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978-0-521-88490-7 - Cambridge World Archaeology: The Archaeology of Japan: From the Earliest Rice Farming Villages to the Rise of the State

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Excerpt

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PART I

FRAMEWORKS

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## CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE BEGINNING  
OF EVERYTHING?

Paddy fields, shining golden under the crisp early autumn sunshine, extend as far as the plains stretch, finally meeting the surrounding mountain range. The terrain is dotted with hamlets of thatched houses, with dragonflies hovering. Although there are few human figures in sight, the air is filled with signs of life. At one time, such a scene could be seen almost everywhere in the Japanese archipelago, except for its northern- and southernmost regions. Today, however, such scenes are things of the past. For the majority of the Japanese, these scenes only live on in their nostalgic memories. For the young, the image described earlier may well be one which can only be accessed virtually, through photographs they might encounter in magazines and on websites or experience in the form of tailor-made digital presentations in museums. Rice paddies used to be a constituent element of the lifeworld of the Japanese until only four or five decades ago. Back then, approximately 43 per cent of the Japanese population was still involved in farming.<sup>1</sup> In addition, in the case of those who either chose to or were compelled to work in commercial or industrial towns – many of which were on the road to recovery from the devastation caused by the U.S. bombings during the final phase of World War II – most regularly returned to their own agricultural villages and towns, which enjoyed an island-like existence in a sea of paddy fields, in order to celebrate annual festivities (the *Bon*, 盆, a period in the month of August, and the *Shogatsu*, 正月, in the beginning

of the year) and reconfirm their bonding with their extended families.

Rice paddies were not merely places where people performed the laborious task of farming. They were also a habitat wherein people mingled with nature; in early summer, when the paddies were irrigated for the planting and initial cultivation of rice, fishes and insects came to lay eggs in these paddies. Herons and other birds came to the paddy fields in order to feed on these creatures (see Kaku 1997). In summer and early autumn, dragonflies gathered and flew over them, while even deer and wild boar occasionally came down from surrounding hills, sometimes doing some damage to the growing rice plants as well as paddies. Rice paddy field farming during summer is all about battling weeds, and farmers have to toil very hard to get rid of them under the scorching rays of the harsh summer sun. Farmers spend long hours working in the paddies during the rice plant's period of growth, that is, between June and September, and therefore, they also end up spending a considerable amount of time with the previously mentioned animals, small creatures and weeds.<sup>2</sup>

Rice itself is a living being: it is born in spring, grows throughout summer and ripens and is reaped (i.e. dies) in autumn. Rice grains, however, preserve the source of life somehow, and with the coming of the next spring, they are resurrected again. Hence, rice repeats the cycle of life and death every year – a cycle experienced by the majority of the population in the past. In this

<sup>1</sup> According to the 1946 census, the farming population was 34,137,272, and according to the 1947 census, the population of Japan was 78,101,473. Statistical Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, <http://www.stat.go.jp>.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these creatures constituted the core of the pictorial representations of the Yayoi period, appearing on *Dotaku* bronze bells, bronze daggers, burial jars, pots and so on. I will return to them in Chapter 6.7.2.

way, rice was an important medium through which people in the past could seek to comprehend and cope with life and mortality (e.g. Ohnuki-Tierney 1993).

All these little dramatic scenes were played out in locales created by the collaborative work of people, and the collaboration itself involved human drama, competition, conflict, sacrifice, anger and reconciliation. Many social relations were generated and reproduced in these locales.

In short, rice paddies, until the 1960s or 1970s, constituted an essential feature of the land of Japan.<sup>3</sup> In other words, their presence was powerful enough to make the majority of Japanese people believe that rice paddies were the chief symbol of Japan. In fact, Japan was even described as *Toyoashihara-mizuho-no-kuni* (豊芦原瑞穂国, the land of fertile marshes yielding abundant rice grains).<sup>4</sup> Considering this description, it is not very surprising to note that the feeling of unique attachment to rice paddy field agriculture persists in the minds of Japanese people long after they have actually stopped working on the rice paddies themselves.

