

Bodily Representation and Cross-dressing in the Yayoi and Kofun Periods

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, I re-examined the perception of sex/gender in the Yayoi period, and then pursued the possibility of cross-dressing bodily representation based on case studies of the Yayoi and Kofun periods. Regarding the former, I confirmed that genitals and breasts tended not to be represented in the bodily representation of the Yayoi period. I pointed out that it is important to reexamine how the biological and anatomical differences between females and males were discovered and given meaning in the gendered process. As for the latter, I discussed the possibility of cross-dressing bodily representation in case studies of buried skeletons from the late Yayoi to Kofun periods at the Hirota site on Tanegashima Island, Kagoshima Prefecture, and of human haniwa (clay figurines) from the Kabutozuka Kofun in Tochigi Prefecture during the late Kofun period. As a result, it was pointed out that cross-dressing bodily representation appeared in relation to the social structure of the time, and the possibility of male's clothing being linked to stratification. At the same time, I pointed out that the categories of "females" and "males" were themselves variable in the context of the times.

KEYWORDS: Yayoi period, Kofun period, gender, cross-dressing, bodily representation

Whether or not it is possible to find bodily representations of cross dressing in archaeological artefacts depends to a large extent on the view of the individual researcher or of contemporary society. Cross-dressing is generally defined as dressing in a manner typical of the other sex (Lovaas 2004). In this paper, however, due to the nature of archaeological artefacts examined and in order to expand the number of attributes to be analysed, cross-dressing is broadly defined to include all body representation, including hairstyles and personal accessories. The term "cross-dressing" is used here regardless of whether it is intentional or unintentional, conscious or unconscious. The main arguments of this paper are as follows.

First, cross-dressing bodily representation cannot be found in gender-dual interpretations that understand objects as having gender-representing/defining effects only when they are associated with or represent either "women" or "men." For example, it occurs when an attribute normally associated with a woman is associated with a man. However, in such a case, the interpretation pattern would be X) scepticism about the gender representation

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and interpretation of the object itself, or Y) the assumption of other factors such as social status rather than gender only when the object is associated with men. I believe that these interpretations of X) and Y) arise from taking sex or gender as an interpretive premise in a binary theory of men and women, and then unconsciously applying that binary classification to objects. As Rosemary Joyce (Joyce 2008, p. 18) and Mary Weismantel (Weismantel 2013, p. 322), who question the relationship between biological sex and cultural and social sex (gender) in archaeology, and others who look at transgender archaeology, have already argued the stance that it is necessary to move away from assumptions of simple sex or gender duality and treatment of gender according only to traits that can be assigned to one of the two categories.

Second is the need to aim at restoring past perceptions of the body, rather than modern, a priori gender, to the concept of “opposite sex” as a precondition for defining cross-dressing. For example, to what extent were differences in reproductive organs an integral part of gender categories in past societies? According to Akasaka Shunichi, in the Middle Ages in Western Europe, gender differences were recognized as differences in body temperature and moisture (Akasaka 2010, p. 62).

In this paper, I would like to first examine bodily perceptions of the past, and then explore the specific aspects of cross-dressing in the Yayoi and Kofun periods.

1. Biological body and gender

How did people in the past perceive their own bodies in relation to gender? Let us consider the example of the Yayoi culture, which is rich in pictorial materials and figurines. Fukazawa (1987) pointed out that gender symbols in pictorial materials and figurines of the period are few. Phallic-shaped stone objects (*sekibō*) were found throughout western Japan dating to the early Yayoi period, but from the end of the first half of the period, when pictorial materials appeared, genitalia were rarely represented in either paintings or figurines.¹

Shitara (2007) studied the history of gender relations between males and females in the Yayoi period based on figurines. What is most noteworthy about Shitara’s research is that he has shown that the male–female gender pair is not universal but the product of history. On the other hand, even in figurines, there are few individual items that represent sex symbols. Based on compilation of the results found by Shitara and Ishikawa (2017), of 15 figurine-shaped vessels (*dogū-gata yōki*) that show the condition of the chest,² only two (the Fuchinokami example from Nagano Prefecture and the Nakayashiki example from Kanagawa Prefecture) figuratively represent breasts. Similarly, of the 13 wooden figurines (*mokugū*)³ that have external genitalia, two have external genitalia (examples from Dainakanoko-minami and Yunobe, Shiga Prefecture).

The possibility that size of body represents gender has earlier been pointed out by Tsude (1989) and Harunari (1990) based on their analysis of bronze bell (*dōtaku*) pictures. Their researches are consistent with the earlier work of Shitara Hiromi (2007). On the other hand, Shitara's study shows that the attribute of size varies from period to period as the power relationship between males and females changes. There are views that affirm the general tendency that a narrow waist represents a woman (Shitara 2007; Harunari 2007), but there are also claims that such a distinction is not made in painted materials (Mitsumoto 2006; Matsumoto 2008). In the past, I have argued from the perspective of *dōtaku* and pottery paintings that the gendered representation of the whole body in the mid to late Yayoi period was achieved through gestures (actions) without going through genitalia. In the late Yayoi period, with the emergence and development of tattoo paintings, not only genitals but also actions were omitted, and genderization was achieved through the cultural elements of personal "faces" and "tattoos" (Mitsumoto 2006).

