Interregional Interaction Strategies in the Early State Formation of Ancient Japan

NAKAKUBO Tatsuo[1]

ABSTRACT
This paper discusses the influences that cultural interaction with China and the Korean Peninsula from the third to sixth centuries AD had on the early state formation process of the Japanese Archipelago. The author proposes that the nature of interregional interaction during this period can be broadly divided into a "goods importation strategy", in which technologically advanced goods were imported from the continent, and a "technology-knowledge adoption strategy", in which the elite of the Japanese Archipelago were able to engineer and control technology innovation by inviting immigrant groups who were able to provide advanced technology and knowledge. By strategically employing one or the other, the central and regional elite of the archipelago were able to enhance their foundations of power. The author analyzes these strategies on the "macro scale and long term", "medium scale", and "local scale and short term", marshaling a wealth of archaeological data. This paper adopts an archaeological approach in order to understand the nature of state formation in the Japanese Archipelago from the perspective of intercultural interaction strategies.

KEYWORDS: Intercultural interaction, pottery, immigrants, state formation, ancient Japan

Introduction: Theories of ancient Japanese state formation

How did the ancient state come to be in the Japanese Archipelago? In this paper, the author adopts an archaeological approach to suggest that the intercultural interaction conducted between the Japanese Archipelago and the various regions of East Asia played an essential role in the state formation process of this region. It is the author's expectation that further analytical treatment of the broad issues discussed in this paper will greatly contribute to our current understanding.

   The ancient state of the Japanese Archipelago, characterized by a written legal code and bureaucratic system, reached completion with the enactment of the Taihō legal codes in AD 701. Many scholars assert that the *ritsuryō* system of the late 7th century, which formed the basis for the later Taihō codes, paved the way for the establishment of the ancient state. A major area of contention, however, is when this state formation process actually began. Needless to say, inquiry into the origins or workings of a state enables scholars to situate that

state within human history and is a welcome and necessary debate.

Within this debate over when the state formation process began, important junctures have been proposed for the 3rd, 5th, and 7th centuries. The three main positions can be summarized as follows: That which proposes a political consolidation over a wide stretch of the archipelago under the Yamatai polity, which is mentioned in the *History of the Three Kingdoms*, a 3rd-century Chinese chronicle; that which proposes an increased centralization of government during the 5th century, which saw tribute sent to the Chinese Song dynasty during the "age of the five kings of Wa"; and that which emphasizes the diplomatic missions sent to Sui China and the Taika Reforms (645) in the first half of the 7th century. Stretching the 350 years from the middle of the 3rd century to the 7th century, the Kofun period broadly encompasses each of these junctures, making an evaluation of its position within the state formation process a central area of inquiry essential to this debate.

It is important to note that each of these junctures coincides with significant changes in the political map of East Asia and significant changes in the nature of intercultural interaction between the Wa (the people of the Japanese archipelago) and its neighbors (Yoshida 1998): in other words, the decline of the Later Han and the political fragmentation of the Three Kingdoms during the 3rd century; the beginning of the Northern and Southern Dynasties in the 5th century; and the unification of China by the Sui and Tang in the 7th century. For polities in the Japanese Archipelago, located on the fringe of the sphere of Chinese influence, interaction with East Asian societies across the ocean was of no small importance. This has led scholars to consider state formation within ancient Japan to have been that of the secondary state, a process galvanized by the influence from the organically formed primary state (Fukunaga 2005).

Since 2000, attention has been increasingly given not only to Wa's relationship with the Chinese dynasties, but also to its competitive relationship with other societies throughout East Asia, in particular Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla, and the Gaya polities on the Korean Peninsula (F. Tanaka 2005; Park 2007; Ban 2009; Inoue 2014; Takata 2014; Woo 2014; Lee 2016; Kim 2017). This is largely due to an increase in excavations in Korea, easier access to Korean site reports, and the advance of typological research aimed at clarifying the background of and changes in peninsula-style objects uncovered from the Japanese Archipelago. This has enabled archaeological debate on the movement of goods and people and the reality of interaction between these societies. Importantly, previous theories that once garnered considerable attention, such as EGAMI Namio's "horse-rider theory" and the conception of *Mimana nihonfu* as a Wa outpost for control over the Korean Peninsula, have been thoroughly refuted with archaeological evidence (Isahaya 2012; Takata 2014). Furthermore, the ideas laid out in this paper are based on the significant amount of archaeological data amassed in Japan through excavation and typological research of artifacts.

East Asian archaeology has the potential to contribute invaluable case studies of

intercultural interaction to the global state-formation debate. Over the past ten years, numerous works have been published (Barnes 2007; Mizoguchi 2014; Byington *et al.* 2018; Knopf *et al.* 2018). As the diachronic impact of interregional interaction and the acceptance of immigrant culture has not been sufficiently investigated, however, the author aims to discuss in this paper the role these elements played in the state formation process.

Overview of the Kofun period   In Japanese archaeology, the period when tombs covered with prominent earthen mounds were built is called the Kofun period. These mounded tombs or *kofun* were built for the central and local elite and can be considered political monuments functioning as a means of rule (Fukunaga 2018). The history of research on the Kofun period and the current state of research have been presented in several recent works (e.g., Wada 2011; Fukunaga 2014; Nakakubo 2018b).

The Kofun period was preceded by the Yayoi period, which saw the introduction and widespread adoption of wet-rice agriculture, moated settlements, and bronze and iron, which were used alongside traditional stone tools. It was followed by the Asuka period, which saw the construction of Buddhist temples as monuments and a full-fledged palace, in addition to the use of writing for administrative purposes. During the Kofun period, the moated settlements that characterized the previous Yayoi period fell into disuse and elite residences distinct from the living area of the general population appeared, coinciding with the accumulation of surplus beyond the needs of the community. Access to resources became unequal, a disproportionate amount of labor was invested in mounded-tomb construction, and differences in the quality and quantity of burial goods became more prevalent. Considering these circumstances, this period is considered to have witnessed the emergence of a class society, marked by the spread of disparity and inequality (Tsude 1991).[1] Wedged between two disparate historical periods, the issue of what mechanisms contributed to this spread of inequality during the Kofun period is an important area of inquiry within the state-formation discussion.

Within a class structure, ownership over the means of production and one's place in the organization of labor are contingent upon one's place in society, leading to an unequal distribution of wealth. Parsing this abstract relationship is difficult, however, even from the written record. Chinese chronicles, such as the *Book of Wei*, contained within the *History of the Three Kingdoms*, and the *Book of Song*, and domestic histories compiled in the 8th century, such as the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, are invaluable resources in the study of ancient Japan. Regional gazetteers known as *fudoki* also contain a wealth of information concerning 8th-century local society. However, the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* were compiled approximately a century after the Kofun period ended by the governing elite in order to legitimize their rule and require careful textual criticism; these concerns also apply to the regional *fudoki*. In this regard, the archaeological record is useful in that it provides a contemporaneous account of the period in question. Having said that, it is of course difficult to reconstruct

relations of production from the archaeological record. It is more productive to analyze the labor invested in mounded-tomb construction, the size and arrangement of settlements, the scale and temporal development of storehouses, and other data from the archaeological record in order to attempt to understand the meaningful differences among these factors (Tsude 1991). It is also necessary to reconsider the theoretical background to the emergence of class and the creation of inequality.

Theoretical background How can the Kofun period be situated within the state formation process? Since the second half of the 20th century, both fields of ancient history and archaeology have been strongly influenced by Marxist views of history.

While Marxist influence remains strong in the field of ancient history, more attention has been given to outside influences on Japan's state formation since the 1970s (Ishimoda 1971). Within archaeology, since the 1960s, in addition to typological research on artifacts, the nature of production sites, such as those related to ironworking, ceramics, and salt-making, has been greatly clarified and a significant amount of research has amassed on the substructure of society. Since the 1970s, archaeologists have reconstructed the production–circulation–consumption process through analysis of artifact typology and geographic distribution and demonstrated the significance of intercultural interaction, shedding light on trade with distant places, trade routes, and the movement of people from other cultures.

In addition to the theoretical framework emphasizing the accumulation of surplus leading to the division of labor and increased specialization ushering in class separation, attention has increasingly been paid to the idea that the elite promoted the division of labor as an economic strategy, influenced strongly by theoretical research from the English-speaking world. Specifically, researchers have come to focus on foreign objects (prestige goods) that, while often having no intrinsic practical value, are prized as wealth goods in certain societies or cultures; research has focused on tracing the significance of their movement into and within a society. Additionally, researchers have categorized exchanged goods and the types of exchange in order to clarify the connection between exchange and power. Timothy Earle's systematic formulation of social relationships, economic power, military might, and ideology as sources of elite power has also been widely referenced within Japanese archaeology (Earle 1997).

Representative research includes that by TSUDE Hiroshi and FUKUNAGA Shin'ya. Within his treatment of the ancient state formation process, Tsude suggested a strong relationship existed between the procurement of iron raw materials and other goods from abroad and social reorganization (Tsude 1991). Based upon his analysis of imported Chinese bronze mirrors, Fukunaga suggested that control over goods symbolizing foreign authority promoted sociopolitical consolidation (Fukunaga 2005). These perspectives are consistent with the research trend seen across the world emphasizing the important role played by interregional interaction in the state formation process.

In this manner, intercultural interaction focused on the exchange of goods has come to be emphasized within the archaeological debate over state formation.

Geographical backdrop When considering intercultural interaction, scale is an important factor: Over what distance were goods or information exchanged or did people move?

The geographical area covered in this paper is focused on the East Asian region, comprising the eastern edge of the Eurasian continent, the southern Korean Peninsula, and the central Japanese Archipelago. Within the Japanese Archipelago, focus will be placed mostly on the Kinki region, located roughly in the center of the island of Honshū. A crescent arc of islands, the modern country of Japan spans approximately 3,000 km north to south and 3,000 km east to west. Meanwhile, the Korean Peninsula measures approximately 1,000 km north to south. While the area of the Korean Peninsula measures 219,020 km^2, the area of the Japanese Archipelago's main island of Honshū alone measures 227,900 km^2.

