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From the Earthly to the Celestial: Material Culture and Funerary Practice at Japan's Sixth-Century Fujinoki Kofun

By

Carl Archer Gellert

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History of Art

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Gregory Levine, Chair Professor Junko Habu Professor Patricia Berger

Fall 2018

From the Earthly to the Celestial: Material Culture and Funerary Practice at Japan's Sixth-Century Fujinoki Kofun

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Abstract

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When Fujinoki Kofun was first excavated in 1985, archaeologists discovered that the tomb's burial chamber and sarcophagus preserved one of the most lavish collections of grave-goods to have been recovered from the Late Kofun period (500-600 CE). Among the excavated artifacts, several works, including the extensive assemblage of ornamental horse-riding equipment, gilt-bronze crown and shoes, and ceremonial swords decorated with bands of gold, silver, and glass inlay, reflect the material extravagance of tumuli constructed for the burial of Japan's sixth-century ruling elite. Bridging the fields of archaeology and visual culture studies, this dissertation considers the formal design and positional relationships of the Fujinoki artifacts as a means of analyzing mortuary rituals conducted at the site. This study represents a departure from the dominant scholarly discourse on *kofun*, which approach tumuli primarily as monuments symbolizing regional authority while overlooking the soteriological beliefs that precipitated the creation of tombs.

The modern legal and administrative systems underlying archaeological excavation within Japan have led to an over-emphasis within the field on the collection of empirical site data. These socio-political circumstances have resulted in research on Fujinoki presenting only a limited range of interpretive discourse regarding the site's greater social and funerary significance. This dissertation, by contrast, adopts a material/visual approach to the examination of excavated materials, presenting an analysis of the tomb's architecture and grave-good assemblage that specifically engages Fujinoki's function as a mortuary space. Comparing the site with several nearby tumuli, my investigation situates Fujinoki within a wider regional system of funerary practice spanning the western Nara Basin, and it identifies the specific historical circumstances surrounding the tomb's production for the concurrent burial of two deceased elites. Through the consideration of the design of the site's gilt-bronze saddle, and analysis of the work's symbolic importance in relation to the iconography of mainland mortuary sites and Japan's eighth-century *Chronicles of Japan*, I posit that the artifact references a celestial horse whose purpose was to convey the soul of the deceased into the afterlife.

In addition to providing a comprehensive discussion of Fujinoki, this dissertation demonstrates the need for research to further situate archaeological sites within new interpretive narratives.

Moving beyond studies that relegate Japan to a passive role in a core-periphery relationship with mainland Asia and reductively classify protohistoric objects as either "native" Japanese or "foreign" imports, I instead contend that the formal design of the Fujinoki grave-goods embody an intersection of multiple cultural traditions. These artifacts reflect the fluid exchange of people and ideas across the Japan Sea and display the integration of both Japanese and mainland derived materials into a funerary system specific to the sixth-century Nara Basin.

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Introduction

In 1985, archaeologists excavating Fujinoki Kofun opened for the first time the tomb's sealed burial chamber. They were surprised to discover that not only had the site remained undisturbed by tomb robbers, but also that the surviving artifact assemblage comprised one of the most materially extravagant collections of grave-goods to have been recovered dating from Japan's Late Kofun period (500-600 CE). Over the past twenty years, countless examinations of the tomb have been published in Japan. Individual objects, such as the tomb's richly ornamented gilt-bronze saddle and collection of swords studded with glass-bead inlay, have been lauded as unprecedented finds, unique compared to the designs of artifacts generally discovered interred within sixth-century tumuli. Despite the importance ascribed to the site within Japanese scholarship, however, Fujinoki has been only intermittently referenced within Western publications. To date, the series of articles by J. Edward Kidder, written shortly after the three principal excavations of Fujinoki conducted in the 1980s, represent the only extended discussion of the tomb to have been produced in English. In addition, despite extensive research of the site in Japan, few scholars have attempted an examination of the symbolic significance of the site's interred grave-goods. Fewer still discuss the tomb as a united whole, the burial site comprised of tomb architecture and grave-goods designed with the specific intent of facilitating the enactment of mortuary rites. This dissertation represents a departure, presenting a comprehensive examination of Fujinoki that seeks to situate the site's excavated materials within an analysis of the underlying funerary rituals and systems of soteriological belief that served to guide the creation of Late period tombs.