If we go back to historian Joan Scott's famous definition of gender as "knowledge about sexual difference" (Scott 1992, p. 2), it is rather unclear from pictorial materials and figurines what meaning was given to differences in biological bodies from the mid-Yayoi period onward. In other words, it is important to re-examine how biological and anatomical differences between males and females, including genitalia, were acknowledged/expressed and given meaning in the genderization process.

2. Hirota Site, Tanegashima Island

2.1 Outline of the site and some issues

The Hirota site on Tanegashima Island, Kagoshima Prefecture, is an example of pioneering research that recognized the special power of cross-dressing bodily representations. With its abundance of human remains and burial accessories, it provides a valuable case for considering the issues discussed in the previous section.⁴ The site is a mass grave dating from the late Yayoi period to the Kofun period. The first three excavations by Kokubu Naoichi, Morizono Naotaka, and Kanaseki Takeo in 1957–1959 unearthed the remains of more than 150 people and more than 40000 shell ornaments.

During the excavation of the site, Kokubu and his colleagues focused on a male human skeleton buried in a unique manner (DIII District No. 2, hereafter referred to as DIII-2; Figure 1), and interpreted it as a "shaman having both sexes/genders" (Kanaseki 1975; Kokubu 1975; Kuwabara ed. 2003). According to Kokubu 1975, the DIII-2 skeleton (1) wore a large number of shell pendants (*tōtetsu-mon kaifu*), (2) wore dragon-shaped shell ornaments (*ryū-hai-gata kaisei suishoku*), (3) wore *Sinustrombus latissimus* shell bracelets (*gohōra-sei kaiwa*), (4) was not reburied (characteristic of female burials), (5) had a dominant skeleton that is male but appears feminine. This male also has female

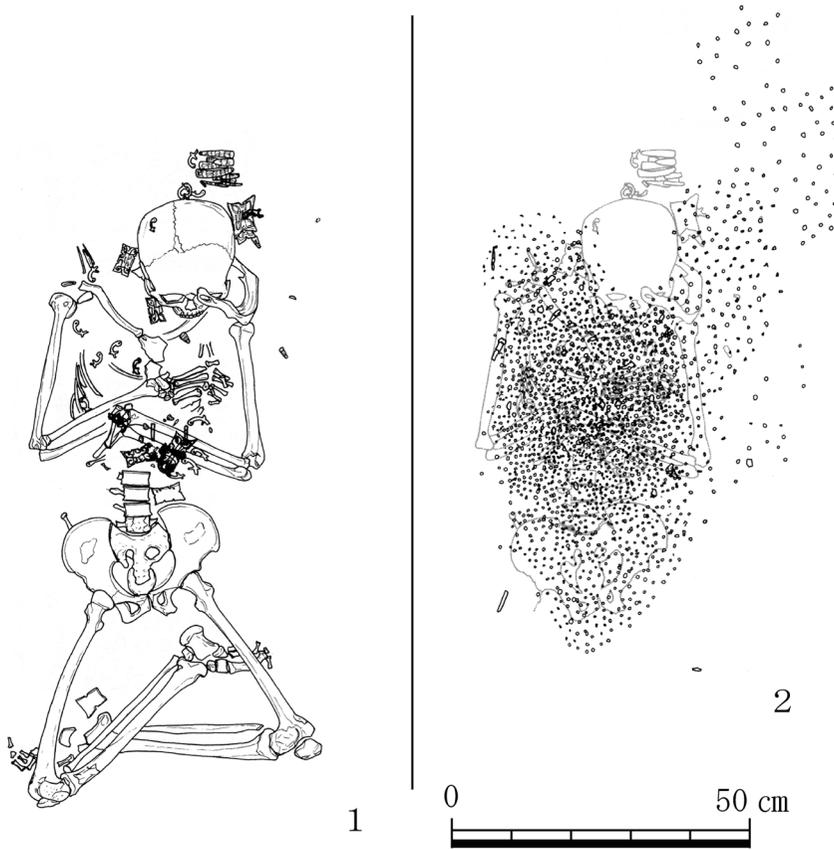


Figure 1. DIII-2 remains at Hirota site (Kuwabara Hisao, ed. 2003. *Tanegashima Hirota Site*. Kagoshima: Kagoshima Prefectural Center for History and Archives, Reimeikan)

characteristics (1), (2), and (4). Kokubu interpreted it as a special shaman who embodied the abilities of both sexes/genders in a unified manner. Since then, Kokubu’s interpretation has had an impact beyond the archaeological community. In support of Kokubu’s theory, Mitsuhashi Junko, who conducts cultural history research on cross-dressing and gender “gender-crossing,” cites this case as one in which cross-dressers were considered to have a special power to transcend and integrate the male and female categories, or “power derived from both sexes/genders” (Mitsuhashi 2008, pp. 37–45). Referring to folk examples and the *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan), Mitsuhashi also argues that the “duality principle” (awe and reverence for duality) has existed not only in the Nansei Islands but also in Japan since ancient times.