The extent of mounded tomb (*kofun*) construction stretches from the southern Tōhoku region to the southern island of Kyūshū, a direct length of approximately 1,300 km. As approximately 70% of Japan's land comprises mountains and hills, however, a transportation route in line with the actual terrain would measure approximately 1,800 km. While water-borne travel utilizing rivers and the ocean was common throughout Japan's history, it was during Japan's ancient period that a land-borne travel network developed (Ichi 2016). Needless to say, contact with other societies throughout the East Asian world required travel by sea, making ocean travel indispensable for ancient intercultural interaction.

Owing to these geographical conditions, a treatment of interregional interaction during Japan's Kofun period requires a discussion of scale. Starting from the Kinki region, relations with the Korean Peninsula would require a range of over 1,000 km. On the other hand, when considering the effect that immigrant culture had on the power base of the central polity, our focus narrows to the Kinki region, a range of less than 100 km. Moreover, in a discussion of how immigrant culture affected the relationship between the elite and society, the range narrows further to less than 10 km.

Such issues of scale are essential when weighing the viability of and formulating new theoretical models of state-formation. Theoretical models of state formation are varied: They include investigations of the relationship between center and periphery based on Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems approach; Colin Renfrew's peer polity interaction model, which posits that competition between independent polities leads to social change (Renfrew 1972); Joyce Marcus' dynamic model that suggests that a polity does not continuously develop as if climbing stairs, but rather consolidates, expands, and dissolves in an oscillating cycle (Marcus 1998); and the dual processual approach, which categorizes elite power strategies into corporate and network strategies in its analysis of social change (Blanton *et al.* 1996).

Parkinson and Galaty suggest that layered temporal and geographic scales of analysis be applied: "The macro scale and the long term"; "the medium scale"; and "the local scale and the short term" (Parkinson & Galaty 2009, pp. 11–18). They suggest that the world-systems approach and dynamic model are more suited for exploring economic relations over the macro scale, such as the procurement of raw materials and long-distance trade of goods between center and periphery, and long-term variability in the organization of polities; these models are appropriate for long-term cases spanning several hundred to several thousand years and a geographical range of over 1,000 km. On the other hand, the peer polity interaction model, while often applied to polities of widely varying sizes, is proposed to be best suited for several decades to a century and a distance of five to 100 km. Additionally, under the dual processual approach, the network strategy translates into highly individualizing social differentiation through, for example, individual prestige or the exchange of wealth goods, while the corporate strategy translates into group-oriented dispersed power through the production of necessary agricultural goods, communal ritual, and the construction of public works; these factors make it appropriate for a temporal scale of a single generation or the geographical scale of a particular settlement (under 5 km) (Parkinson & Galaty 2009).

Considering the geographic environment elaborated above, the author considers this approach particularly useful when conducting an investigation of Japan's ancient state formation process. Gina Barnes' pioneering application of core-periphery and peer-polity interaction models to the relationship between the Japanese Archipelago and the Korean Peninsula is highly instructive. The author argues, however, that an understanding of the archipelago during the Kofun period would also greatly benefit from an approach that considers both (1) the independence of local areas (under 5 km) and (2) the widespread sharing of mortuary rituals and burial goods.

Political fluctuations that enveloped both the center and periphery during the first third of the 4th century, the last third of the 4th century, and the early 6th century are apparent in patterns of mounded-tomb construction and burial goods and were closely linked to changes in interregional interaction (Fukunaga 2005; Park 2007; Woo 2014). A "macro-scale and long-term" or "medium scale" approach is useful when considering the background of changes in hegemony and the decline in trade networks. On the other hand, a "local-scale and short-term" approach, making use of detailed mounded-tomb and settlement data, is appropriate for examining regime changes between polities and elite strategies within local society of importing foreign goods and adopting new technology. In this paper, the author attempts to decipher the strategies that characterized the various elite throughout the archipelago as they struggled to achieve and maintain political power.

Next, after briefly covering the theoretical background of the state formation theories seen in Japanese archaeology, the author will present the model used in this paper.

<u>Recent research trends</u>   There are two main currents of thought in the discussion of interregional interaction during the Kofun period. The first reconstructs the interaction between the elite of East Asia through typological research and geographical distribution of burial goods uncovered from mounded tombs (Mizuno 1969; Fukunaga 2005; Park 2007, 2018; Isahaya 2012; Inoue 2014; Takata 2014; Kim 2017). The second reconstructs the activity of a wide swath of sociopolitical ranks, mainly focusing on trade, cultural influences, and the movement of people throughout East Asia through analyses of artifacts uncovered from settlement sites (Sekigawa 1988; Takesue 1991; Imazu 1994; Kameda 1993, 2012, 2018; K. Tanaka 2005; Kusumi 2007; Nakano 2008; Nagatomo 2010; Nakakubo 2012, 2017; Sakai 2013; Terai 2018). This can be called the immigrant-based approach (Seki 1956).

Research belonging to the former includes that on bronze mirrors imported from China (deity-and-beast mirrors with an image band, triangle-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors, etc.), whorl- and cylindrical-shaped bronze implements and other military accessories, iron armor (lamellar helmets and framed helmets and cuirasses), horse trappings, accessories (belt buckles, gilt-bronze earrings, and crowns), gilt-bronze pommeled swords, and glass or gilt-bronze dining ware. This research has enabled the elucidation of political relations between the central polity and regional elite of the Japanese Archipelago and various regions throughout East Asia.

Within the second current, the advance of research on the pottery of the Japanese Archipelago and Korean Peninsula has enabled the reconstruction of trade networks and the determination of the homeland and destination of immigrants. Additionally, archaeology has been able to recreate to some extent the nature of interaction in cultural and religious arenas, such as clothing, horse-sacrificing rituals, and the acceptance of Buddhism.

These two currents, however, treat different datasets and have progressed relatively independent of one another in the field of East Asian archaeology. In this paper, the author presents a model of interregional interaction that encompasses both the elite and the general population and attempts to reconstruct the nature of interregional interaction during the Kofun period.

(1) Two types of interregional interaction

Two types of interregional interaction   Interregional interaction during the Kofun period can be generalized into two model types (Figure 1).

The first type is called the "goods importation strategy" and describes efforts to obtain advanced goods and resources from China and the Korean Peninsula; the second type is called the "technology-knowledge adoption strategy" and describes efforts to control technological innovation by inviting foreign craftsmen with advanced technology. These two strategy types can represent differences in approaches by the elite, including the central elite, regional elite, and powerful families, with these differences not only greatly
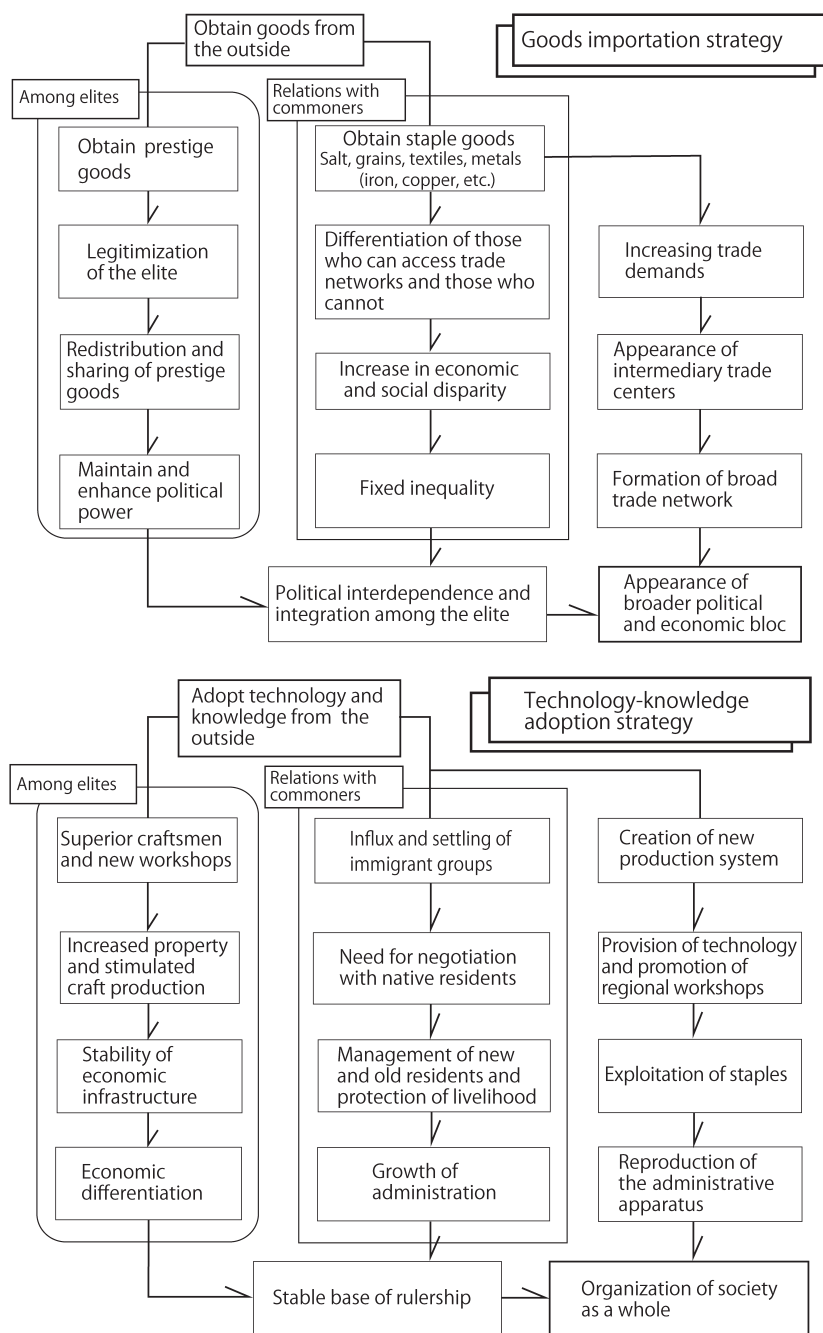
Figure 1 contains the following flowchart content:

Goods importation strategy

Obtain goods from the outside

Among elites:
- Obtain prestige goods
- Legitimization of the elite
- Redistribution and sharing of prestige goods
- Maintain and enhance political power

Relations with commoners:
- Obtain staple goods — Salt, grains, textiles, metals (iron, copper, etc.)
- Differentiation of those who can access trade networks and those who cannot
- Increase in economic and social disparity
- Fixed inequality

- Increasing trade demands
- Appearance of intermediary trade centers
- Formation of broad trade network
- Appearance of broader political and economic bloc

Political interdependence and integration among the elite

Technology-knowledge adoption strategy

Adopt technology and knowledge from the outside

Among elites:
- Superior craftsmen and new workshops
- Increased property and stimulated craft production
- Stability of economic infrastructure
- Economic differentiation

Relations with commoners:
- Influx and settling of immigrant groups
- Need for negotiation with native residents
- Management of new and old residents and protection of livelihood
- Growth of administration

- Creation of new production system
- Provision of technology and promotion of regional workshops
- Exploitation of staples
- Reproduction of the administrative apparatus

Stable base of rulership

Organization of society as a whole

Figure 1.   Two strategies of intercultural interaction

affecting their power base, but determining their very character, itself. While this approach operates mainly within the "local-scale and short-term," analysis of the relationship between emergent political groups sharing similar strategies and spanning several generations or regions may necessitate the application of the "medium" and "macro-scale and long-term" models.