Systematic rice paddy field agriculture, which means the *socio-technological complex* consisting of (a) the technique of constructing and maintaining paddies and their irrigation systems; (b) the materials required for cultivating, harvesting, processing, preserving and consuming rice; and (c) the various norms and symbolic devices that enable and maintain a rice-agriculture-based lifestyle, was introduced to the archipelago at some point during the first millennium BC.<sup>5</sup> Japanese archaeologists

refer to the period between its introduction and the emergence and spread of the custom of burying the elite in keyhole-shaped mounds as the ‘Yayoi’ (弥生) period.

The name is derived from the place in Tokyo where the first acknowledged example of pottery from the period was excavated (Figure 1.1).<sup>6</sup> The word *Yayoi* also represents the month of March in Old Japanese. March, in Japan, is widely regarded as the first month of spring. The Yayoi period ushered in many things that have become an integral part of Japan’s historical identity. This peculiar coincidence only contributes to the widespread belief that the Yayoi period marks an important stage or, in fact, represents the beginning of the history of Japan.<sup>7</sup>

The Kofun (古墳, which means ‘mounded tomb’) period that followed the Yayoi period is also regarded as a period of new beginnings – in this case, the beginning of the imperial reign. The imperial system (*Ten’no* [天皇, emperor] *sei* [制, system]) and its allegedly uninterrupted longevity (*bansai* [万世, ten thousand generations] *ikkei* [一系, single inheritance line]) are widely regarded as another decisive trait of Japan. As discussed subsequently, the emperor and the imperial genealogy played a vital role in the formation of the modern nation-state of Japan in the nineteenth century. Critics of the imperial system have regarded it as the root cause of the inherent ills in modern Japan; they also hold it responsible for its self-destruction as well as the suffering inflicted on the people of neighbouring nations (most notably China and Korea) in World War II (e.g. Mizoguchi 2010b). In addition, the current Japanese Constitution (The Constitution of the State of Japan, 日本国憲法), drawn up after the end of World War II,<sup>8</sup> defines the emperor as the ‘symbol of the integration of the nation’.<sup>9</sup> This is a downgrading of the emperor’s status from that of the constitutional absolute sovereign in the pre-war Constitution

historical process covered in the volume, are described in Chapter 3.3.2.

<sup>6</sup> The exact location of the discovery is disputed; see Ishikawa (2008).

<sup>7</sup> The positionality of the Yayoi period in the discursive space concerning the Japaneseness in relation to the Jomon and the Kofun periods; see Mizoguchi (2002, 29–42).

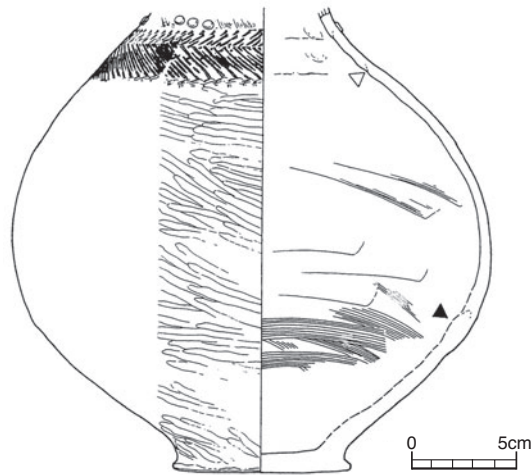
<sup>8</sup> Enacted on 3 May 1947.

<sup>9</sup> Chapter 1, Article 1 of the Constitution.

<sup>3</sup> Of course, we must neither dismiss nor ignore minority views and their histories, particularly in areas where rice farming was never the principal subsistence activity or was not even adopted (see e.g. Amino 2000). I shall return to this point, that is, how to deal with the ‘other’ *Japans*, later in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> This description is to be found in *Kojiki*, 古事記, one of the two earliest imperial chronicles in the history of Japan, the compilation of which was completed in AD 712 (the other is *Nihonshoki*, 日本書紀, completed in 720). I will also return to these chronicles in subsequent chapters. The significant Japanese terms, place names, site names, book names and generic artefact names, such as *Kojiki*, are given Chinese character descriptions at their first mention.

<sup>5</sup> Ongoing debate concerning the dating of the beginning of systematic rice paddy field agriculture at some spots in the coastal area of the northern Kyushu region, as well as that of other important episodes of the



**Figure 1.1.** The first-ever “Yayoi” pottery excavated and so recognised, allegedly in March (the month of Yayoi) 1884, from present-day Yayoi, Bunkyo Ward, Tokyo (after Sameshima 1996, fig. 5).