The long-awaited report by Kokubu and his colleagues published in 2003 did not evaluate the remains of DIII-2 as cross-dressing or as a shaman having both sexes/

genders, except for the transcript of an oral report given by Kokubu and Morizono on the background and outline of the research. The reason for this is not clear, but here I would like to look at the research by Yamochi Kumie (2000), which was presented before the publication of the Kokubo *et al.* report. Yamochi's study (2000) analysed the percentage of male and female holders of shell bracelets and shell pendants, including those made of *gohōra* [*Sinustrombus latissimus*]. As a result, she found that a) the ratio of male to female ownership of shell bracelets was about 1 : 2, with females owning more shell bracelets than males, and b) although females tended to own more shell amulets, a certain number of males also owned shell amulets. In other words, the existence of shell amulets cannot be regarded as feminine, and as a result, the theory of dual-sex priestesses was rejected.

However, following the definitions I mentioned at the beginning of this article, these interpretations are pattern X) and can also be developed into pattern Y). In other words, it is not possible to extract cross-dressing bodily representations from these patterns of interpretation in the first place.

2.2 Analysis

At this point, I would like to summarize again the relationship between remains and burial accessories for the DIII-2 skeleton and contemporaneous materials (Figure 2). In the report on the Hirota site, Kinoshita Naoko presented the results of her detailed research on the shell ornaments (Kinoshita 2003). The burial remains were grouped based on the strata and category of shell ornament. Remains [Skeleton] No. DIII-2 is considered to belong to the "Lower Typology I" group (late Yayoi to early Kofun periods). Based on Kinoshita's research and findings on the remains in the report, I would like to examine nine of the ten burials in this group, excluding one multi-burial structure for which gender is unidentified. Figure 2 lists the sex of the remains and burial accessories for each subject. The order of the remains is based on the proximity of the sex and the contents of the burial accessories. According to the report, there is some uncertainty about the gender of the remains of nos. S1 and A5, but it is pointed out that the former may be male and the latter may be female. The following points may be gleaned from Figure 2.⁵

- a) The shell bracelet is consistent with the male/female classification of the skeletons, and is present only on female remains.
- b) All three male skeletons are accompanied by the dragon-shaped shell ornament, but only one of the five female skeletons was accompanied by it. Therefore, there is a male-leaning trend in the number of dragon-shaped shell ornaments. The DIII-2 skeleton stands out in terms of quantity.
- c) Shell pendants are present in both males and females, but except for DIII-2, they tend to be more abundant with female skeletons. The male DIII-2 skeleton had more shell pendants than the female ones.

Skeleton No.	Skeleton			Shell beads										Shell artefacts sum total		
	Gender type	Male	Female	Age	Dragon-shaped pendant	Shell bracelet	Shell pendant	Shell beads sum total	Conidae	Thin type dentalium	Thick type dentalium	Striped engima	Perforated disk-shaped artefact		Turbo marmoratus-made container	Glass beads
SI	A	1?		young	2		1	184	87	87	7	3		1		370
D-VII-1	A	1		young to adult	3		1	87	69	17	1					175
D-III-2	B	1		adult	25		9	10064	6272	2185	1584	23			1	20138
D-II-4	B'			infant	8		2	2653	1950	564	109	30		1	12	5321
C-5	C	1		adult	4	1	6	750	617	110	21	2		1		1508
A-5	D	1?		adult to middle adult		23	6	123	1	112	10					275
C-11	D	1		adult		13	4	1095	1044	33	13	5	2			2209
A-4	D	1		adult		8	3	143	97	3	6	37				297
EX-1	E	1		adult		4	1	0								5

Figure 2. *Combinations of human remains and burial goods at the Hirota site*
 Legend: Numbers represent quantities (Kinoshita 2003). The highest numbers are shaded.

d) Shell beads tend to be relatively common in juvenile and female remains, except for DIII-2.

In this way, it can be said that No. DIII-2 shows masculine characteristics in the shell bracelet and the dragon-shaped shell ornaments, but feminine characteristics in the shell pendants. In addition, considering the fact that DIII-2 has the largest number of ornaments in terms of quantity, it is also possible to interpret DIII-2 as having masculine characteristics in the dragon-shaped shell ornaments and feminine characteristics in the shell amulets. Therefore, based on the shell ornaments, we can conclude that DIII-2 has both masculine and feminine characteristics.

In addition, it is also possible to find cross-dressing bodily representations on skeletons other than DIII-2. No. 5, the only female skeleton in District C, has the male-associated dragon-shaped shell ornament, and the number of female-associated shell bracelets is small. Juvenile skeleton is also cross-dressing in that it is accompanied by a large amount of shell beads, which tend to be more common with females, while the juvenile remains have the dragon-shaped shell ornaments. Juvenile skeleton is also cross-dressing in that the remains holds a large amount of shell beads [*kaitama*].

Thus, if we subdivide by gender based on the combination of burial objects and the gender of the human remains (including those that are unclear), we can classify them into five or six categories as shown in Figure 2.

Class A: Accompanied by a small amount of shell amulets and dragon-shaped shell ornaments. No shell bracelets: Two male skeletons.

