwa* should be considered as evidence for local polities willingness to adopt a set of mortuary rituals created by the central polity.

The author's explanation for the local adoption of jar-shaped *haniwa* is applicable to the following cases: 1) The indirect transmission of the cylindrical *haniwa* production where the information about cylindrical *haniwa*, rather than their production techniques were transmitted to a local region; and 2) the locally independent development of cylindrical *haniwa* production techniques. The process of the adoption of both jar-shaped and cylindrical *haniwa* were more or less identical because their ideological background was essentially the same; both jar-shaped *haniwa* and cylindrical *haniwa* evolved from pottery stands symbolized the ritual of offering foods to the dead ancestors. Despite their similar ideological background, the adoption of cylindrical *haniwa*, regardless of the use of locally developed production techniques, suggests a local polity's relatively stronger intension to be close to the central polity. Cylindrical *haniwa* originally symbolized a pottery stand on which a jar was placed and were more intricately produced than jar-shaped *haniwa*. This was the reason why cylindrical *haniwa* were preferred to jar-shaped *haniwa*.

A representative example of the local adoption of cylindrical *haniwa* can be found at the Yanai-Chausuyama keyhole-shaped mounded tombs (9 in Figure 2) in Yamaguchi Prefecture, where cylindrical *haniwa* made with locally developed techniques were placed together with cylindrical *haniwa* and representational *haniwa* models of houses and of decorated parasols (*kinugasa*) made with techniques of the central polity (Hirose 2003a). This clearly indicates that the ideological context in which cylindrical *haniwa* produced with locally developed techniques were placed on the mound was the same as that of *haniwa* made with the techniques of the central polity.

The closeness to the central polity is also evidenced by the spatial distribution of cylindrical *haniwa* in the Shōrinzan tradition. While the *haniwa* production techniques were first directly adopted at the Shōrinzan mounded tomb (3 in Figure 2), the Shōrinzan tradition

subsequently became localized in eastern Japan. Nevertheless, mounded tombs bearing cylindrical *haniwa* in the Shōrinzan tradition were either large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs with circular rear sections or large circular mounded tombs, which are rather unusual in eastern Japan, where keyhole-shaped mounded tombs with square rear sections were dominant.

Another case in which regionally characteristic cylindrical *haniwa* may in fact be evidence for closeness to the central polity is that of the Tango-type cylindrical *haniwa* (Takahashi 1997, Tsujikawa 2015). These characteristic examples were distributed in the late fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries in the ancient province of Tango (northern Kyoto Prefecture; E in Figure 2); they are well known as having been adopted at the three largest keyhole-shaped mounded tombs located on the Sea of Japan coastal region. These three are the Ebisuyama No. 1 mounded tomb (145 meters; third quarter of the fourth century), the Amino-Chōshiyama mounded tomb (5 in Figure 2; 198 meters; fourth quarter of the fourth century), and the Shinmeiyama mounded tomb (190 meters; beginning of the fifth century).

Although the Tango-type cylindrical *haniwa* and those in the Shōrinzan tradition differ in the way that the *haniwa* production techniques were adapted locally, the two cases are similar in that regionally characteristic cylindrical *haniwa* were displayed at unusually large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in their respective regions. Indeed, in various local regions from the middle to late fourth century, the larger the keyhole-shaped mounded tombs the more regionally characteristic the *haniwa* that were adopted. The author interprets this phenomenon as resulting from the local polity's desire to uphold its autonomy while maintaining a relationship with the central polity, in addition to the central polity's strategy of establishing close relationships with local polities while allowing them some degree of freedom.

If the author's speculation is indeed the case, it is then highly likely that the size of a keyhole-shaped mounded tomb in a local region was not simply "assigned" by the central polity. Rather, the large size of a keyhole-shaped mounded tomb in a local region was the result of the central polity assessing the "power" of a local elite. From the standpoint of the local elite, the large size of a keyhole-shaped mounded tomb was a symbol of his/her autonomy and power. The central polity's assessment was not merely based on the agricultural productivity and economic resources of a local region, but, more importantly, the author speculates, derived from the strategic necessity to establish a close relationship with a selected local polity at a specific juncture.