Let us first consider the goods importation strategy. Elites earned public esteem and admiration through the procurement of advanced goods and valuable materials through long-distance trade. If imported goods were items necessary for daily life, such as salt, grains, textiles, and metals, a definitive economic disparity would arise between those who were able to procure these goods and those who were not. Additionally, the procurement of exquisite imported wealth goods would bestow prestige and symbolize authority. Moreover, the efficacy of such prestige goods would be amplified if they originated in more advanced cultures or were made in, for example, an imperial workshop. Monopolizing the importation of prestige goods and distributing them to friendly elites would engender preeminence even within the elite community and strengthen political power. The discussion of staple finance and wealth finance is highly instructive in this regard (D'Altroy & Earle 1985).

The importation of goods from abroad through long-distance trade with outside societies required securing trade routes and prompted the creation of trade centers that acted as midway points. The growth of long-distance trade encouraged the establishment of points of trade along trade routes, allowing the formation of a broad trade network. In order to benefit from such trade, the elite of each region would need to cooperate with those who owned territory that included these trade centers. Through such efforts, elites playing a central role in the trade network could achieve preeminence, political and economic horizontal ties could be strengthened, and a far-reaching sociopolitical consolidation could be achieved.

This type of interregional interaction can cease to function properly, however, if the political situation behind the material resources becomes unstable. In other words, this type of interaction is an unstable source of power.

The other type of interaction, the technology-knowledge adoption strategy, actively encourages the immigration of outside groups with advanced technology and knowledge in order to realize the local production of advanced goods. Through the adoption of advanced technology and knowledge from the outside and control over production and distribution, elites were able to stably increase their economic power. Bolstered by their stable economic base, elites that succeeded in practicing this strategy were able to achieve political preeminence over other elites. While the successful formation of a new production system would incur costs in the management of technology, production, and distribution, its continued operation could be expected to galvanize the organization of a system of social governing. Additionally, the successful provisioning and transplantation of technology would be rewarded by the finished product. In other words, while this strategy encompasses

various costs, it is characterized by relative stability. Areas of instability may include tending to friction between immigrant and native groups. In such cases, a necessary function of the elite is the coordination and mediation among groups, requiring charisma and, at times, force. Various administrative functions are expected to develop, including control over residents, allocation of land for residence, and the development of necessary infrastructure. Additionally, in the event that the outside society in question is more advanced, knowledge surrounding ruling and administration may be adopted and utilized. In this way, vertical social relations gradually develop and organizational and administrative functions become increasingly necessary.

Within the technology-knowledge adoption strategy, sustained human interaction and the role of immigrants bringing advanced technology and knowledge are of particular importance. Most research on interregional interaction has focused on the movement of goods or the relations that formed the backdrop to such movement. The author suggests it is necessary, however, to move away from simple ideas of diffusion and focus on the introduction of new technologies and cultures through intercultural exchange.

The author suggests that the shift from the goods importation strategy to the technology-knowledge adoption strategy contributed to the expansion of the central polity's power base during the Kofun period. In the next section, let us consider the role these two strategies played in the state formation process of the Japanese Archipelago, marshaling case studies from East Asian archaeology.

(2)   Archaeological case study 1: The 3rd to 4th centuries

In this section, let us examine the interregional interaction of the 3rd to 4th centuries, paying attention to the historical background and marshaling archaeological data as necessary.

Distribution of prestige goods and the necessity of iron   Interregional interaction during the Early Kofun period, from the middle of the 3rd century to the middle of the 4th century, was overwhelmingly based upon the goods importation strategy (Figure 2). Indeed, from a "macro-scale and long-term" perspective, relations with the East Asian world were especially important for the Japanese Archipelago, which was located on the fringe of the advanced Chinese sphere of influence. The importation and redistribution of goods deriving from China and the Korean Peninsula and the maintenance of such long-distance trade routes proved important for the elite composing the central Yamato polity.

In East Asia, bronze mirrors played an integral role in interregional interaction; in the case of the Japanese Archipelago, the importation of bronze mirrors was monopolized by the Yamatai polity of the Terminal Yayoi period and the Yamato polity of the Early Kofun period through tributary relations with the Wei and Jin Chinese courts. Queen Himiko sent envoys to the Wei in 239, 243, and 247, and the design behind the mission sent to the Western Jin by her successor Iyo in 266 was to receive outside acknowledgement of her position as
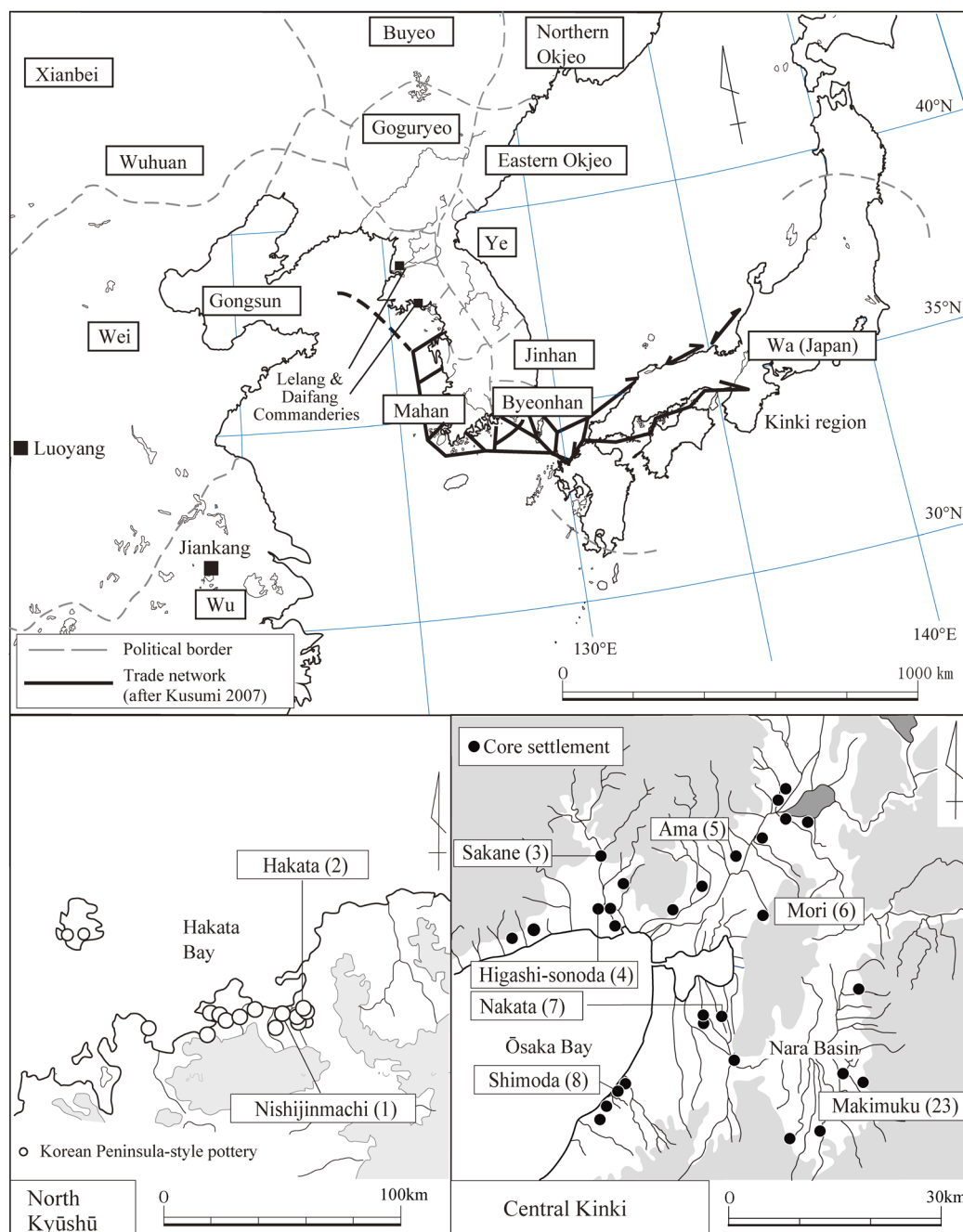
Figure 2. The political situation and trade network of East Asia during the 3rd century (numbers in parentheses correspond to the list of site reports at the end of this paper)

Wa paramount.

This is symbolized potently by the triangle-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors imported from China. Kᴏʙᴀʏᴀsʜɪ Yukio interpreted the sharing of identical mirrors cast from the same mold as revealing the close political ties between the elite buried in the emergent mounded tombs (Kobayashi 1955). He demonstrated that supremacy was held by the powerful elite of the central Kinki region and masterfully reconstructed the historical significance of the establishment of the Yamato polity through archaeological data. The mounded tombs located in the paramount polity's stronghold of central Kinki have revealed the greatest number of Chinese bronze mirrors, as represented by the thirty-three triangle-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors uncovered from Kurozuka Kofun in Nara Prefecture, and identical mirrors cast from the same mold have been found from mounded tombs across the archipelago.