The Kofun period (250-710 CE) derives its name from the monumental tumuli (kofun) that were erected for the burials of regional chieftains and other high-ranking members of early Japanese society. These tombs were constructed in a variety of forms, the most prominent tombs measuring several hundred meters in length with distinct keyhole-like contours, comprised of the site's circular burial mound and an attached rectangular earthen platform. The surfaces of the tumuli were often paved with small stones (fukiishi) and were topped and circumscribed by arrangements of earthenware haniwa, the forms of which ranged from simple cylindrical designs to sculpted figural works depicting humans, animals, weapons, and other shapes. Initially, the bodies of deceased rulers were interred within trenches dug along the peak of the burial mound. In the mid-fifth century these pit-shaft burials were replaced by side-entrance funerary chambers, constructed from immense stone slabs erected inside of the tumulus. The buried elite were accompanied by an assortment of grave-goods, the assemblages often incorporating a diversity of personal ornaments, military equipment, tools, bronze mirrors, equestrian gear, and other artifacts.

Scholarship of the Kofun period has focused predominantly on the centralization of political power that occurred within the archipelago over the course of the third through sixth centuries, tracing Japan's social transition from the independent rice-growing settlements of the Yayoi period (400 BCE-250 CE) toward its consolidation under the governing Yamato polity located in the Nara Basin. Within this dominant discourse on the formation of the Yamato state, archaeological studies have tended to prioritize the interpretation of *kofun* as monuments

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¹ J. Edward Kidder, Jr., "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-goods," *Monumenta Nipponica* 42, no. 1 (1987): 57-87; J. Edward Kidder, Jr., "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," *Monumenta Nipponica* 44, no. 4 (1989): 415-460; J. Edward Kidder, Jr., "Saddle Bows and Rump Plumes," *Monumenta Nipponica* 45, no. 1 (1990): 75-85.

symbolizing the regional authority of the buried ruler, aligning individual sites within the wider narrative of Japan's unification.² As productive as such research has been in expanding our understanding of Japan's early social structuring, relatively few studies, by contrast, explore the role of tombs as sites with specific mortuary significance. The near intact assemblage at Fujinoki Kofun provides a unique opportunity to reconsider the funerary traditions associated with its extensive collection of grave-goods and to examine the specific arrangement patterns of the objects placed inside of the tomb's sarcophagus and in the surrounding burial chamber.

This dissertation adopts a synthetic approach to the examination of Fujinoki, bridging the fields of archaeology and visual culture studies. My research considers data from the site's excavation and prior theoretical proposals concerning the development and significance of *kofun*, combining this information with an analysis that seeks to derive meaning from the specific material and visual designs of the objects comprising the Fujinoki assemblage. This methodology is based in part on Alfred Gell's anthropological theory of art, which contends that an artifact's physical appearance serves as a direct record of the agentive processes that led to its existence.³ I acknowledge that this approach introduces at its outset several limitations to the examination of funerary significance. First, it constrains my analysis to a consideration of the rituals that produced lasting physical remains, and second, it relies, ultimately, on an inferential determination of the agentive meaning represented by excavated materials.