Class B: The largest number of shells, dragon pendants, and shell beads. No shell bracelets: One male skeleton (DIII-2).

Class B': Similar combination of Class B and shellfish products, but in smaller quantity than Class B. Juvenile skeleton.

Class C: More shell marks and dragon pendants than Class A, but also shell bracelets: One female skeleton.

Class D: With shell amulets and many shell rings. No ornament: Three female skeletons.

Class E: Female skeleton with shell amulets and shell bracelets, no dragon-shaped shell ornaments; no shell beads: One female skeleton.

In this way, rather than assuming a clear division into male and female, we can think of Group I as the product of multiple genders, including minute differences, in relation to burial accessories (type and quantity) and sex. The masculine gender is class A, and the feminine gender is classes D and E. The two classes are at the poles, but there are differences among classes D and E as well. In between these two groups, DIII-2 stands out as intermediate due to the abundance of burial accessories, followed by the juvenile skeleton and the skeleton of District C, No. 5.

On the other hand, if the above is true, then biological sex also became a reference point

in the process of gendering, which can be inferred from the fact that certain combinations of burial objects and human remains are found. In terms of detailed gender differences, however, rather than the burial accessories (gender) being solely defined by sex, I believe that the interaction of sex and gender was created in the context of burial rituals.

As for the DIII-2 human remains, which are intermediate in terms of gender and possess a wealth of secondary burials, as well as the paediatric human remains and the C area No. 5 human remains, it is possible that hierarchical excellence was also achieved. If we argue in this way, we may rather have the following objections. In other words, the content and quantity of the burial accessories may simply reflect hierarchy, not gender. However, I do not think it is necessary to choose between gendered and stratified. First of all, I think it is a general category that cross-dressing phenomena (or phenomena that cross the gender binary) are accompanied by stratification, as I will explain later. Second, I do not think it is necessary to interpret the two aspects of the display of hierarchy and gender of burial objects based on gender dualism. In general terms, burial accessories are interpreted to indicate the hierarchy of the buried subject by their quality and quantity. If the burial object is a “hierarchically dominant male” or a “hierarchically dominant female,” which conforms to the framework of gender dualism, then perhaps there will be no criticism. Why is it that as soon as we use the term “hierarchically dominant cross-dressers” (or intermediate or cross-dressing bodily representation with respect to gender), we are forced to choose between the two, thinking that it is not a matter of gender but of stratification? Such criticism is ultimately based on the assumption of gender dualism, which is why I do not agree with it in this paper.

3. Human-shaped *Haniwa*

3.1 Cross-dressing Bodily Representations in Human-shaped *Haniwa*

It was Sugiyama Shinsaku (2003, 2006) who pointed out that cross-dressing bodily representations are recognized on human-shaped *haniwa* (clay figures) from the Kofun (mounded tomb) period. Sugiyama pointed out that there is a *haniwa* from the Shiroyama No. 1 tomb in Chiba Prefecture that has both the male hairstyle (*mizura*: divide the hair into left and right sections and tie the ends of each section around the ears) and breast representation (double line engraving). The author has also been studying human-shaped *haniwa* clay images with cross-dressing bodily representations, such as Tsukamawari No. 4 Kofun in Gunma Prefecture (Mitsumoto 2006), the Aramaki Kofun in Nara Prefecture (Mitsumoto 2013a), the Yatano Ejiri Kofun in Ishikawa Prefecture, Harayama No. 1 Kofun in Fukushima Prefecture, and others (Mitsumoto 2013b). Normally, human-shaped *haniwa* are first classified as male or female according to their hairstyle and whether or not they have breasts. In general, there are two types of hairstyles for the human-shaped *haniwa*:

the *mage*, with long hair tied up at the top of the head, and the *mizura*, with hair parted left and right in the middle of the head and tied up near the ears (Kobayashi 1974). The former, with breast expression, is considered to be a female hairstyle, while the latter, without breast expression, is considered to be a male hairstyle. However, these are attributes chosen for the purpose of dividing them into two groups, male and female. The author's approach, therefore, is to analyse from a single *kofun* the shared relationship of attributes of the entire bodily representation of a group of human-shaped *haniwa* excavated.

3.2 Outline of Kabutozuka Kofun, Tochigi Prefecture

In this paper, I would like to take up Kabutozuka Kofun (80m long, scallop-shaped mound, TK43 type)⁶ in Tochigi Prefecture as a new case for gender analysis (Kimura, ed. 2014). Kabutozuka Kofun is known as a burial mound in which an abundance of human clay figurines, including two depicting figures weaving on looms, were excavated in good condition. The gender of the 20 human-shaped *haniwa*, excluding a shield-bearing *haniwa*, is assumed to be based on their position upon excavation, rather than their hair style or



Figure 3. Human-shaped *haniwa* from Kabutozuka Kofun (Kimura et al. 2014)

the presence of breasts (see Figure 3). In order from the stone chamber side, they are considered as follows (Hidaka 2014).