The paramount group within the Yamato polity distributed the triangle-rimmed deity-and-beast mirrors imported from China to subservient elites throughout the archipelago in order to realize a far-flung political consolidation by displaying that its rule had been legitimized by the Chinese court (Kobayashi 1955; Fukunaga 2005). Applying a "local-scale and short-term" approach to the political activity of local elites reveals the existence of those elites who were given these mirrors and those that were not.

Let us now turn our attention from prestige goods to items of everyday life. Iron raw material for the production of agricultural implements, tools, and weapons, in addition to iron objects, themselves, were imported from China and the Korean Peninsula. As the archipelago was not yet technologically able to produce iron, it relied on imported iron raw material from the Korean Peninsula. According to the entry on Byeonhan and Jinhan contained in the *Account of the Eastern Barbarians*, *Book of Wei*, *History of the Three Kingdoms*, the southern Korean Peninsula produced high-quality iron, which traders from the Japanese Archipelago traveled to procure. This is supported by recent finds in Busan and Gyeongju in the southern Korean Peninsula of ironworking sites and wealthy burials rich in iron (Inoue 2014; Manabe 2015).

Procurement of iron resources through long-distance trade is suggested to have significantly changed the nature of domestic circulation, which had until then been based on reciprocal relations between neighboring regions. In the Kinki region, stone tools and weapons displayed a significant decrease from the end of the Middle Yayoi period and the shift to iron was completed by the latter half of the Late Yayoi period, relying fully on the importation of iron raw materials from China and the Korean Peninsula. This trade was conducted not by the general population, but rather by the elite, who succeeding in attaining a stable supply of necessary resources as community representatives.

Criticism has been leveled against this understanding of iron's role in social change based upon the low number of actual iron artifacts uncovered from the Kinki region

(Murakami 2007); indeed, the technological level and quality of Yayoi-period iron artifacts are significantly greater in North Kyūshū. It is important to realize, however, that the stable acquisition of iron was all the more vital for regions with less iron, and this necessity worked to change the nature of the community and role of the elite (Fukunaga 2005). The author interprets this common interest as the trigger that galvanized social consolidation.

Understanding the nature of the circulation of iron weapons is important when considering the military aspect of society. In recent years, typological research on iron weapons has greatly progressed. Joseph Ryan demonstrated that the Japanese Archipelago of the 2nd to 4th centuries AD was characterized by two levels in the circulation of iron weapons, with simple, locally produced iron weapons shared among the lower elite and centrally produced or imported weapons of higher quality provided to the upper elite across the archipelago (Ryan 2019). This division is suggested to have become more pronounced from the latter half of the 3rd century. The military strength to ensure the functioning of the trade network spanning over 1,000 km and connecting the Japanese Archipelago to the various regions of the East Asian world was no doubt essential for local society and the elite.

The movement of pottery and the role of immigrants: Reconstructing the trade network   In addition to prestige goods buried in tombs and items necessary for daily life, pottery also provides a wealth of information.

The interconnected relationship between the trade centers throughout the Japanese Archipelago can be reconstructed through analysis of the movement of native and peninsular pottery. During the 3rd and 4th centuries, pottery from China and the Korean Peninsula is found from central sites throughout the archipelago, clustered most strongly in North Kyūshū, and imported and locally copied pottery enable the reconstruction of this trade network. Kusumi Takeo proposed the existence of the "Hakata Bay Trade Network" and suggested that during the first half of the Early Kofun period, the Nishijinmachi site in Fukuoka Prefecture became the international trade center for the broader East Asian region (Kusumi 2007). Within the central Kinki region, a trade network connecting central settlements can be reconstructed centered on the Makimuku site in the southeastern Nara Basin, where a significant amount of pottery from the Korean Peninsula and other regions of the Japanese Archipelago has been found, and including the Nakata site group and Kyūhōji site in Kawachi, the Shimoda and Yotsuike sites in Izumi, the Mori site group in North Kawachi, and the Ama, Higashi-sonoda, and Sakane sites in Settsu. Such pottery is not found at random, but often from geopolitically important areas, such as coastal areas and overland travel nodes. Application of a "local-scale and short-term" approach to settlement data reveals trade-center sites yielding a great amount of foreign pottery and typical sites yielding mostly local pottery. There can be no doubt that it was the former that was incorporated into the widespread trade network.

Closer inspection of the use and function of the pottery brought from China and the

Korean Peninsula reveals that many of them were small-sized jars and other pottery used for storage and transportation (Nagatomo 2010). On the other hand, pottery for cooking was mostly limited to the area around the Hakata Bay. This suggests that the interregional interaction with China and the Korean Peninsula strongly centered on trade; moreover, as pottery deriving from various other regions of the archipelago is found together with the imported pottery, it is reasonable to consider the central settlements of this period as centers of trade.

The existence of this widespread trade network was likely enabled through the political or military auspices of the Chinese court and the central polity of the Japanese Archipelago. It was such a network that maintained the goods importation strategy of interregional interaction.

Craft production and settlements   Let us now turn our attention to craft production sites within the Japanese Archipelago. The existence of ironworking, beadmaking, and woodworking sites has been brought to light through careful archaeological excavation. In comparison with the 5th century, however, craft-production sites were still small-scale and insufficiently organized. It is therefore likely that strong emphasis was not placed on the realization of domestic production during the 3rd and 4th centuries.

North Kyūshū, where the nature of craft-production sites is relatively known, presents an illuminating case study. Kusumi suggests that the late-3rd- to early-4th-century Hakata Bay area was strongly functionally specialized, with, for example, the center of interregional interaction concentrated at the Nishijinmachi site, salt production focused at the Imagawa-imajuku site, and ironworking centralized at the Hakata site; he draws attention to the formation of a complementary production system and exchange network (Kusumi 2007). Compared with the Nishijinmachi site, only a small amount of pottery from the Korean Peninsula has been found at the Hakata and Imagawa-imajuku sites, obscuring the activity of immigrant craftsmen. On the other hand, while the Nishijinmachi site has yielded iron axe-heads and glass objects, no advanced kilns capable of operating at high temperature, such as those proposed for the Hakata site, have been found; rather than a craft-production site, the Nishijinmachi site can thus be considered an interregional interaction port specializing in trade.

The "blank 4th century"   The goods importation strategy did not continue stably from the 3rd century through to the 7th century. The instability inherent in this strategy reached its peak in the early 4th century, with central settlements that once had acted as trade hubs ceasing to function (Figure 3).

In order to understand the backdrop of this development, let us adopt a macro-scale approach and turn our attention to the international situation. During the 4th century, the Western Jin, Wa's target of diplomatic relations, fell after a time of civil strife (316), the Lelang and Daifang Commanderies, its recipients of tribute, ceased to exist (313), and China
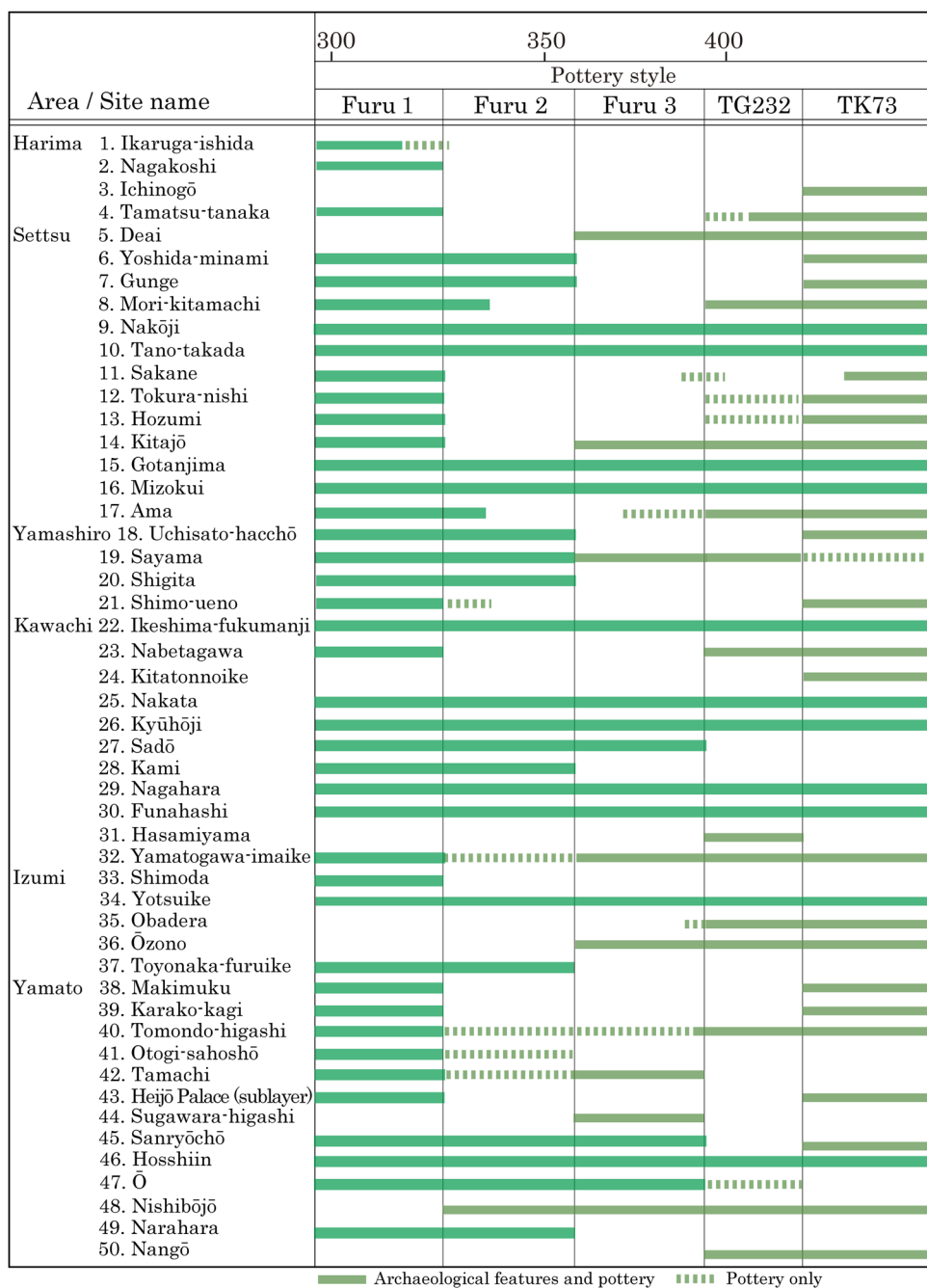
| Area / Site name | Pottery style | | | | |
	300 Furu 1	350 Furu 2	Furu 3	400 TG232	TK73
Harima 1. Ikaruga-ishida					
2. Nagakoshi					
3. Ichinogō					
4. Tamatsu-tanaka					
Settsu 5. Deai					
6. Yoshida-minami					
7. Gunge					
8. Mori-kitamachi					
9. Nakōji					
10. Tano-takada					
11. Sakane					
12. Tokura-nishi					
13. Hozumi					
14. Kitajō					
15. Gotanjima					
16. Mizokui					
17. Ama					
Yamashiro 18. Uchisato-hacchō					
19. Sayama					
20. Shigita					
21. Shimo-ueno					
Kawachi 22. Ikeshima-fukumanji					
23. Nabetagawa					
24. Kitatonnoike					
25. Nakata					
26. Kyūhōji					
27. Sadō					
28. Kami					
29. Nagahara					
30. Funahashi					
31. Hasamiyama					
32. Yamatogawa-imaike					
Izumi 33. Shimoda					
34. Yotsuike					
35. Obadera					
36. Ōzono					
37. Toyonaka-furuike					
Yamato 38. Makimuku					
39. Karako-kagi					
40. Tomondo-higashi					
41. Otogi-sahoshō					
42. Tamachi					
43. Heijō Palace (sublayer)					
44. Sugawara-higashi					
45. Sanryōchō					
46. Hosshiin					
47. Ō					
48. Nishibōjō					
49. Narahara					
50. Nangō					