(The Constitution of the Empire of Japan, 大日本帝国憲法, or the ‘Meiji’ Constitution);<sup>10</sup> in that Constitution, the emperor’s status and (the limitations of) his power were clearly defined, but the definition also described that the emperor’s status and power were ‘sacred and inviolable’ (Chapter 1, Article 3 of the Constitution) (e.g. Yasuda 1998).<sup>11</sup> In the current Constitution, the emperor no longer possesses any executive or political power, but his symbolic presence is still strongly felt at times.

Most of the gigantic keyhole-shaped tumuli (hereafter abbreviated as ‘keyhole tumuli’) are designated as ‘imperial mausolea’<sup>12</sup> (Figure 1.2), representing the final resting place of the souls (*mitama*, 御霊) of the ancient emperors and their kin (Nihonshi-kenkyu-kai and Kyoto-min-karekishi-bukai 1995). Aerial photographs of the

<sup>10</sup> Enacted from 29 November 1890 until 2 May 1947.

<sup>11</sup> The Constitution also described the basic human rights of citizens as *being granted and guaranteed* by the emperor: see Chapter 1, Articles 5 and 6, and Chapter 2 of the Constitution.

<sup>12</sup> There are a number of large keyhole tumuli which the Imperial Household Agency (宮内庁) has difficulty designating to any recorded emperors as their tombs. Those tombs are designated as ‘likely imperial mausolea’, and like the designated imperial mausolea, public access is basically prohibited, except for a limited number of scholars representing learned societies on designated occasions (cf. Takagi 2010, see esp. 100–105). Figure 1.2 is a detailed contour map of the Haji-Nisanzai tumulus produced by the agency (from Suenaga 1975).

tumulus designated as the mausoleum of Emperor Nintoku (仁徳) are still prominently featured in school textbooks; at times, these are accompanied by the somewhat misleading caption that describes the mausoleum as ‘the world’s largest tomb’. These ancient emperors, according to the oldest remaining imperial chronicles in existence, the *Kojiki* (古事記, consisting of three volumes, the compilation of which was completed in AD 712) and the *Nihonshoki* (日本書紀, consisting of thirty volumes, the compilation of which was completed in AD 720), were the direct descendants of the gods residing in heaven. They were sent down to earth by the gods, who entrusted the emperors with the reign *Ashihara-no-nakatsu-kuni* (芦原中国; also described earlier as *Tōyoashihara-mizuho-no-kuni*), and Emperor Nintoku, especially, was lauded as the ‘sacred emperor’ in the chronicles – particularly in the latter<sup>13</sup> – for his good governance, exemplified by the episode wherein he stopped taxation and the mobilisation of the commoners to perform public works for three years in order to ease their suffering from food (rice) shortage. The emperors who were buried in the great tumuli governed a land that depended on rice cultivation; they were responsible for the well-being of the land and its people.<sup>14</sup>

In that sense, the Kofun period marked another decisive ‘beginning’ for Japan and the Japanese people; the emperor, as the ‘symbol of the integration of the nation’, has an uninterrupted genealogy that can be traced back to this era.

This volume covers those eras of *Japanese beginnings*, or eras that are widely perceived as such in the popular imagination – the Yayoi and Kofun periods.<sup>15</sup> With regard to the three-age system, the periods span the time from the Neolithic to the

<sup>13</sup> For a standard English translation, see Aston (2008).

<sup>14</sup> This shared inference is based on what has been ‘recorded’ in the imperial chronicles: in Chapter 3.2.4 of this volume, I will return to some matters concerning the nature of those chronicles, the background against which they were compiled and the accuracy of their descriptions as historical sources.

<sup>15</sup> This volume does not uncritically endorse the view that those eras marked the beginnings of some significant attributes of the ‘Japaneseness’ and institutions of the nation-state of Japan. Rather, it critically relativises and problematises such conceptions by investigating historical contingencies surrounding their roots and subsequent genealogies. For an earlier attempt from the same author, see Mizoguchi (2002).