Figurine nos. 10–16: Males

Figurine nos. 1–9: Females (including loom-weaving type)

Figurine nos. 17–20: Males (horse-drawn terra-cotta tomb figurine)

The above aspect of Kabutozuka Kofun has been evaluated as a group of human *haniwa* clay images based on two distinct categories, male and female (Hidaka 2014). It is noteworthy that the largest female *haniwa*, with a bowl on her head, belonging to group 2, is the central figure of this *haniwa* group and is considered to represent the burial subject of this tomb (Hidaka 2014, 2016; Higashimura 2017). It is not my intention to pursue the possibility of its representing the latter burial or not. In the previous case analyses that the author has undertaken, the arrangement of human-shaped *haniwa* was not taken into account. In this paper, I would like to explore the gender structure of the *haniwa* images in the *kofun* tombs based on the arrangement of the *haniwa*, including this central figurine No. 6.

3.3 Analysis

Figure 4 lists the human-shaped *haniwa* of Kabutozuka Kofun in the order of their excavation location (the right side is on the stone chamber side, and the left side is on the rear circle side). First of all, I would like to focus on the relationship between the presence or absence of a headdress and the hairstyle. In order from the stone chamber side, we can find a) No. 16 with a hat and hair worn down (*mizura*), and No. 15 with a hat and hair swept upward (*mizura* style), b) nos. 9, 6, and 5 with a headband and *mage* style hair, and c) No. 7 with a fragment of a possible crown excavated from the vicinity. The relationship between hairstyle and headdress in c) is not known, but the situation in a) and b) can be seen to correspond to the form of the hairstyle, at least depending on the type of headdress. If we take up only this point, it may be understood that a clear distinction was made between males and females.

The actual situation is a little more detailed: nos. 10 to 12 of the raised *mizura*, which are sandwiched between a) and b) and c), and the individuals on the posterior side of the circle from No. 5 do not have headgear. The presence or absence of hats and hairstyles indicate that the attributes of the human-shaped *haniwa* on the stone chamber side are different from those on the stone chamber side. The relationship between the two is gradual as it moves to the left side. It is a relationship that is differentiated by the presence or absence of a hat and the form of *mizura*, but is also connected.

With hat+hair down *mizura* (No. 16)

With hat+hair swept up *mizura* (No. 15)

No hat +hair swept up *mizura* (nos. 10–12, 19, and 20)

Individual No./ Attribute	20	19	18	17	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
Headdress	×	×	—	—	×	×	×	—	headband mage	headband mage	coronet?	—	headband mage	×	×	×	—	—	hat upwardly mizura	hat downwardly mizura	
Hairstyle	upwardly mizura	upwardly mizura	—	—	mage mage	mage mage	mage mage	—	mage mage	mage mage	—	—	—	mage mage	upwardly mizura	upwardly mizura	—	—	upwardly mizura	upwardly mizura	downwardly mizura
Objects on the head: comb/ vessel	×	×	—	—	vessel	comb	comb	—	comb	comb	—	—	comb	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	
Necklace: 1 or 2 strings	—	×	1	1	2	1	1	×	1	1	1	—	1	1	×	×	×	—	1	×	
Breasts	—	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	—	×	—	
Paintig color:	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
Red upper garment	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
Black garment	×	×	×	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
Combination with other things	horse	horse	horse	horse	stick vessel	×	×	×	×	×	weaving loom (special type)	weaving loom (indigenous type)	—	×	knife	knife	hoe	×	hoe	×	
Bottom diameter of cylindrical section (cm)	—	—	19	20.6	21.6	22.6	21.4	22.4	21.6	24.6	61.9- 29.5	38.2- 29.7	22.6	22.6	19.5	20.4	22.4	20.6	22.6	—	
Height of cylindrical section (cm)	—	—	28	31.5	32	30	40	36	40	46	(32.7)	40.6	41	(37.5)	(37.3)	41	40.5	34	42	—	

Figure 4. Attributes of human-shaped haniwa from Kabutozuka Kofun
 —: unknown ○: exist ×: don't exist (): restored numerical data

This situation changes drastically in the group of nos. 9, 6, and 5, which have a headband, and No. 7, which may have a crown. In other words, the presence or absence of headgear has a waveform of presence, absence, presence, and absence from the stone chamber side in the sequence. The group of nos. 9 to 5 (although 8 is unknown) is more distinctive because it is surrounded by a group without headgear, and because it is placed next to nos. 10 to 12, the group closest to the stone chamber where the common attribute with No. 16 is weakened. It can be said that these objects stand out for their individual character.

On the other hand, how can we understand the size of the individual *haniwa*? Since there are only a limited number of specimens whose total body size is known, let us focus on the base diameter and height of the vessel base (Figure 4, Figure 5). In both cases, No. 6 is the largest. Next to No. 6, which has the highest base, the next highest are No. 15 and nos. 9–13, which are on the side of the stone chamber from No. 6. However, the height of No. 14 and nos. 7 and 8, which are the loom-weaving *haniwa*, is different from the above, because the height of the back part tends to be higher than that of No. 6 until nos. 3 and 5, and then it decreases with the formation of nos. 1, 2, 17 and 18. In this way, the characteristic of large size that has been pointed out for No. 6 can be linked to the trend of height from the stone chamber side to nos. 3 and 5.