Archaeological features and pottery   Pottery only

Figure 3.   Changes in settlements during the 3rd and 4th centuries

entered the chaotic period of the Sixteen Kingdoms. On the Korean Peninsula, the states of Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla, and the Gaya polities matured, greatly changing the political map of East Asia. The weakening of China and the significant political changes on the Korean Peninsula led to the decline of the large-scale settlements throughout the western Japanese Archipelago that had acted as points of trade and greatly changed the trade network.

Based on the typo-chronology of pottery and an analysis of the changes in settlements and movement of pottery from the Korean Peninsula, it is apparent that the sites throughout the western archipelago that had functioned as nodes in the trade network continuously from the 3rd century ceased to function. This is supported not only by the decline in imported pottery found throughout the archipelago, but also by a decrease in the number of pit dwellings and posthole-type buildings, themselves. It is also telling when considering these settlements that pottery found often does not accompany a specific feature, making it difficult to elucidate the reality of the settlements of this period on a finer level.

Alliance with Geumgwan Gaya and Wa-style pottery   Wa-style pottery found from the southern Korean Peninsula is especially instructive when considering the nature of relations between the peninsula and archipelago during the 4th century. A particularly representative example is the small, round-bottomed earthenware pottery found across a majority of the Japanese Archipelago, from the southern Tōhoku region to the southern part of the island of Kyūshū. In the 4th century, examples can also be found from the southeastern Korean Peninsula, where it was reproduced in stoneware iterations and used in offerings at mounded tombs (Takesue 1991). Furu-type pots, San'in-type pots, and pedestaled dishes, large-sized jars, and other types of Wa-style pottery have also been found, allowing researchers to reconstruct Koreo-Japanese relations in unprecedented detail (Inoue 2014; Cho 2016).

While the movement to the peninsula of Wa-style pottery, such as that deriving from the Kyūshū and San'in regions, can be seen during earlier periods as well, this increase seen during the 4th century coincides with the active exchange of wealth goods seen in the tombs of both regions, and can be understood within the context of the Wa elite acutely responding to the changing East Asian environment. According to Fukunaga, in response to the changing international political situation, an emergent polity comprising the elite of the northern Nara Basin and Kawachi Plain seized hegemony during the latter half of the Early Kofun period from the previous powers located in the southeastern Nara Basin who had relied on the authority of the Chinese Wei and Jin dynasties for support (Fukunaga 2005). In order to secure iron raw materials, this new polity successfully strengthened alliances with polities in the southern Korean Peninsula, in particular Geumgwan Gaya (Fukunaga 2005; Park 2007).

Meanwhile, tombs in the southeastern Korean Peninsula found with Wa-style artifacts, such as those in the Daeseong-dong, Bokcheon-dong, and Yangdong-ni tomb groups, also

contained a tremendous amount of iron goods and iron raw materials. Additionally, the 4th-century Buwon-dong site located in close proximity to the Daeseong-dong tomb group is considered a center for production and trade, bolstered by the evidence for ironworking and other craft production, a storehouse group, and a harbor. The existence of such a settlement suggests that an intercultural center for trade was established in Geumgwan Gaya in the southeastern Korean Peninsula, in place of the Nishijinmachi site.

The close relationship between the rise of Geumgwan Gaya on the peninsula and the emergent polity in the archipelago is apparent from the burial goods and Wa-style pottery found from Geumgwan Gaya tombs and settlements. As Geumgwan Gaya-style pottery is not found from settlement sites in the Japanese Archipelago, however, it can be surmised that the vector of trade became unilateral, aimed at Geumgwan Gaya. Throughout the course of the 4th century, which saw the decline of the Nishijinmachi site, the number of sites within the archipelago yielding Korean Peninsula-style pottery decreased drastically, and it is difficult to parse the existence of a specific center of trade within the archipelago from the current archaeological data. In other words, the active trade network that connected the various regions of the Japanese Archipelago in the 3rd century was replaced by a concentrated foreign-relations strategy.

(3) Archaeological case study 2: The 5th century

The East Asian political map of the 5th century   The political situation throughout East Asia changed drastically from the 4th to the 5th century. Adopting a "macro-scale" and "medium-scale" approach, let us turn our attention to the change seen across the region (Figure 4).

In China, Tuoba Gui, the chief of the Xianbei Tuoba clan who would later become the Emperor Daowu, established the Northern Wei in AD 386, embarking on a path to attain supremacy over central China. From 391, numerous battles with the expanding Northern Wei caused the might of the Later Yan, located in northeast China, to ebb, eventually resulting in its destruction in 407. As the ruling class of the Northern Yan, which arose following the Later Yan's demise, initially comprised both Chinese and Goguryeo elite, they maintained a politically favorable relationship with Goguryeo. This alliance with the Northern Yan, in addition to the dissolution of military tension with the Later Yan, was a significant turning point for Goguryeo in the northern Korean Peninsula (Misaki 2012). Having removed the military threat in the northeast, which began with the Northern Wei's incursion into central China, King Gwanggaeto of Goguryeo subsequently turned his attention to the southern Korean Peninsula.

The southern expansion of Goguryeo greatly influenced neighboring polities, causing a chain reaction throughout the southern Korean Peninsula. Owing to the incursion of Goguryeo and pressure from Silla, the polity of Geumgwan Gaya, which had developed
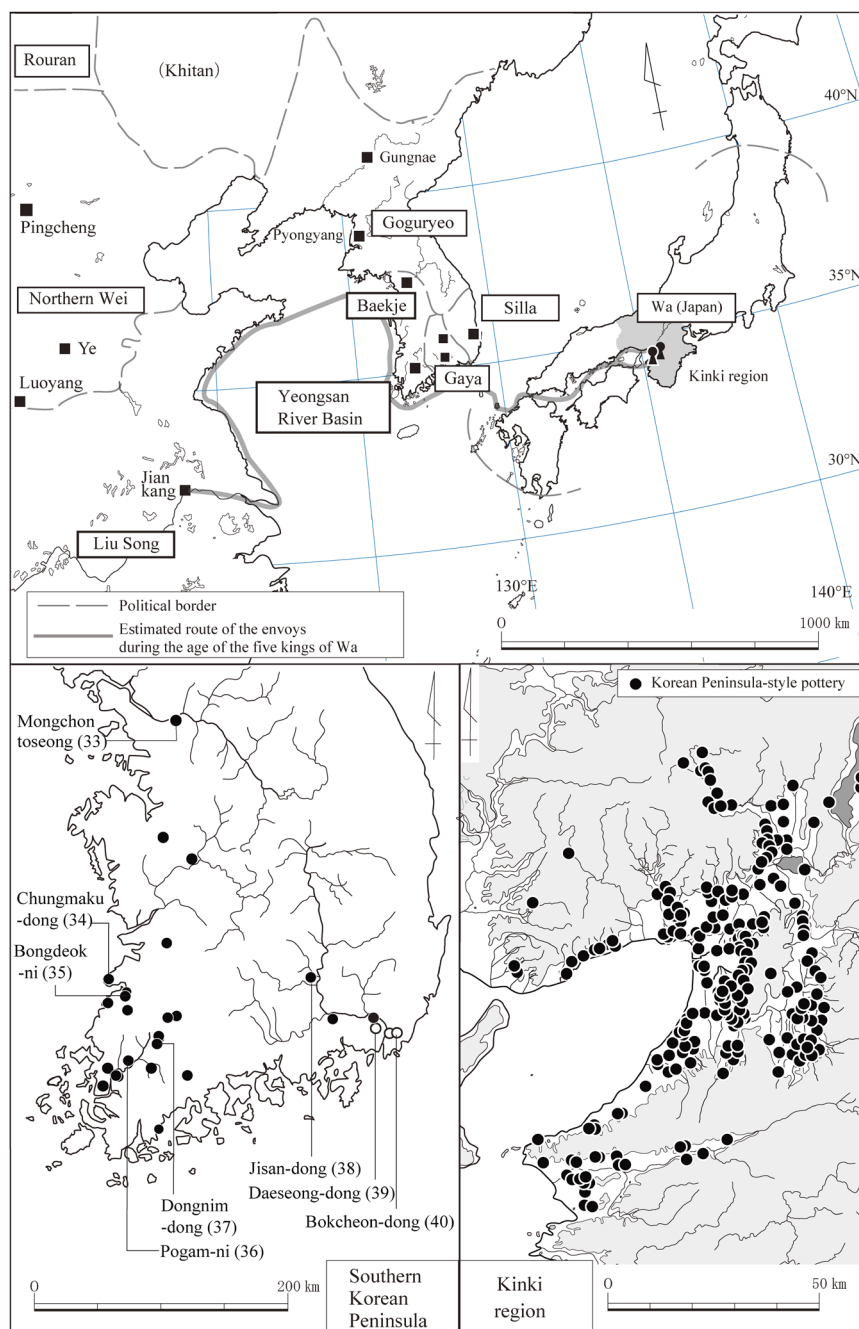
Figure 4. The political situation and distribution of Korean Peninsula-style pottery during the 5th century (numbers in parentheses correspond to the list of site reports at the end of this paper)

in the 4th century, began to weaken at the beginning of the 5th century. As the Daeseong-dong tomb group, royal tombs of the Geumgwan Gaya elite, entered a period of decline, significant Silla influence can be seen in the region from the early 5th century, attested to, for example, in the burial goods of the Bokcheon-dong tomb group.