Iron Age. Referring to a conventional social evolutionary terminology (cf. Service 1962), the periods cover the segmentary/tribal, the chiefdom and the ancient state stages. As mentioned previously, a significant number of features that have contributed to Japan's identity originated during those periods: the introduction of systematic rice paddy field agriculture is widely, albeit tacitly, regarded as marking the beginning of *Japanese history*, and the Kofun period is considered to mark the beginning of the *imperial reign*. In addition, between 1999 and 2009, primary school textbooks stopped featuring the Palaeolithic and the Jomon hunter-gatherer periods, which preceded the Yayoi and Kofun periods (Social Studies/History Textbooks Discussion Committee 2008). Even though this change lasted for a relatively short time, it resulted from a tacit and somewhat disturbing governmental policy to represent Japanese history, as it was taught to primary school pupils, as having begun in the Yayoi period, not the beginning of the human occupation of the land that was later to be known as the domain of Japan.<sup>16</sup>

The problematic nature of this perception immediately becomes clear. For instance, this view assumes the continuous existence of a clearly marked and internally homogeneous entity called Japan. *The Japanese*, in this perception, are equated with a rice-cultivating population that was ruled (and taken care of) by a succession of emperors (and their ancestral predecessors). This concept, interestingly, is identical to the one formalised during the period of establishment of the ancient state, between the mid-seventh and early eighth centuries AD (we should keep in mind that the earliest imperial chronicles, mentioned previously, were compiled exactly during this period; e.g. Yonetani 2001). Moreover, the formative phase of the modern nation-state of Japan, spanning the late

nineteenth to the early twentieth century (the 'Meiji restoration', which is widely regarded as marking the beginning of the establishment of the modern nation-state, dating back to 1867), saw the conscious revitalisation/resurrection of the concept, engineered by the executive elite of the newborn modern nation-state.<sup>17</sup>

It is well established that the construction of a nation-state, in many cases, requires the invention of 'ethno-national traditions' and a common history (e.g. Smith 2001). It is important to cultivate the belief that such traditions originated with the emergence of the very same group of people who were later to form the nation, and that these traditions were continuously nurtured and protected, at times with immense difficulty, by these people, who were often led by heroic figures who serve to embody the traditions (cf. Smith 2001, esp. chap. 2). According to Anthony Smith, such an ethnic grouping, called an 'ethnie', is not entirely groundless and fictitious; in many cases, there exist some sociocultural elements, items and memories that, having survived over a long period, form the core of an ethnic culture and its unity, and the case of Japan is no exception (Nishikawa and Matsumiya 1995). Nevertheless, the way in which these core elements of an ethnic culture are recognised, appreciated and examined is bound to be strongly influenced by the way in which the state, ancient and modern, looks back on its own past. In other words, we are unwittingly compelled, or even forced, to see the past in the way the state would like us to see it. Needless to say, such an approach to history confines and hence impoverishes our imagination rather than liberating and enriching it.<sup>18</sup>

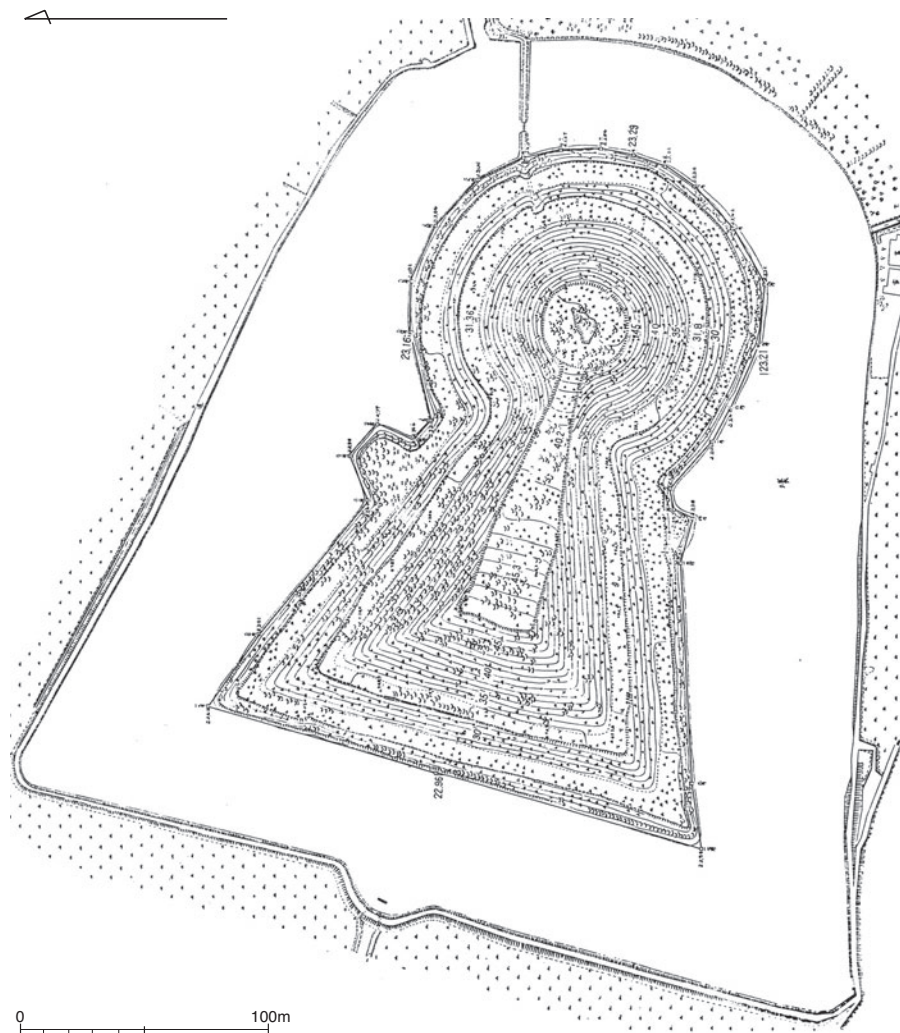
The study of human history before the emergence of writing is covered by the discipline of