However, my focus on material and visual analysis offers a means of situating the site and its grave-goods as representative of distinct historical social traditions, moving beyond the empirically based descriptive accounts, measurements, and typological chronologies that have overwhelmed the discussion of Fujinoki within past archaeological research. Material/visual analysis also proves particularly useful for the examination of the more elaborately decorated artifacts of the tomb's assemblage, allowing us to engage the symbolic meaning of these works despite the lack of textual records created in Japan during the Kofun period. Through the identification of discrete visual motifs and patterns in the overall material design of the gravegoods, and a comparison of these elements with artifacts and iconography at other East Asian tomb sites, I am able to align Fujinoki within a system of sixth-century funerary symbolism and practice that spanned areas of the Japanese archipelago and Asian mainland. In this regard, my study follows the trajectory of recent art historical and anthropological scholarship by researchers Tanner, Gosden, and Feldman. These scholars have likewise approached the comparative analysis of material and visual design as a means of understanding the cognitive intentionality represented by artifactual remains, interpreting objects to be indicative of the distinct traditions and beliefs of a society during a defined period of its history.⁴

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² E.g. Tsude Hiroshi, "Nihon kodai no kokka keiseiron josetsu: zenpōkōenfun taisei no teishō," *Nihonshi kenkyū*, no. 343 (1991): 5-39; Terasawa Tomoko, "Fukusōhin shutsudo jōkyō no ruikei," in *Yamato no Kofun II*, ed. Kawakami Kunihiko (Osaka: Jimbun Shoin, 2006), 67-77; Kobayashi Yukio, "Treatise on Duplicate Mirrors," trans. Walter Edwards, in *Capital and Countryside in Japan, 300-1180: Japanese Historians in English*, ed. Joan Piggott (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2006), 54-76; Gina Barnes, *State Formation in Japan: Emergence of a 4th-century Ruling Elite* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

³ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 13-20.

⁴ Chris Gosden, "Technologies of Routine and of Enchantment," in *Distributed Objects: Meaning and Mattering after Alfred Gell*, eds. Liana Chua and Mark Elliott (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 40-42, 54-55; Jeremy Tanner, "Figuring Out Death: Sculpture and Agency at the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus and the Tomb of the First Emperor of China," in *Distributed Objects*, 81-82; Marian

I begin the dissertation with a detailed overview of the six excavations of Fujinoki conducted from 1985 through 2005. The materials gathered through these archaeological studies provide the foundation for understanding the design of the tomb's facilities and the contents of its artifact assemblage. As such, a reflexive examination of the process of excavation is necessary to determine how data was collected and recorded within the archaeological report, and to identify the analytical paradigms that have guided the interpretation of the site. Throughout this discussion I posit that the legal and administrative system that developed to ensure the protection of Cultural Properties in Japan has led to the prioritization within the field of an archaeological process directed toward salvage excavation. I argue that as a result of this methodological focus, research of Fujinoki has produced only a limited range of interpretative discourse on the site. This discourse is engaged predominantly with typological artifact studies, identifications of the site's interred bodies with pseudo-historical personages recorded in the eighth-century *Chronicles of Japan*, and essentialist determinations of the cultural origins of the tomb's various grave-goods.

In chapter two I examine the design of the Fujinoki tomb, detailing the burial chamber's architecture and identifying the contents and locations of the various artifact assemblages. This discussion focuses on a descriptive rendering of these objects, intended to provide the reader with a foundational understanding of the material, visual, and functional composition of each artifact. I contend that previous examinations of the site, by engaging in a discussion of only select objects and/or groupings of artifacts found at the tomb, have contributed to a misrepresentative view of Fujinoki as a seeming treasure trove of extravagant grave-goods, unique among the *kofun* produced in Japan during the sixth century.

The second half of the dissertation is dedicated to the examination of the funerary rituals and soteriological beliefs represented by Fujinoki. Chapter three presents an analysis of the site and its artifacts in comparison to the nearby Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya tombs. In aligning Fujinoki with these three *kofun*, I argue that each site adhered to a shared regional tradition of mortuary practice, and that the tombs and grave-goods had been designed with the intent of both materially identifying the interred deceased as a member of the Nara Basin's ruling elite and protecting the spirit of the dead as it transitioned into the afterlife. I also contend that irregularities in the Fujinoki assemblage are representative of the specific historical circumstances that surrounded the tomb's construction, which I theorize was prompted by the unexpected death of the young nobleman found interred along the northern side of the tomb's sarcophagus.