The Northern Wei conquered the Northern Yan, who had established a stronghold in northeastern China, in 436, leading to its unification of northern China in 439 by Emperor Taiwu, while in southern China, Emperor Wu established the Song in 420. The subsequent Northern and Southern Dynasties began a period of relative stability.

Having experienced the turmoil and uncertainty throughout East Asia during the 4th century, the Japanese Archipelago's central polity began implementing an interregional-interaction strategy of technology (and knowledge) adoption during the 5th century (the Middle Kofun period). The author views this strategic change in policy as being prompted by the Yamato polity's desire to free itself from its significant dependency on the outside.

Applying a "medium-scale" approach to the political situation in the Japanese Archipelago reveals that power was rested from the polity in the Nara Basin, which had ruled from the middle of the 3rd century to the latter 4th century, by the Kawachi polity located on the Ōsaka Plain, a distance of some 30 to 40 km, or six to seven hours by foot. This emergent Kawachi polity achieved predominance and initiated strategic efforts to bolster the area under its control. A "local-scale and short-term" approach reveals that as local elites strengthened in concert with the Kawachi polity, those local elites tied to the previous polity of the southeastern Nara Basin declined.

Meanwhile, the goods importation strategy of interregional interaction continued to be implemented, evidenced by the importation of such items as horse trappings (Isahaya 2012), gilt-bronze goods, and glass objects from various regions throughout East Asia, including the Three Yan and Goguryeo of northeastern China and Silla and Daegaya of the southeastern Korean Peninsula (Park 2007); the emergent Kawachi polity was able to import essential goods, such as iron resources, by securing alliances with newly established powers throughout these regions.

Let us now consider four important archaeological phenomena: (1) The control of the military, economy, and ideology, as seen in the satellite tombs (*baichō*); (2) the increase in peninsular-style pottery and its relationship with local pottery; (3) the increase and trajectory of new settlements that functioned as hubs of development and craft production; and (4) the increase in dense tomb clusters attending the appearance of these new settlements.

Interaction seen through prestige goods: Control over the military, economy, and ideology   Let us consider the nature of technology adoption during the period of state formation with several archaeological examples. First, let us consider elite sources of power through burial goods.

The satellite tombs surrounding the large keyhole-shaped mounded tombs are instructive

when considering this issue. While the Mozu-Furuichi Mounded Tomb Group, one of the archipelago's largest tomb groups, provides a wealth of archaeological data necessary to consider the sources of power held by the highest elite of the central Yamato polity, the designation of many of the tombs as imperial mausolea renders the structure of their burial facilities and the nature of their burial goods unknown. On the other hand, excavations of their surrounding satellite tombs have revealed much about the proto-bureaucracy that supported the paramount elite.

A representative example is Nonaka Kofun, located in the center of the Furuichi Mounded Tomb Group, one of the largest tomb groups in the archipelago. An astounding eleven suits of iron armor were uncovered from this small-scale mounded tomb (Figure 5).

The numerous suits of iron armor found from this 5th-century tomb suggest the stable importation of iron raw materials from the Korean Peninsula by the central Yamato polity, in addition to the use of advanced ironworking techniques. The iron armor of this period utilized a frame made of 4 cm-wide iron bands that wrapped around the body. Smaller iron plates would then be fixed with rivets between these bands. Some armor also used hinges to make it easier to put on. The use of rivets and hinges was introduced by craftsmen from the Korean Peninsula. On the other hand, the design of the armor was native to the Japanese Archipelago and greatly different from that of the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, while the advanced technology was imported from the outside, it was adapted domestically, producing objects unique to the Japanese Archipelago.

The introduction of advanced technology, as seen in the iron armor of this period, in addition to its deposition in tombs, allowed for the ostentatious display of military power. Around 740 iron arrowheads and 150 iron swords were also uncovered from Nonaka Kofun. Tombs with such mass burials of weapons and armor were not seen before the 5th century and suggest the existence of a military power significant enough to allow the removal of such quantities of armaments from circulation. The 5th century also witnessed changes in weapons. During this period, long-necked arrowheads with increased piercing strength replaced the previous shorter-necked arrowheads. These long-necked arrowheads were also introduced from the Korean Peninsula and can be understood as a functional response to the spread of iron armor. Additionally, the changes seen in weaponry were intimately related to the practice of horseriding. In the 5th century, horseriding was introduced from the Korean Peninsula, leading to an increase in the burial of horseriding equipment and sites dedicated to the rearing of horses. The practice of horseriding introduced from the Korean Peninsula also suggests that warriors began using horses.

In addition to iron armor and weapons, a significant amount of new types of iron tools and agricultural implements was found from Nonaka. During this period, the agricultural implements used to till fields and clear land, in other words to enable the functioning of agricultural society, were wooden and tipped with iron blades. Those found from Nonaka

Left: Furuichi Mounded Tomb Group and Nonaka Kofun
Upper right: Hakayama Kofun and its satellite tombs
Bottom right: Burial goods of Nonaka Kofun (after drawing by KITANO Kōhei)

Armor from Nonaka Kofun

Miniature jars with handles and lids

Iron tools and farming implements

Figure 5. Nonaka Kofun and its burial goods

included the traditional square-shaped blades and newly introduced U-shaped blades, the spread of the latter accompanying a significant increase in iron tools. This allowed a great increase in the efficiency of public-works projects and agricultural productivity, as it enabled the new construction of wet-rice paddies on plateaus, whose hard soil had been difficult to dig until then. From the archaeological record, we can trace the steady importation of iron resources, the introduction of new ironworking techniques, and the exploitation of surplus. Groups of large storehouses dating to the 5th century have been found, such as at the Hōenzaka site in Ōsaka, where it has been estimated that enough food to feed 1,211 people for one year could have been stored. This allows us to reconstruct the image of a central polity utilizing not only military power, but also economic power as a source of its authority.

Next, let us look at daily life during this period. The production of Sue stoneware began in the archipelago with the introduction of a new ceramic industry from the southern Korean Peninsula in the 5th century. While the roots of the earliest Sue ware can be traced to the southern Korean Peninsula, in particular Gaya, it gradually evolved into styles unique to the archipelago aimed at mass production and efficiency. Interestingly, analysis of the clay reveals that Sue ware was sent out from the central Kinki region to southern Tōhoku in the east and to southern Kyūshū in the west, a direct distance of over 1,200 kilometers. This far-flung circulation stands in contrast to the significantly more localized distribution of stoneware on the Korean Peninsula. It is important to note that not only was new technology adopted, but it was further developed within the Japanese Archipelago.

Before the appearance of Sue ware, pottery in the Japanese Archipelago consisted of earthenware called Haji ware. While vessels for storage were also found in Haji ware, the storage capacity of pottery increased significantly following the introduction of Sue ware. The capacity of Haji jars from the 3rd to 4th centuries was 10 to 20 ℓ; in comparison, that of 5th-century Sue ware reached a maximum of 360 ℓ, with Sue ware storage vessels being mass produced to hold a range of 50 to 300 ℓ, in accordance with their function. Interpreted in tandem with the fact that steaming vessels (*koshiki*) were also introduced from the Korean Peninsula at the same time and large-capacity storage vessels were used in later periods for brewing, this drastic increase in the storage and carrying capacity of Sue ware suggests that the nature of the feasts hosted by the elite also underwent significant changes.

This control by the central polity of the military, economy, and ideology, seen through the mortuary data, was made possible by the successful implementation of the technology adoption strategy.

The movement of pottery and the role of immigrants   In order to understand the historical significance of this, let us once more consider the technology adoption strategy of foreign interaction, in which immigrants from the Korean Peninsula played an essential role (F. Tanaka 2005; K. Tanaka 2005). Using a "local-scale and short-term" approach, it is apparent that a stark disparity arose between those local elites and communities that

implemented a strategy of actively adopting new technology and knowledge and those that did not.

In the 5th century, new technologies, including iron- and metal-working, horse-riding, and a new ceramics industry, were introduced from the Korean Peninsula and sites yielding pottery from the peninsula greatly increased (Figure 6). Peninsula-style pottery has been unearthed from over 150 sites dating to this period within the Yamato polity's stronghold of the central Kinki region, an increase of over ten times over the preceding Early Kofun period, suggesting an increase in the number of immigrants from the peninsula. The roots of these immigrants has also become apparent in recent years through detailed typological analyses of unearthed artifacts (K. Tanaka 2005; Woo 2005; Kwon 2007, 2010; Nakano 2008; Ban & Nakano 2016; Nakakubo 2017; Terai 2018). While the homeland of these immigrants can be traced back to various areas across the peninsula, the majority were from the Yeongsan River Basin in the southwest and eastern Gaya along the southern coast. Interestingly, changes have been noted in the structure of settlements and the centralization of craft production during the 5th century in the Yeongsan River Basin (Lee 2016), displaying a situation very similar to that of the Kinki region in the archipelago. The finds of Sue ware in the southwestern Korean Peninsula that were brought from the Japanese Archipelago allow the reconstruction of bilateral contact between these two regions (Figure 4; Sakai 2013; Nakakubo 2017).
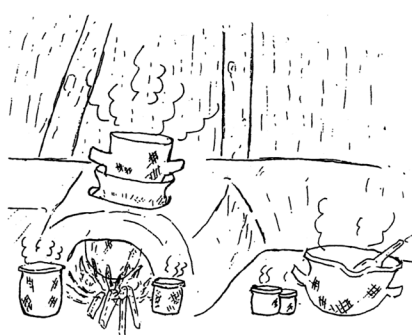
Nevertheless, the majority of pottery from settlements remained that of the local tradition, with peninsula-style pottery making up less than 10% of that found. This suggests that local settlements in the archipelago accepted immigrants from the Korean Peninsula into their communities.