<sup>16</sup> In 2006, the Japanese Archaeological Association set up a subcommittee (Social Studies/History Textbooks Discussion Committee, 社会科・歴史教科書等検討委員会) to analyse the issues concerning the coverage of Japan's pre- and proto-history, along with the outcomes of the archaeological study of Japanese past in school textbooks, and issued a statement against the education ministry's policy of projecting the Yayoi period as the beginning of Japanese history. Consequently, the education ministry was compelled to change its policy, and in 2009, primary school textbooks went back to featuring 'the hunter-gatherer way of life' that had prevailed before the Yayoi period.

<sup>17</sup> During the Edo feudal period that preceded the Meiji restoration, commoners vaguely knew about the emperor's existence, but they did not really grasp who or what he (or very occasionally, she) was, let alone his or her genealogical roots. Instead, the emperor's image was that of a magical figure who could work miracles, such as making prophesies and curing various diseases (Fujitani 1994, 13–15). The early Meiji period saw the foundation (claimed by the executive as the resurrection) of pageantries representing the emperor as the embodiment of the nation (Fujitani 1994).

<sup>18</sup> We also have to be aware, however, that, in this age of globalisation, increasing difficulty in identifying oneself with something stable leads some to become dependent





**Figure 1.2.** The Haji-Nisanzai [土師ニサンザイ] tumulus, Sakai City, Osaka prefecture. Designated by the Imperial Household Agency as a ‘probable mausoleum’. The length of the mound is about 290 metres (after Suenaga 1975). The trace of an outer moat has been confirmed. With kind permission from the Imperial Household Agency and Gakuseisha Publishing Co.

archaeology, although that is not necessarily the exclusive domain of archaeology. The desire to trace the roots of the core elements of an ethnic culture as far back as possible is strong and universally shared. In that sense, archaeology cannot be entirely uninfluenced by the way in which the nation-state regards its own past. In fact, the relationship between archaeology and the modern nation-state is symbiotic; as a number of recent studies have revealed, archaeology was established as an academic discipline only as a consequence

on extremist ideologies such as religious fundamentalism. Concerning that fact, it would be counterproductive just to criticise the state as a referential point for self-identification and for the recognition and learning of history.

of modernity and the formation of the modern nation-state (e.g. Mizoguchi 2006a; Díaz-Andreu 2007). In addition, this fateful nature of archaeology has projected, and continues to project, the image of the past that it generates in the contemporary world in terms of our own likeness. Admittedly, we can only speak about and describe the past in our own languages and manners. However, we should also be able to discuss it in terms of what and how it is different from ourselves and from the world in which we live.