For example, the author speculates that the reason why keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and circular mounded tombs where *haniwa* production techniques were directly adopted from the central polity were distributed in the coastal regions of western Japan and coastal area of the Ise Bay from the late fourth to the beginning of the fifth centuries was related to the central polity's concern about military tension on the Korean peninsula at that time.

Moreover, in such cases, the direct adoption from the central polity took place only once. This indicates that the central polity established relationships with individual local elites independently from other local elites.

The situation changed rather suddenly in the early fifth century. Not only did the construction of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs decrease drastically, but locally characteristic *haniwa*, such as jar-shaped *haniwa* and Tango-type cylindrical *haniwa*, disappeared, as if these two phenomena were related. In selected areas in local regions, mounded tomb groups displaying a hierarchy with large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs at the apex emerged. *Haniwa* production techniques of the central polity were directly adopted at these mounded tomb groups.

The author interprets this change as follows: The central polity established relatively stable relationships with local polities by the end of the fourth century. At the beginning of the fifth century, the central polity attempted to gain more political control over local polities through the local chiefs who represented each local polity. At the same time, the size of a keyhole-shaped mounded tomb in a local region was likely a reflection of the “wealth” or “power” of a chief in the local region, rather than being “assigned” by the central polity. The author’s hypothesis can be applied to the case of the Ōta-Tenjin’yama keyhole-shaped mounded tomb (1 in Figure 2) in Gunma Prefecture (D in Figure 2), 80 miles northwest of Tokyo. Ōta-Tenjin’yama is the largest keyhole-shaped mounded tomb in eastern Japan, measuring 210 meters in length, and its cylindrical *haniwa* include those produced with techniques that had developed locally since the late fourth century, those produced with techniques newly adopted from the central polity, and those produced with techniques that mixed them both.

The “wealth” or “power” of a local chief in the early fifth century was never stable. This is evidenced by the fact that large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs were rarely constructed in a single tomb group. Indeed, in the middle and late fifth century, the construction of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs decreased. Meanwhile, the construction of small- and medium-scale scallop-shaped, circular and square mounded tombs increased, and *haniwa* production techniques were adopted at these smaller tombs directly from the central polity. The author suspects that the restriction of the construction of large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and the adoption of *haniwa* production techniques at these smaller tombs directly from the central polity were related. The author hypothesizes that in the middle fifth century the central polity abolished the position of the local chiefs of the early fifth century and attempted to establish a more centralized control over them. It is likely that the local polities also accepted the central polity’s stronger control.

As discussed above, the author reexamined the formation process of the stratified political order symbolized by mounded tombs from the perspective of *haniwa*. The author has vividly illustrated various patterns of relationships between the central polity and local polities, as

well as among local polities, assessed the influence of the central polity on these local polities, and taken into consideration the historical context that provided a backdrop to both the relationship of the central polity with local polities and the relationships among local polities. Previous studies assumed that the relationships among local elites and the local ties within a region that characterized the preceding Yayoi Period disappeared soon after the beginning of the Kofun Period. However, regional differences in the various aspects of mounded tombs of the Early Kofun Period, including *haniwa*, and interaction among local elites outside the control of the central polity strongly suggest that the traditional relationships among local elites continued into the Kofun Period.

All information concerning *haniwa* production techniques and the nature of arranging *haniwa* atop mounded tombs originated in the southeastern Nara basin, which was the core area of the central polity at the beginning of the Kofun Period. Subsequently, local polities came to establish some degree of relationship with the central polity, either directly or indirectly. It is important to note that the relationship between the central polity and local polities was not one-way from the center. For example, pottery of daily and ritual uses originating in different regions was transported to the southeastern Nara basin in the Early Kofun Period and wooden tools used for the mound construction also originated from regions outside the Nara basin. It is a well-accepted hypothesis that local elites of different regions in the Late Yayoi period were actively involved in the invention and construction of the characteristic keyhole-shaped mounded tombs in the southeastern Nara basin (Kondō 1983).