Craft production and settlements   Numerous iron and pottery workshops utilizing new technology innovations have been found from within and around settlements where immigrants from the Korean Peninsula settled (Horita 1993; Hanada 2002; Hishida 2007). The advanced technology and knowledge of these immigrants were highly prized.

Numerous archaeological sites exemplary of this have been found, in particular since 2000. Examples are found in particular from the area associated with the Furuichi Mounded Tomb Group, such as the Nagahara site group and Shitomiyakita site (Figure 7).

At the Nagahara site group, evidence for ironworking, woodworking, lacquer craft, which was also used in finishing weapons and armor, beadmaking, and horse rearing has been found (K. Tanaka 2005). Well known as horse-rearing settlements, the Shitomiyakita and Saragunjōri sites have also yielded evidence for various craft production activities, suggesting that these sites' purview extended beyond equestrian activities and included the production of weapons and horse gear.

Here it is important to note that the Nagahara and Shitomiyakita sites were home to settled groups of immigrants. Considering that the introduction of new technology and
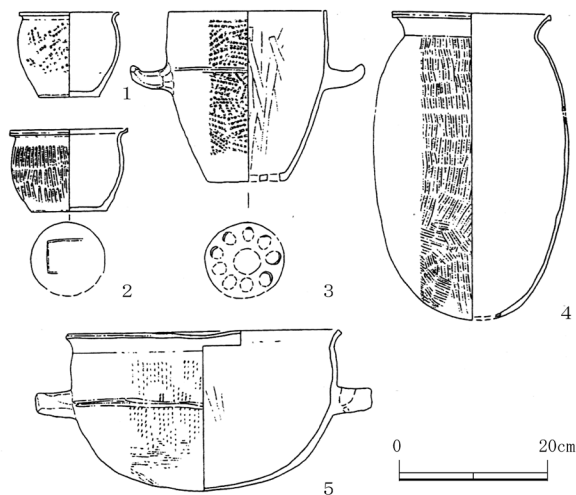
Cooking with Korean Peninsula-style earthenware
Elongated pots for boiling water over the stove
Steaming vessels placed atop the elongated pots
Cooking pots for providing food for large groups of people
Small flat-bottomed bowls for cooking soup or side dishes
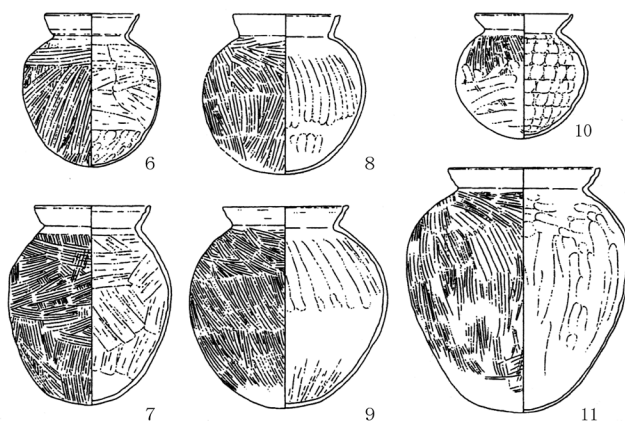in front of the stove

Cooking with Wa-style earthenware (Haji ware)
(4th century to the first half of the 5th century AD)
Large- and medium-sized spherical pots for rice cooking on fireplaces built on the dirt floor
Small- and medium-sized spherical pots used for cooking soup, rice, or side dishes
Dwellings with built-in stoves began to spread from the end of the 4th century through the 5th century

Korean Peninsula-style earthenware
Small flat-bottomed bowls (kogata hirazoko bachi): 1. Saragunjōri (10); 2. Fujiwara Palace Lower Stratum (25)
Steaming vessels (*koshiki*): 3. Kyūhōji (11);   Elongated pots (*kame*): 4. Tajime-miyauchi (12)
Cooking pots (*nabe*): 5. Kitoragawa (13)
Wa-style earthenware (Haji ware)
Spherical pots (*kame*): 6. Yamadamichi sublayer (26); 7,8. Tomondo-higashi (27); 9. Wani-morimoto (28); 10. Nagahara (14);
11. Kozakaai (7)

Figure 6.   Comparison of Korean Peninsula-style earthenware and Furu-type Haji ware (numbers in parentheses correspond to the list of site reports at the end of this paper)
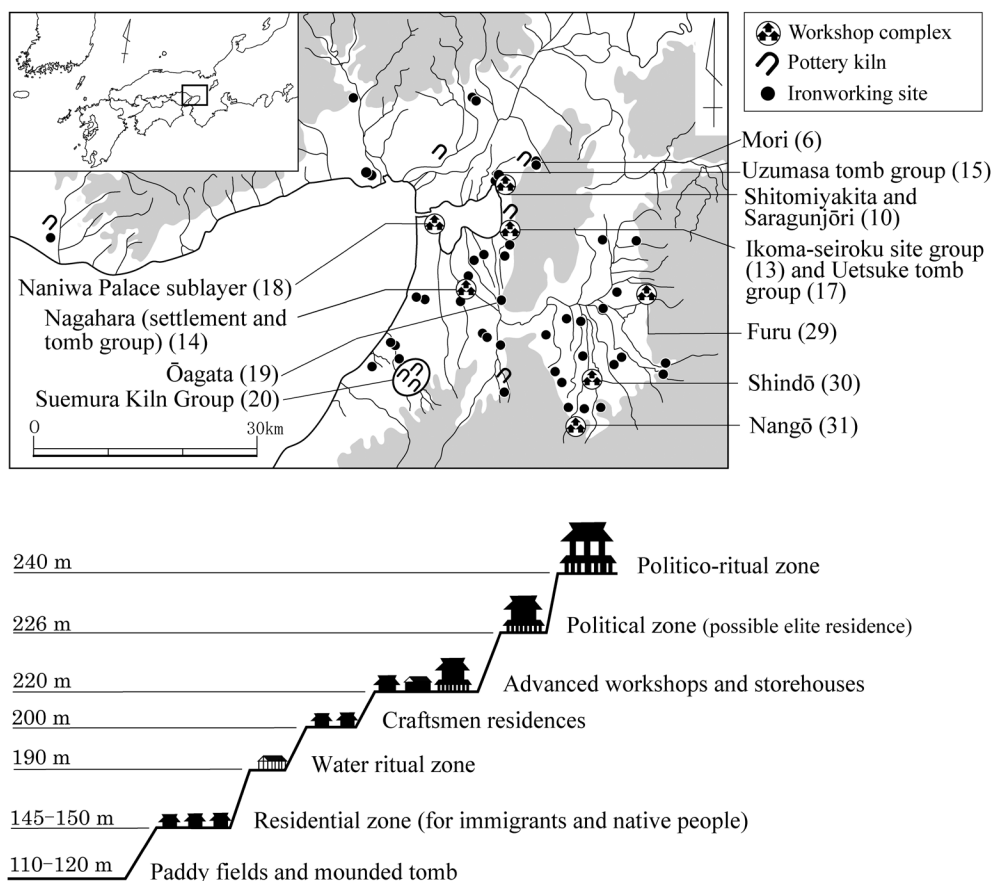
Figure 7. Distribution of craft-production sites in the 5ᵗʰ century (top) and the functional stratification of the Nangō site group (bottom) (numbers in parentheses correspond to the list of site reports at the end of this paper)

knowledge following the immigration and settling of peninsular groups and the transmission to local groups through close mutual interaction greatly contributed to the promotion and development of craft-production technologies, we can surmise that not only did the central polity attempt to develop this area around Kawachi Lake into a center of advanced technology, but also that the local elites working to actually implement these policies played important strategic roles.

We can understand the relationship between immigrants from the Korean Peninsula and local elite groups through an analysis of the Nangō site group in Nara Prefecture. This site group presented a hierarchical layout and was home to the Katsuragi family, a powerful elite family within the central polity. BAN Yasushi and AOYAGI Taisuke suggested that the sub-

sites within the site group displayed a functional specialization, with, for example, a ritual and political center at the Gokurakuji-hibiki site and a workshop complex at the Kadota site (Ban 2009; Aoyagi 2014). Let us consider this functional specialization in relation to the terrain at the base of Mount Kongō, where the site complex is located. The site complex was organized vertically in a planned and functional manner: At the highest elevation were large buildings forming a politico-ritual zone (the Gokurakuji-hibiki site); at the next lower elevation was a political zone or elite residence (the Nangō-yashida site); below that was a workshop complex utilizing advanced technology (the Kadota site), a large storehouse group (the Ido-otada site), a ritual zone equipped with an area for water rituals (the Ōhigashi site), and residences for immigrant and local groups (the Sadayunoki, Senbu, Shimochaya-kamata sites); finally, at the lowest elevation were wet-rice paddies and the Muromiyayama keyhole-shaped mounded tomb. The author interprets this as reflecting the strategy adopted by the political group that would come to be called the Katsuragi to carry out a technology adoption strategy. It may also be possible to interpret a similar hierarchical layout at the Furu site, which was home to the Mononobe family, another powerful elite family within the central polity. The author suggests that the appearance of such functionally stratified sites in the 5th century reflects the growth of the central polity's administrative system following the implementation of its "technology adoption strategy" of interregional interaction.

Within a "local-scale and short-term" framework, these agricultural settlements in the Kinki region were similar in their acceptance of immigrants from the Korean Peninsula; differences arose, however, based on the number of immigrants accepted and their level of embeddedness. The acceptance of outside groups required a myriad of tasks, such as arranging living quarters and provisions and safeguarding employment and livelihood; for the elite leaders of agricultural communities, these were new issues that needed to be addressed in the 5th century. Differences between settlements apparent in the nature of unearthed pottery exceed simple differences in archaeological data, indicating the tolerance of agricultural communities and the administrative strategies employed by their representative elite. Interestingly, this network of settlements with immigrants overlaps with the official road system established by the state in the 8th century. This suggests that the substratum of land-borne transportation in ancient Japan rested atop the infrastructure developed from the 5th century utilizing the knowledge of immigrants from the Korean Peninsula (Ichi 2016).