The unique context in which the construction of the modern nation-state of Japan took place significantly influenced the subsequent trajectory of the development of Japanese archaeology (cf. Mizoguchi 2006a). Moreover, the events

that occurred in Japan since then, leading up to the catastrophe of World War II, still cast a long and dark shadow over the study of those periods today. Since 1945, when the war ended with Japan's unconditional surrender to the allied nations, Japan experienced a rapid economic recovery, an unprecedented prosperity and then a prolonged period of recession. In fact, the transformations and problems which are being experienced by the Japanese today can only be properly characterised as 'post-industrial' or even 'postmodern' (Mizoguchi 2006a).

Naturally, the history of modern Japan can be divided into several phases, punctuated by the sociopolitical, economic and cultural changes it has undergone. These, in turn, have generated distinct themes and modes of *doing archaeology*. I wish to begin this study by examining at length the different themes and modes of doing archaeology that have been adopted and discarded over the years. The reason is threefold. First, this exercise will illustrate the changing theoretical and methodological trends in archaeology and allow us to situate the study of the Yayoi and Kofun periods,

covering the period from the emergence of the earliest rice farming villages to the rise of the ancient state, in a properly focused manner. Second, it will enable us to critically assess the respective achievements of those changing trends and recognise the problems generated by them. Third, recognising these achievements and problems will allow us to devise a proper, and hopefully better, framework for the volume, that is, a framework not for only tracing and writing about the history of the Yayoi and Kofun periods but also for revealing the meanings and contemporary implications of doing so. Through this exercise, it is hoped that this volume itself will act as an active and meaningful intervention in the current situation in terms of the way in which the periods are studied, appreciated and 'used' inside and outside the nation-state of Japan. Most of all, it is hoped that this work will enable us to see the past as something unique and different, to see it as something we have to make an effort to understand and sympathise with, rather than as something on which we can project our own favourite image of ourselves.



## CHAPTER 2

## A TALE OF CO-TRANSFORMATION: THE HISTORY OF MODERN JAPAN AND THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE YAYOI AND KOFUN PERIODS

## 1. INTRODUCTION

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the history of the modern nation-state of Japan can be divided into several phases, and the unique conditions that characterised those phases led to the articulation of distinct themes and approaches in archaeology. At first glance, those paradigmatic traits appear to have come and gone. However, in actuality, some of them have survived and still form significant characteristics of Japanese archaeology today.

The period between the Meiji (明治) restoration (1867) and the end of World War II (1945) saw the construction of the modern nation-state of Japan, its rapid rise to the status of one of the (economically and militarily) strongest nations in the world, its colonial expansion to mainland Asia and its subsequent catastrophic defeat. In other words, the period witnessed the rise and fall of imperial Japan. In order to integrate this new, artificially and hastily created nation, the authorities needed to promote the image of Japan as a unique nation (the *only one* in the world, according to the official narrative) that had been continually ruled by a succession of emperors from a single bloodline, whose uninterrupted genealogy could be traced back to the deepest past.<sup>1</sup> In order to ensure the working of this strategy, the executive had to check any findings or discourses that contradicted it. The birth and initial development of modern archaeology in Japan took place in such circumstances. Thus, the

theoretical and methodological trends<sup>2</sup> generated in this period can best be described under (a) the ‘imperial-ancestral’ approach.

The prevalent trends during the phase between the end of World War II and the 1950s are characterised by a great emphasis upon the autonomous development of ancient communities in the archipelago. The war had caused immense devastation, and Japan’s militaristic-imperialistic attempt to colonise its neighbouring nations was strongly denounced internationally. As a gesture of remorse, it seemed necessary for Japan to attribute the cause of its mistakes and their resulting devastation to internal and indigenous historical factors. Accordingly, the role played by external factors such as Japan’s interactions with mainland Asia in shaping the historical trajectory of Japanese state formation tended to be neglected, albeit heuristically. Hence, the trends characterising this period can be described under (b) the ‘independent-autonomous’ approach.

The period between the 1950s and the 1970s saw Japan’s reintegration into global politics and economics and its subsequent rise to the status of an economic giant. International relations steadily increased in importance in Japanese people’s perception as well as living reality, which led to trends in archaeology which can be described under (c) the ‘international’ approach. In contrast to the previous phases, this approach emphasises the importance of external factors in the process of formation

<sup>1</sup> The notion and belief widely known as *Bansei* (ten thousand generations) – *ikkei* (one uninterrupted genealogical line, 万世一系). The word, for instance, can be found in Chapter 1, Article 1 of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan that defines the sovereignty of the emperor (see Chapter 1 of this volume).