These interactions between the central polity and local polities, as well as among local polities, resulted in the emergence of a broad, inter-regional ritual sphere characterized by the sharing of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs among the elite. The author argues that the widespread adoption of keyhole-shaped mounded tombs and associated mortuary rituals did not dissolve the relationships among local elites that characterized the preceding Yayoi Period. Rather, the central polity took advantage of these, allowing local polities a considerable degree of autonomy. This regional autonomy is clearly evidenced by the sustained local traditions of *haniwa*. Within the shared ritual sphere, the central polity gradually increased its influence over local polities through various strategies, such as providing new technology. The construction of mounded tombs in the Early Kofun Period was made possible by the congruence of the central polity's intension and the local region's autonomy. In the early fifth century (early phase of the Middle Kofun Period), the central polity finally succeeded in establishing and maintaining the political and social order symbolized by the hierarchy of mounded tombs.

C. Conclusion and areas for future research

As previously argued, some degree of regional and local autonomy remained in the Early

Kofun Period. Before the political and social order symbolized by the hierarchy of mounded tombs matured in the early fifth century, a set of mortuary rituals invented by the central polity had to be repeated and accumulated in the process of strengthening its authority. While some previous studies have argued that the central polity was established in the middle third century when large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs appeared in the southeastern Nara basin, the author concludes that the appearance of large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs marks the beginning of the formation process of the central polity and its authority, and that the central polity finally gained political control over local regions throughout the Japanese archipelago in the early fifth century.

At the same time, it is important to note that the central polity of the fifth century was not as stable as it would become in the following sixth century. The fact that large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs were clustered into four different groups, two in the Nara basin and two on the Osaka plain, suggests the coexistence of four dominant elite lineages within the central polity. The author speculates that the production of *haniwa* and the practice of arranging them atop the mounded tombs greatly contributed to the maintenance and strengthening of the political unity among these different lineages of dominant elites. This perspective is an important contribution to our understanding of the central polity of the Kofun Period; nevertheless, a consideration of the central polity should also incorporate the results of analyses of mound construction plans and goods deposited with the dead.

Another contribution of this paper is the author's clarification of the development process of *haniwa* craft organization toward a permanent, specialized system in more detail and clarity than previous studies. At the same time, this development process of the *haniwa* craft organization was also a process of decline in rituals utilizing *haniwa*. Originally, *haniwa* were used to transform a mounded tomb into a ritual precinct. For that purpose, different kinds of *haniwa* were specially produced during the Early Kofun Period for different aspects of these rituals.

As the demand for *haniwa* increased and the specialized production system grew, the author speculates that the ritualistic aspects of *haniwa* began to decline. From the early fifth century, the drastic increase in the size of large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs witnessed a corresponding increase in the production of *haniwa*. An increase in production required efforts to improve production efficiency, and this pursuit of efficiency resulted in a simplification of *haniwa* styles. It was also during the fifth century that the construction of small- and medium-scale scallop-shaped, circular, and square mounded tombs increased, and *haniwa* production techniques were adopted at these smaller tombs directly from the central polity. The author speculates that this resulted in a decline of the "scarcity value" of *haniwa*. By the time a system of distributing *haniwa* from a single kiln to multiple mounded tombs, including those far away, was established in the late fifth century, *haniwa* were no longer funeral paraphernalia, but had transformed into commodities.

Soon after this system of distributing *haniwa* from a single kiln to multiple mounded tombs matured and reached its peak in the early sixth century, *haniwa* production ended in the central polity and in many other regions except for the Kantō region of eastern Japan. This likely occurred because, as the *haniwa* production system became highly specialized and at the same time greatly inflated, mortuary rituals utilizing *haniwa* began to lose their original meaning and the significance of the rituals declined. This paper does not cover the process of the decline of the *haniwa* production system. It remains to be investigated why and how regional differences in *haniwa* became stronger with the appearance of multiple centers of *haniwa* production and how ideologies related to mortuary practices changed in the sixth century.

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Nara Prefecture

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³ [Editor's note] There are three names for a mounded tomb that has been designated as an imperial mausoleum by the national government of Japan. The first one (without parenthesis) is the name commonly accepted among scholars. The second one (first one in the parenthesis) indicates to whom (several mythical figures) the tomb is attributed, and the third written in early historic sources, such as the *Nihon Shoki* [Chronicle of Japan].

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