In the final chapter I examine at length the gilt-bronze saddlebow and cantle from Fujinoki's set A assemblage of horse tack. These works, adorned with embossed and engraved images of mythological beasts, arabesques, and geometric patterns, derive from saddle manufacturing and visual ornamentation traditions linked to various regions of the Japanese archipelago and East Asian mainland. I identify the specific iconographic motifs of the work, analyzing their symbolic meaning in comparison with similar imagery found among contemporaneous mortuary sites in China, Korea, and Japan. By considering also the arrangement of the gilded saddle among the other grave-goods interred at Fujinoki, I posit that the work was intended to assist the deceased in his transference to the afterlife, his soul conveyed to the cosmological realm astride a heavenly horse.

Feldman, Communities of Style: Portable Luxury Arts, Identity, and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 37-40, 50-51.

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This dissertation, beyond introducing Fujinoki Kofun to a wider audience outside of Japan, is intended to demonstrate the interpretive potential of visual analysis for the study of prehistoric archaeological sites. Research of Kofun period ritual practice and the associated systems of belief have been thus far underrepresented within the scholarship of the period, and it is my hope that this study will encourage further inter-disciplinary examinations of this fundamental aspect of early Japanese society.

<u>Chapter One</u> Contexts for Interpretation: The Excavation of Fujinoki Kofun

This dissertation presents an examination of Fujinoki Kofun as a means of exploring the soteriological beliefs and ritual practices that structured the mortuary culture of Japan's sixth-century Nara Basin. In this introductory chapter, I begin by overviewing the six excavations of the tomb and discussing the modern legal and governmental systems that have developed to ensure the preservation of Japan's buried cultural patrimony. I contend that the excavations of Fujinoki were motivated foremost by the collection of empirical data from the site and that subsequent scholarship has engaged in only a limited range of interpretive discourse regarding the tomb's greater socio-historical importance. I conclude this chapter by outlining the theoretical basis for the material/visual approach that I adopt for my analysis of Fujinoki in subsequent chapters.

Fujinoki Kofun is situated on a gentle slope at the southern base of Yata Hill, located within western Nara Prefecture's Ikarugachō (fig. 1).⁵ Separate from the bustle of tourists and school groups found crowding nearby Hōryūji Temple and its numerous adjacent shops and restaurants, Fujinoki finds itself in a comparatively serene suburb, surrounded by rice paddies and agricultural plots to the north and west, and rows of houses stretching to the south and east (fig. 2). The tomb currently resides at the center of a small park, its tumulus covered with lowgrowing bamboo and bordered by a ring of Japanese boxwood shrubbery. A trench-like poured concrete entryway with a reinforced steel door provides access to the interior of the tomb; the door is equipped with a now-weathered window offering visitors a glimpse of the burial chamber and stone coffin within (fig. 3). Scattered along the wide earthen path encircling the tomb are placards describing the design of the sixth-century kofun. These also provide a summary of the excavations conducted at Fujinoki and of the principal artifacts recovered from the site. The design of the tumulus itself is fairly modest, consisting of a circular mound forty-eight meters in diameter and eight meters tall. Were it not for the incongruities of the surrounding park's landscaping and the manicured vegetation atop the tumulus, Fujinoki could be mistaken for a knoll in the natural landscape.

Prior to its excavation, archaeologists assumed that Fujinoki was constructed during the fifth century, contemporaneous to Ikaruga-Ōtsuka Kofun located 650 m to the south and excavated in 1954 (fig. 4). Lacking the immense size and distinctive keyhole shape of more prominent tumuli dating to the Middle Kofun period (400-500 CE), archaeologists initially ascribed minor importance to Fujinoki. The dimensions and circular profile suggested that the grave had likely belonged to a local elite who had held relatively limited political authority within the Ikaruga region. 8

⁵ Fujinoki's current address is 2 chōme 1795 banchi, Hōryūji nishi, Ikarugachō, Ikoma-gun, Nara Prefecture.