<sup>2</sup> Such trends formed a kind of disciplinary norm which can be described as a paradigm. However, it has to be emphasised that its elements had different currencies from one another, and some of them survived and continued to be drawn upon long after the paradigm which they constituted had been replaced by the next.

of the ancient Japanese state, for example, the role played by migrant groups (*Kika-jin*, 帰化人) from the Korean peninsula.

The period between the 1970s and 1980s was one in which Japan was confronted by many negative consequences of its post-World War II success and prosperity. Rapid industrialisation resulted in severe pollution and environmental degradation. People also became aware of the fact that their prosperity had resulted from the Cold War and its brutal geo-political and politico-economic realities. These realisations led to trends in archaeology which emphasised the role played by violence in the transformation of ancient communities in the archipelago. This phase, thus, can be characterised by the term (d) *violence*, the role of which was emphasised in archaeological explanations.<sup>3</sup>

Between the 1990s and the present, Japan has entered the 'post-industrial' or the 'postmodern' era.<sup>4</sup> The preexisting value systems based on various hierarchical dichotomies and crystallised through the experience of the realities of the Cold War, for example, pro- and anti-imperial family sentiments, pro- and anti-socialism, and so on, have disintegrated in recent times. Such a situation has led to the proliferation of a number of trends that coexist and do not necessarily compete for dominance; the situation is aptly described by the word (e) *fragmentation*.

In the following sections, we examine in detail the way in which archaeology and the contemporary society became intertwined and shared certain characteristics of the era during the previously mentioned phases. The investigation emphasises

<sup>3</sup> Before this phase, the Yayoi period was perceived to mark the beginning of 'good' and proud constitutive traditions of Japan and *Japaneseness*. After this phase, however, negative consequences of the beginning of systematic rice paddy field agriculture became emphasised (cf. Mizoguchi 2002, 13–42). Makoto Sahara (1987), for instance, argued that the introduction of systematic rice paddy field agriculture, the definitional attribute of the Yayoi culture and period according to him, also marked the origin of warfare, one of the ills suffering the contemporary world, in the archipelago.

<sup>4</sup> According to some social scientists, most notably the late Niklas Luhmann (1994), the 'postmodern' era is a misconception in that its characteristics are the consequence of the development and/or intensification of the constitutive characteristics of modernity, and there is no fundamental structural difference between them. The present author agrees with this opinion, and uses the term *postmodern* as a heuristic terminology.

not only the transformation of the society and archaeology but also the enduring characteristics of Japanese archaeology, including the study of the Yayoi and Kofun periods, which have been the outcome of that process. The coverage cannot be thorough; an exhaustive investigation of the whole picture demands another book. Instead, topics exemplifying the way archaeology and the contemporary society are entangled have been chosen.<sup>5</sup> It is hoped that this exercise will prepare us to construct a better framework for the undertaking of the current volume.

## 2. JAPANESE MODERNITY AND ARCHAEOLOGY: A TALE OF CO-TRANSFORMATION

### 2.1. *The Modernisation of Japan and Its 'Imperial-Ancestral' Past*

As mentioned earlier, the intrinsic connection between the formation of the nation-state and the disciplinisation of archaeology has received significant attention in recent times (Kohl and Fawcett 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Mizoguchi 2006a; Díaz-Andreu 2007). This connection can also be discerned in Japan. In fact, the unique socio-historical conditions that existed at the time of the formation of the modern nation-state of Japan made the connection quite intense – probably much more intense, and in a way more exemplary, than that in many other countries or parts of the world (Mizoguchi 2006a, 55–81).

As an entity functioning as a unit that internally guarantees its members basic human rights while it externally competes against and negotiates with other equivalents over politico-economic matters, a modern nation-state has to be equipped with the following characteristics: (a) it should be industrialised; (b) its operation, rationalized; (c) its contents, that is, human labour and so on, commodified; and its organisation should be (d) bureaucratised, (e) constituted by the citizens, (f) deconstructed of kinship/local ties, (g) secularised and (h) institutionally segmented and specialised (Waters 1999, xii–xiii; Mizoguchi 2006a, 19).

<sup>5</sup> In that sense, this exercise is my own interpretative intervention to the way the history of Japanese archaeology can be written.