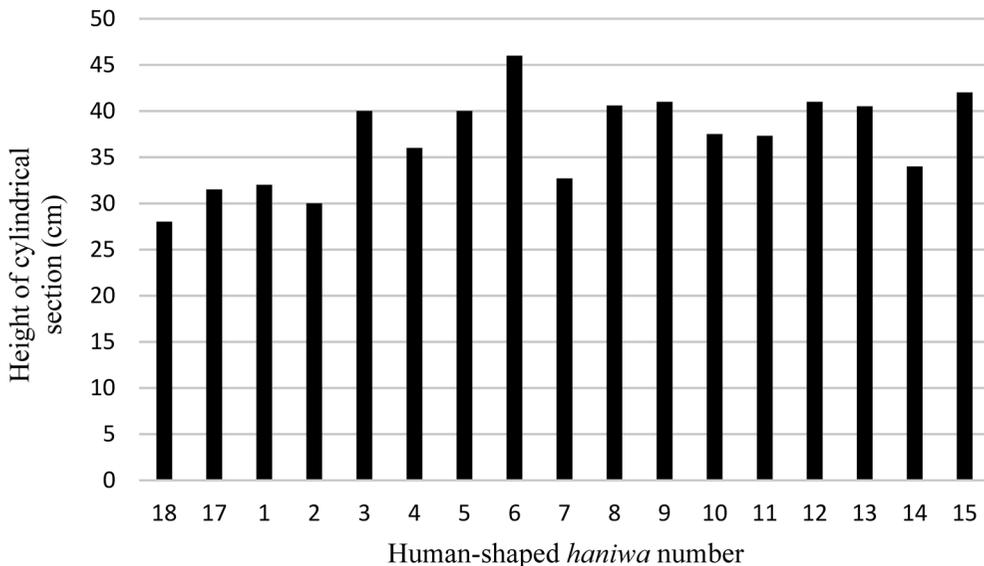


Figure 5. Height of cylindrical section of human-shaped haniwa excavated from Kabutozuka Kofun (based on the order in which they were arranged in the burial mound). Nos. 7, 10, and 11: restored numerical data

Let us take a look at the other attributes. Of the eight individual *haniwa* with the topknot hairstyle (nos. 1–9), seven have a necklace. In contrast, only two of the six in the nos. 10–16 area, where the *mizura* hairstyle is found on the stone chamber side, have a necklace. In other words, the presence or absence of a necklace is considered to have a certain relationship with the hairstyle. In addition, the fact that No. 1, which is at the posterior end of the *kofun*, has two necklaces, while No. 16, which is located at the most lithic side of the latter, has no necklaces, suggests that the presence or absence of necklaces and the number of necklaces may be used to classify gender.

An interesting trend can also be seen in the colouring of the upper garment. The basic colour scheme for individuals nos. 1 through 9 is red pigment, but for No. 6, the colour scheme is different, consisting of white and black. This aspect of No. 6 is common to nos. 10, 11, 15, and 16 on the stone chamber side.

In this way, each attribute that constitutes expression of a bodily feature corresponds to the arrangement of the individual item. In this way, each attribute that constitutes bodily expression can be said to create a commonality that straddles the differences and cohesiveness within and across the cohesiveness of (1) nos. 10 to 16, (2) nos. 1 to 9, and (3) nos. 17 to 20 that has been pointed out so far. There is some validity in the conventional interpretation that zones (1) and (3) are male gender and (2) is female gender, depending on the hairstyle and the presence of breasts. However, in reality, if we add the layers of the relationship between the hat and the hairstyle, the neck ornament, and the colouring of the upper garment, we can see that the effects of the female/male gender are linked to the placement of the hat and the hairstyle, and that there is a detailed intensity and undulation. The most markedly male-gendered figure is No. 16, while the most female-gendered figure is No. 1 in terms of arrangement, neck ornament, upper garment colouring, and height. In other words, I believe that the poles of both genders are generated by the arrangement and body expression. In this context, No. 6, along with the surrounding group of nos. 5 to 9, has a high affinity with No. 16. The fact that there is no breast expression in No. 6 also increases its commonality with No. 16. Hidaka (2015, p. 70) points out the paired relationship between nos. 6 and 16 as central figures, but considers No. 6 to be a cross-dressing physical expression in that it has a shared attribute relationship with No. 16 as well as the cohesion of nos. 5 to 9. In this case, it could be both male and female clothing, or it could be more ambivalent, as has been pointed out at the Hirota site.⁷

4. Formation mechanism of cross-dressing bodily representation

So far, we have examined the biological body and the cases of the Hirota site and Kabutozuka Kofun. Although the periods and regions are different, I would like to discuss the formation mechanism of cross-dressing bodily expression by focusing on the

similarities between the Hirota site and the Kabutozuka Kofun.