⁶ Hōryūji's Nishidaimon gate is located about 320 m to the east of Fujinoki, and the peak of the temple's five-storied pagoda is just visible above the roofline of the houses neighboring the tomb.

⁷ Fujii Toshiaki, "Naraken Fujinoki Kofun," *Nihon kōkogaku nenpō* 38 (1985): 504. For a summary of Ikaruga-Ōtsuka and its excavation, see Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Ikaruga-Ōtsuka Kofun," in *Ikarugachō no Kofun*, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Ikarugachō: Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, 1990), 9-11.

⁸ The hierarchical criteria used by archaeologists to determine the relative social standing of the deceased based on *kofun* design is discussed further in chapter three.

In 1985, plans for the construction of a housing development adjacent to Fujinoki prompted the Ikarugachō Municipal Board of Education (Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai) to investigate the site, a project that was taken up by the Archaeological Institute of Kashihara (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo; hereinafter Kashikōken). During the excavation archaeologists were surprised to discover that Fujinoki contained a corridor-style stone burial chamber. Based on comparative evidence, this feature realigned the date of the site into the Late Kofun period. Further astonishing excavators, this chamber had not been looted and thus retained much of its original assemblage of burial artifacts. Moreover, the stone sarcophagus was still sealed, its contents remaining undisturbed since their initial interment in the latter half of the sixth century. Over the next three years, archaeologists unearthed from Fujinoki one of the largest and most lavish collections of grave-goods to have been recovered from the Kofun period. Progress of the excavation was reported in front page newspaper articles and TV specials, leading the tomb to become the next in a series of major archaeological discoveries stretching from the 1970s that captivated the nation and drew popular attention to archaeological research. Over the course of the next twenty years, Fujinoki was excavated six times. Site data and artifacts recovered from these investigations, in turn, have been disseminated through numerous reports, articles, and book-length publications, including works written for a scholarly audience, as well as those intended for lay readers. I begin this present study of Fujinoki by examining the archaeological investigations themselves.

Excavation, by its nature, is transformative. It necessitates a disruption to the site, through processes of soil removal and the dismantling of architectural features. Artifacts are extracted from their contextual surroundings and are relocated instead to museum exhibition halls and storehouses of preserved materials. As Gavin Lucas writes, "Excavation therefore comes to possess a double meaning, as the recovery and understanding of archaeological remains and, at the same time, the destruction of the context and integrity of those remains." Insofar as the excavation is destructive, it also represents a translation, wherein the existing physical site becomes transcribed as data that is compiled and interpreted within an excavation report. This report serves as the record of the site as it existed prior to its excavation and, based on the information that the archaeological processes have identified, mediates our understanding of the historical circumstances of the site's creation and use. An examination of the process through which an excavation report is generated, and by extension the socio-political environment surrounding the investigation, is therefore essential to the critical study of how data has been selected for collection and the analytical frames through which the site's meanings are produced. 11

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⁹ Takada Ryōshin, *Hōryūji konryū no nazo: Shōtoku taishi to Fujinoki Kofun* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1993), 3; Habu Junko and Clare Fawcett, "Jomon Archaeology and the Representation of Japanese Origins," *Antiquity* 73, No. 281 (1999): 591; Okamura Katsuyuki and Matsuda Akira, "Archaeological Heritage Management in Japan," in *Cultural Heritage Management: A Global Perspective*, eds. Phyllis Mauch Messenger and George S. Smith (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2010), 103.

¹⁰ Gavin Lucas, "Destruction and the Rhetoric of Excavation," *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 34, no. 1 (2001): 35.