Emergence of the proto-bureaucracy We can also see the emergence of new settlements mirrored in elite mounded-tomb construction: For example, small-scale subsidiary or satellite tombs built around large-scale keyhole-shaped mounded tombs, such as Nonaka Kofun; or dense clusters of small-scale tombs (Shiraishi 1976; Wada 1992, 2004; Migishima 2012).

The early tomb clusters seen predominantly in the 5th century present several

commonalities: (1) Their construction period overlaps with that of the satellite tombs, appearing in the early 5th century and spreading throughout the Kinai region during the mid to late 5th century; (2) their construction continues even through periods of inactivity within lineages of chiefly tombs; (3) they display a strong connection to emergent settlements; and (4) they are equipped with characteristic *haniwa* and Sue ware, including that made by local kilns (Nakakubo 2017).

Interestingly, during the 5th century, the area surrounding Kawachi Lake was home to such emergent settlements and clusters of small-scale tombs. The promotion of concentrated craft production utilizing immigrant craft groups from the Korean Peninsula began around the beginning of the 5th century, typified by the Nagahara tomb cluster at the northern edge of the Kawachi Plateau; settlements subsequently expanded northward around Kawachi Lake, appearing along the western foot of Mount Ikoma (the Nishinotsuji, Kōnami, and Kitoragawa sites) and the Uemachi Plateau (the Naniwa Palace sublayer) in the mid 5th century and in North Kawachi (the Shitomiyakita-saragunjōri, Takamiya, and Mori sites) from the late 5th century. The growth of these settlements coincided with the construction periods of the Nagahara (Central Kawachi), Uetsuke (western foot of Mount Ikoma), and Uzumasa (North Kawachi) tomb clusters.

While the commencement of relations with the southern Chinese dynasty of Liu Song, political change on the Korean Peninsula, the evolution of a military organization (Toyoshima 2010), and the emergence of new settlements, in addition to numerous other complicated and multifaceted sociopolitical factors, must be taken into account when considering the appearance of these clustered tombs in the Kinki region, the author wishes to draw particular attention to their relationship with the construction of satellite tombs.

Subordinate elites, who increased in importance as facilitators of administration attending increasing complexity of the governing apparatus and are believed to have been buried in the satellite tombs, responded to the changing East-Asian atmosphere by strengthening the military organization and foreign relations and promoting and organizing craft production. Against this backdrop, they strengthened their ties with emergent elites in order to facilitate the carrying out of necessary activities, thereby preparing the groundwork for the formation of bureaucracy within the Japanese Archipelago's central polity.

When considered in this way, the increase in small tomb clusters, emergence of a bureaucracy, and the qualitative evolution of the elite that Mizoguchi suggested characterized the 6th century (Mizoguchi 2014) can actually be witnessed in the Kinki region of the 5th century. The author asserts that it was the technology-knowledge adoption strategy that galvanized this development.

Let us now turn our attention to the 6th century. During the Late Kofun period, miniature vessels for steaming rice and double-pronged metal hairpins have drawn attention as objects closely related to immigrant groups. Research by MIZUNO Masayoshi (Mizuno 1969), who

drew a connection between the miniature steaming vessels and Baekje immigrants with a strong connection to China, and SEKIGAWA Hisayoshi (Sekigawa 1988), who suggested that the miniature steaming vessels were influenced by the *mingqi* of China and that their burial, together with hairpins, betrayed the existence of Chinese immigrants, is highly instructive even today. Recent finds from Korea reward attention: Miniature steaming vessels, hairpins, and silver bracelets have been found on the periphery of Baekje, such as from the Yeobang-ri tomb group in Gunsan city; additionally, the excavation of the Gamil-dong tomb group in Hanam city revealed that miniature steaming vessels and silver hairpins were buried in pre-475 tombs in central Baekje. It may be possible to trace these artifacts back to the Eastern Jin (317–420) of China (The Nanjing Museum 2001). It has thus become possible to parse the existence of Chinese immigrants from within central Baekje.

Tombs with burials of miniature steaming vessels and hairpins concentrate in the Iware, Asuka, and Katsuragi areas of Yamato province, the Ishi River Basin and southern Ikoma area in Kawachi province, and to the southwest of Lake Biwa in Ōmi province, and similarities have been noted between the Ichisuka tomb group in Ōsaka Prefecture and the Shiga tomb group in Shiga Prefecture (Hori 2009). While these regions do not necessarily overlap with the area of dense concentration of peninsula-style earthenware during the Middle Kofun period, they nevertheless (1) display strong connections to newly developed areas dating from the end of the Middle Kofun period to the Late Kofun period and (2) are located on the environs of areas presumed to have been palaces. While it can be inferred that writing was transferred to the Japanese Archipelago from China via Baekje, we have now entered a stage where archaeological data can be marshaled to analyze the movement of related Chinese immigrants (Nakakubo 2018a).

Conclusion

Over the approximately 400 years from the fall of the Han dynasty beginning in AD 220, through the reunification of China in 589 by the Sui, to the establishment of the Tang in 618, the East Asian world witnessed the rise and fall of numerous dynasties and experienced the movement and assimilation of various peoples. It is surely no coincidence that the central region of the Japanese archipelago began its maturation into a full-fledged ancient state during this period of innovation and rearrangement of the East Asian world order. It is within this context that we can understand the pivotal role played by intercultural interaction and foreign relations during the Kofun period.

While the largest keyhole-shaped mounded tombs were continuously constructed in the central Kinki region, each phase of the Kofun period witnessed 20 to 30 km movements within this area: They were built in the southeastern Nara Basin during the Early Kofun period; the southern Ōsaka Plain during the Middle Kofun; and the northern Ōsaka Plain

during the Late Kofun. This has been interpreted as reflecting the transfer of hegemony among different groups in the Kinki region within the Yamato polity, and it has been suggested that the construction of various chiefly tomb lineages across the archipelago fluctuated in reaction to these changes at the paramount level (Tsude 1991). Moreover, these significant landmarks in mounded-tomb construction coincide with changes in the political situation of East Asia and related interregional-interaction strategies.

Because the goods and technology attained through foreign interaction became essential sources of power for emergent groups, the political repercussions of change were unavoidable.

In this paper, the author suggests that the focus of the interregional interaction strategy during the Kofun period shifted from the goods importation strategy to the technology-knowledge adoption strategy, thereby facilitating the stable development of the central polity's power. These two strategies were certainly not mutually exclusive, but rather coexisted in a dynamic interplay of change and development, with new strategies being grounded on those adopted previously and implemented progressively (Figure 8). In the case of the Japanese Archipelago, ancient state formation was significantly impacted by acute responses to changes in the East-Asian environment and the implementation of appropriately tailored strategies.

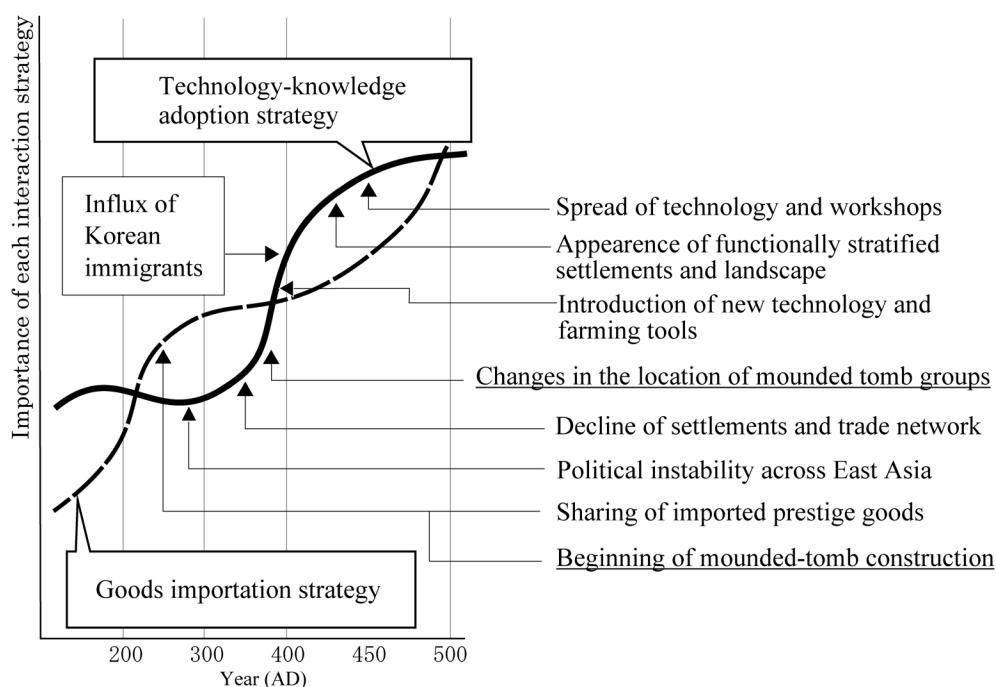The central Japanese Archipelago thus presents a prime case study of elites located on

Figure 8. *Changes in the intercultural interaction strategies of the Kofun period*

the fringe of a primary state utilizing foreign-relations strategies to successfully enact social change. Fruitful avenues for future research include comparisons with other case studies from around the world.

Notes

1) Conceptions of the preceding Yayoi period have changed greatly within Japanese archaeology. Traditionally, the Yayoi period was considered a time when difference in social rank increased, preparing the way for the emergence of a class society. From the 2000s, however, the conception of a considerably more egalitarian Yayoi period has gained traction. Additionally, some have suggested that a class society had yet to emerge even in the following Kofun period (Mizoguchi 2014). Further discussion grounded in cross-cultural comparison and fine-tuned analysis is necessary. In either case, a class society is positioned as having developed quickly over one to two centuries. Both positions find common ground in emphasizing fluctuations in the international environment and changes in interregional interaction networks as the catalyst for social change, albeit at considerably different junctures: Either during the period from the Late Yayoi to Early Kofun period or during the Terminal Kofun period.

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