4.1 Cross-dressing and hierarchy

What both sites have in common is that cross-dressing bodily representations are expressed in a hierarchical manner. Regarding the Hirota site, Shinzato Takayuki described skeleton No. DIII-2 as “bisexual” with parentheses on the diagram, and focused on the fact that it is the only one in this particular burial posture and has the largest number of shell ornaments of any figure at the site, as well as the fact that its burial position is surrounded by others (Shinzato 2009, p. 162). As a result, the DIII-2 skeleton was evaluated as having a privileged status over the other persons buried there. Shinzato’s point is suggestive in exploring the social position of the DIII-2 remains. At the same time, what is important here is not to fall into the existing interpretation pattern Y) described at the beginning of this paper. In the first place, gender is something that works in tandem with various social factors. At least in the case of the DIII-2 remains, the cross-dressing situation seems to have had the effect of raising the status of the individual.

In the case of Kabutozuka Kofun, the phenomenon of shared attributes was also observed among the central figures. The attribute of height has been considered linked to hierarchy (Mizuno 1977). The analysis here, by contrast, focuses on the fact that high/low groups are formed across the two categories of male and female according to height, i.e., noting that the sharing of attributes between males and females occurs even if it is a result of stratification.

In the case of Tsukamawari No. 4 Kofun, Gunma prefecture, for example, there is a figure with a topknot hairstyle and a large sword. In another example, there is a figure with a *mage* hairstyle and a large sword in Tsukamawari No. 4 Kofun, as well as a figure sitting on a chair and a kneeling figure with a *mizura* hairstyle (Mitsumoto 2006). In the Aramaki Kofun in Nara Prefecture, there is a figure of a person playing a *koto*, a figure with a male-gendered headgear, but with line engravings of breasts (but no hairstyle) (Mitsumoto 2013a).

The close intertwining of cross-dressing and social stratification is a phenomenon that is often recognized, especially in cases of male cross-dressing. This is especially true in the case of cross-dressing and social stratification, such as the cross-dressing saints of medieval Western Europe (Akasaka 2010), the theory that Himiko and emperors Kōken and Shōtoku were queens and empresses dressed as males (Takeda 1998, 2000), the image of Queen Hatshepsut with the beard of ancient Egypt (Arnold 2014, p. 17), or even in literary works and plays (Saeki 2009). Due to the effect of misogyny, on the contrary, there are also examples of literature from seventeenth-century England where women’s masculine hairstyles were tolerated, while men’s feminine hairstyles were given strict attention (Garber 1992, p. 30).

This tendency to associate male attire with social hierarchy is more likely to be established in a male-dominated society. In the case of the Hirota site, it is difficult to determine whether it represents a more ambivalent bisexual power, or cross-dressing. However, at least it does not fit the above scheme of “male attire = hierarchical excellence.” On the other hand, there is the possibility of male attire in No. 6 *haniwa* of Kabutozuka Kofun. According to research on kinship structure, while the Kofun period was based on a bilinear kinship structure, from the mid-Kofun period onward, the patrilineal succession to the position of leadership progressed at the head-of-state level (Seike 2011, p. 235). This paper focuses on the relationship between the human body and the *haniwa*. In the case of Tsukamawari No. 4 Kofun, which is analysed in Mitsumoto (2006), there were both male and female human-shaped *haniwa* with cross-gendered bodily representations, and they represent particular examples of human-shaped *haniwa*. Based on the analysis in this paper, the following characteristics of cross-dressing bodily representations in the Yayoi and Kofun periods may be identified.

- (1) Cross-dressing bodily representations are formed by the mixture of gender expression of males and females.
- (2) Those particularities are linked to a high social status.
- (3) Based on these two points, the nature of power relations between males and females in an individual community is likely to have affected the direction of cross-dressing or ambiguity.

In other words, the cross-dressing bodily representations of the Yayoi and Kofun periods suggest a background in which power relations between males and females were not established or indeterminate to the extent that the simple scheme of “male attire = hierarchical superiority” described above could be established. Rather than creating a sex/gender category crisis (Garber 1992), I believe the community was accommodating for persons practicing cross dressing.

4.2 Differences in “female” and “male” categories

In the case of the Hirota site, anthropological research on the Kofun period found correspondences between the gender of human remains, i.e., the biological body, and burial accessories (Seike 1996). The analysis of the Hirota site attempted to present a gender typology, and I believe that a more detailed gender typology than that of the biological body was formed through the combination of the two.

As one example for clarifying the background of that typology, Kabutozuka Kofun may provide a helpful reference point. At Kabutozuka Kofun, the combination of the placement of the human-shaped *haniwa* and their attributes express hierarchy and occupation, and at the same time overlap male and female gender attributes. As a result, differences arise even among *haniwa* of each gender. For example, the height of the base of horse-drawn *haniwa*

nos. 18 and 19 is lower than that of the *haniwa* with hair worn down in the *mizura* style on the stone chamber side, and even lower than that of the No. 1 female gender *haniwa* at the far end. Although it is possible that the formative factor of the horse-drawn set influenced the height, they are the farthest from the No. 16 male gender *haniwa* at the far end in terms of both placement and physical attributes, and are rather continuous with the adjacent nos. 1 and 2 in terms of no headdress, neck ornament, no breast expression, and height of the vessel base. In other words, the presence or absence of a hat and the height of the vessel are continuous. In other words, as mentioned in the section on the presence/absence of a hat and the type of *mizura* hairstyle, the male/female categories are not a single color, but rather, as mediated by the hierarchy and the job title, there are gradations within the category, with the male *haniwa* closer to the female category.