¹¹ The postmodern subjectivity inherent to archaeological interpretation, and an acknowledgement of the need for reflexive examinations of the modern circumstances in which such research is conducted, has been a focus of countless scholarly publications on archaeological theory since the 1980s. For seminal works in the development of this postprocessual approach, see in particular Ian Hodder, "Theoretical Archaeology: A Reactionary View," in *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, ed. Ian Hodder (New York:

This chapter begins with an overview of the archaeological investigations conducted at Fujinoki. It describes the six principal excavations carried out from 1985 through 2005, as well as the 2006-2008 preservation project that integrated the tumulus within a newly designed public park. I situate this discussion within Japan's Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (Bunkazai hogohō) in order to suggest how the excavations of Fujinoki, and the efforts to both preserve and exploit the site for public consumption, have been guided by the mandates of the nation as expressed within this legal framework. This section is followed by a discussion of the historical background surrounding archaeological inquiry in Japan.

I argue that these modern circumstances produced an over-emphasis on the collection of empirical data from the Fujinoki investigations, reflecting the absence of overarching theoretical discourse and an archaeological practice that is focused on salvage excavation. This predisposition to data has in turn narrowed the range of topics taken up in relation to the site, and stagnated analytical and interpretive scholarship. Instead, Fujinoki has been the focus of artifact typological studies and of topics influenced by themes favored by the popular media and national literature, notably the tomb's insertion into pseudo-historical narratives derived from the *Chronicles of Japan* and ethno-essentialist analytical paradigms.

The Fujinoki Excavations

Postwar construction and the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties

Surrounding Fujinoki Kofun is Nishisato, a suburb of Ikarugachō named for its positioning outside of Hōryūji's western Nishidaimon gate. 12 Prior to the first excavation of the tomb, Nishisato had been progressively transitioning from an agrarian community to a residential district of newly erected homes. This process began in 1964 with the creation of the Tatsutajinja urayama housing development, located on a ridge 250 m west of Fujinoki. During the course of construction, workers stumbled upon three previously unidentified kofun dating from the late sixth through mid-seventh centuries. These tombs, subsequently named the Tatsuta-Gobōyama Kofun group, were promptly excavated. At tomb no. 3, archaeologists recovered a preserved black lacquered ceramic coffin, which was found to contain the remains of a carved amber funerary pillow and a unique assemblage of writing utensil grave-goods (fig. 5). Unfortunately, each of the *kofun* had been extensively damaged by bulldozers prior to their identification, limiting the amount archaeological data that researchers were able recover. Furthermore, following the completion of the excavations, construction in the area resumed, leading to the complete demolition of the tombs. 13 Twenty years later, a planned expansion to this same housing development would similarly threaten Fujinoki, prompting the tomb's excavation and leading eventually to its designation as a protected Historic Site (shiseki).

The legal framework used to determine the need to excavate and degree of protection afforded to archaeological sites is provided through Japan's Law for the Protection Cultural Properties. Enacted on May 30, 1950, the Law represented a consolidation and expansion upon

Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1-16; Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

¹² Matsuda Shinichi, "Kofun no katachi to sekishitsu • sekkan (ichi)," in *Yomigaeru kodai! Fujinoki Kofun ga kataru mono*, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1989), 38.

¹³ Izumori Kō, "Gobōyama Kofungun," in *Ikarugachō no Kofun*, 36-45. Following the 1964-65 excavations, artifacts from the Gobōyama *kofun* were transported to Kashikōken. The intact stone burial chamber of tomb no. 3 currently sits adjacent to the Institute's museum entrance.

the previous preservation laws of the pre-WWII Imperial government: the 1919 Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments Preservation Law (Shiseki meishō tennen kinen butsu hozonhō); the 1929 National Treasures Preservation Law (Kokuhō hozonhō); and the 1933 Law Regarding the Preservation of Important Works of Fine Arts (Jūyō bijutsuhintō no hozon ni kansuru hōritsu). The 1950 Law stipulated regulations for the conservation of three categories of culturally significant resources, designated as Tangible Cultural Properties (*yūkei bunkazai*), Intangible Cultural Properties (*mukei bunkazai*), and Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments (*shiseki meishō tennen kinen butsu*). Nationwide administration over the designation and preservation of materials was delegated to the newly formed Committee for the Protection of Cultural Properties (Bunkazai Hogo Iinkai; hereinafter CPCP) within the Ministry of Education (Monbushō). The CPCP coordinated their conservation activities with specialists stationed at prefectural level Boards of Education.

Archaeological materials initially were classified as Tangible Cultural Properties, while the sites themselves were treated as Natural Monuments. However, a 1954 amendment to the Law saw the re-designation of artifacts under the new heading of Buried Cultural Properties (maizō bunkazai), adding specific regulations regarding the identification, reporting, and preservation of these materials. It stipulates that thirty days prior to construction within regions where Buried Cultural Properties are deemed likely to be present, the developer is required to inform the prefectural or municipal Board of Education to arrange for an archaeological survey of the area. Similarly, when materials are discovered during the course of construction, the Law requires an immediate notification of governmental authorities, who have the power to suspend earth-moving activities while they determine the significance of the findings, usually assessed through a Cultural Resource Management (CRM) rescue excavation. Unlike other types of cultural properties, which typically require a formal petition by the owner for preservation as either an Important Cultural Property (jūyō bunkazai) or National Treasure (kokuhō), Buried Cultural Properties are treated instead as lost possessions, for which the government acts as the de facto custodian. Despite this mandate for the protection of

¹⁴ An overview of the development of pre-war preservation laws can be found in Clare Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology" (PhD diss., McGill University, 1990), 79-82. English translations of the 1919, 1929, and 1933 laws are provided in Geoffrey Scott, "The Cultural Property Laws of Japan: Social, Political, and Legal Influences," *Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal* 12, no. 2 (2003): 394-402.

¹⁵ Bunkazai hogohō, Law No. 214 of 1950, art. 2 (2014).

¹⁶ Gina Barnes, "The Origins of Bureaucratic Archaeology in Japan," *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society*, no. 12 (1990): 184; Scott, 385.

¹⁷ Tanaka Migaku, "Japan," in *Approaches to the Archaeological Heritage: A Comparative Study of World Cultural Resource Management Systems*, ed. Henry Cleere (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 82.

¹⁸ Bunkazai hogohō, art. 93 and 94. Article numbers cited are derived of the most recent 2014 revision to the Law for the Protection of Cultural properties.

¹⁹ Kobayashi Tatsuo, "Trends in Administrative Salvage Archaeology," trans. Kazue Pearson, in *Windows on the Japanese Past: Studies in Archaeology and Prehistory*, eds. Richard Pearson, Gina Barnes, and Karl Hutterer (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1986), 491-492; Bunkazai hogohō, art. 96 and 97.

²⁰ Barnes, "The Origins of Bureaucratic Archaeology in Japan," 185-187. The stipulation that the government act as the custodian of lost property is predicated by a separate law first enacted in 1876, ostensibly to provide a legal backing for museums to collect and exhibit historical materials of

archaeological materials, sites located in areas of planned development, unless they are deemed to be of particular historical or cultural significance, are generally allowed to be demolished following their excavation. The site instead is considered to have been preserved through the collection of representative artifacts and the recording of excavation data within the published archaeological report.²¹

Ikarugachō's 1964 Tatsutajinja urayama housing project is representative of construction work that was occurring nationwide accompanying Japan's postwar economic growth of the 1950s and 60s. Expansive construction projects became particularly pervasive as a result of Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato's 1962 Comprehensive National Development Plan (Zenkoku sōgōkaihatsu keikaku), which called for the widespread creation of new residential districts, industrial complexes, highways, train lines, and airports. This rapid development, however, also resulted in an increased pace in the destruction of archaeological sites. ²² Similar to the inadvertent bulldozing of the Gobōyama tombs, many of the sites demolished lacked adequate oversight to ensure that CRM excavations were properly conducted prior to the commencement of construction.