In the case of Kabutozuka Kofun, the presence or absence of breast expression on an individual with a topknot does not mean that breast expression was regarded as an essential attribute that defined female gender, even if we assume that age may have been a factor. These examples suggest that the ritual practice of making and arranging *haniwa*, which is related to burial, plays a part in the “knowledge” that gave meaning to physical differences, and that physical differences are not something given, but are socially signified and found in the community through the device of ritual.

Conclusion

This paper examines cross-dressing bodily representation while re-examining the category of gender itself, which is assumed to be the basis of cross-dressing. What kind of gender archaeology can be developed in a situation where past perceptions of the biological body are unclear? The culture-historical archaeological approach, as in the previous study, which posits there being two categories of gender, namely females and males, and explores the relationship between the two, may provide important insights. What I would like to argue here, however, is that it is necessary to pursue the historicity of the minute gender categories that may be lost in this dichotomy from even more diverse perspectives. I believe that this is an inevitable part of the future development of the subtopic of sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) in the field of gender archaeology.

Notes

- 1 Such recognition is reasonable in light of Akiyama 2017.
- 2 The 16 figurine-shaped containers are from: Shimohashita, Aichi Prefecture (1); Murajiri, Niigata Prefecture (2); Fuchinoue, Nagano Prefecture (2); Shimosakaizawa, Nagano Prefecture (1); Kaito, Nagano Prefecture (1); Oka, Yamanashi Prefecture

- (2); Sakai, Yamanashi Prefecture (1), Ikegami, Saitama Prefecture (1); Nakayashiki, Kanagawa Prefecture (1), Uenojiri, Fukushima Prefecture (1); Suzukinuma, Miyagi Prefecture (1); t the ruins of Hachinohe Castle, Aomori Prefecture (2); and Unoda, Aomori Prefecture (1).
- 3 The 13 wooden figurines consist of: Yamaga, Osaka Prefecture (1); Kami, Osaka Prefecture (1); Dainakanoko-minami, Shiga Prefecture (2); Yunobe, Shiga Prefecture (4), Karasumazaki Shiga Prefecture (1); Akanoi-hama, Shiga Prefecture (1); Kawamukami, Shimane Prefecture (1), Aoya Kamijichi, Tottori Prefecture (1); and Asahi, Aichi Prefecture (1).
 - 4 My analysis of the Hirota site was presented at the 2016 World Archaeological Congress (Kyoto). After discussing the site for the first time at the Kyoto conference, I mentioned it in my lectures and presentations at the University of California, Berkeley and Stanford University in 2019 (Mitsumoto 2016, 2019a, 2019b). I would like to thank Habu Junko, Christine Hastorf, Rosemary Joyce, and Laurie A. Wilkie at the University of California, Berkeley, Li Liu at Stanford University, and others for their helpful suggestions.
 - 5 According to Funahashi Kyōko, in the case of the Hirota site, there is no correlation between tooth extraction and the sex of the human remains (Funahashi 2010).
 - 6 The way the Kabutozuka Kofun example should be was noticed by the Faculty of Literature at Okayama University, in which I participate. I would like to express my gratitude for the opportunity to have been able to attend Higashimura Junko's presentation (Higashimura 2019) and to have had the opportunity to discuss it.
 - 7 Hidaka Shin (2021) evaluated the aforementioned interpretation presented in Mitsumoto's research publication (Mitsumoto 2019c), which is the basis of this paper, as interesting, but also showed a negative view (Hidaka 2021). In particular, this author finds significance in the absence of breasts in No. 6, which pointed to the possibility of cross-dressing, and the absence of breasts in No. 1, which was evaluated as the most female-gendered *haniwa*, and therefore, my interpretation was questioned. This author does not believe, as Hidaka argues, that the breast is necessarily associated with female *haniwa* in a single tomb. In addition, as Hidaka states, the presence or absence of breast expression may be due to factors such as the age group to which the human-shaped *haniwa* belongs, or the fact that the *haniwa* creator may have inadvertently omitted breast expression with no particular intention. The author believes that the presence or absence of breast expression is related to various individual circumstances of each *haniwa*. This is the reason, based on attributes other than breast expression, why I interpreted No. 1 as the most female-gendered *haniwa*. On the other hand, with regard to the absence of breast expression in No. 6, I dared to point out its relevance to cross-dressing because I thought that the possibility of cross-dressing being included in the individual circumstances regarding the presence or absence of breast expression

could be taken into consideration along with other factors. With regard to the presence or absence of breast expression, if it is expressed, it may be pointed out that it may indicate femininity. On the other hand, the problem lies in the fact that there are various factors that can be assumed when breasts are not expressed. In other words, it is possible to assume that the reason for not expressing breasts is sometimes because the person is too young, sometimes to weaken the femininity, and sometimes to express male gender (male attires). In other words, when assuming various factors related to the presence or absence of breast expression, it would be a mistake to exclude factors caused by cross-dressing, as this would lead to an interpretation that is based on modern heteronormativity. In this paper, the possibility of No. 1 or No. 2 as the most female-gendered individual is pointed out, based on the points made by Hidaka (2021) and peer review.

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