Part of this problem stemmed from the overall scarcity of trained archaeologists available to accommodate the increasing demand for pre-construction surveys. In 1965, an estimated 566 archaeologists were active in Japan, of which only eight were employed by regional Boards of Education to supervise preservation work. The remainder were affiliated with academic institutions, who needed to manage their own research projects in addition to assisting with the burgeoning CRM excavations. The other issue lay within the CPCP itself, which, although tasked with the administration of cultural materials, was established without the budget needed to adequately fund archaeological investigations or to purchase land to preserve sites. It further lacked the political authority to oppose the more powerful ministries within the Japanese bureaucracy that were pushing for expedited construction projects. ²⁴

Mounting public protest over the loss of historic sites, organized by prominent archaeologists under the banner of the Preservation Movement (Hozon undō), eventually led to the government's restructuring of its Buried Cultural Property administrative system. In 1968, the Agency of Cultural Affairs (Bunkachō) was established as an independent arm of the

indeterminate ownership. Walter Edwards, "Japanese Archaeology and Cultural Properties Management: Prewar Ideologies and Postwar Legacies," in *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan*, ed. Jennifer Robertson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 39.

²¹ Fumiko Ikawa-Smith, "Practice of Archaeology in Contemporary Japan," in *Comparative Archaeologies: A Sociological View of the Science of the Past*, ed. Ludomir Lozny (New York: Springer, 2011), 690; Okamura Katsuyuki, "Ethics of Commercial Archaeology: Japan," in *The Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, ed. Claire Smith (New York: Springer, 2014), 2483. I discuss the practical necessity and epistemological repercussions of Japan's system of rescue archaeology in greater detail later in this chapter.

²² Kobayashi Tatsuo, 491; Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 101-102; Okamura and Matsuda, 100-101.

²³ Kobayashi Tatsuo, 492; Barnes, "The Origins of Bureaucratic Archaeology," 191; Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 128-129; Tsuboi Kiyotari, "Issues in Japanese Archaeology," *Acta Asiatica*, no. 63 (1992): 3. Tsuboi, in highlighting the growing disparity between academic and CRM-based excavations conducted in the 1960s, cites that in 1964, of the 547 excavation permits issued by the government, 169 were for research activities while 378 were rescue digs.

²⁴ Barnes, "The Origins of Bureaucratic Archaeology," 189-190; Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 128-129.

Ministry of Education, which assumed the responsibilities formerly held by the CPCP. The oversite of CRM investigations increasingly came under the jurisdiction of regional Boards of Education, many establishing semi-public centers for buried cultural properties (*maizō bunkazai sentā*) to conduct local excavations. Recognizing the need for additional qualified specialists within the field, the Japanese government also began to encourage universities to create new archaeology departments. As a further measure, in 1974 the National Center for Archaeological Operations (Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Maizō Bunkazai Sentā) was established, whose function is to provide training and advice to excavators working throughout Japan. New regulatory measures to ensure the better preservation of archaeological sites also were formalized through a 1975 amendment to the Law, which included the stipulation that the costs of CRM excavations be defrayed by the developer.²⁵

Throughout the evolution of Japan's system for Buried Cultural Property management, the government's approach to archaeological materials has been directed primarily toward ensuring the preservation of sites and artifacts, even if only in the form of the written record (kiroku hozon). The importance of these materials is derived from the broad legal definition that identifies them as "Cultural Properties," understood to be national assets contributing to the overall cultural enrichment of Japan. Of lesser concern within this system, however, are the specifics of how excavated remains, beyond their material existence as objects created in the distant past, are able to evoke historical relevance for members of modern society. As a result, the excavation practices that developed in tandem with this administrative bureaucracy have similarly tended to eschew the creation of explanatory models for artifactual remains, prioritizing instead the collection of empirical data as a means of preserving sites through the generation of detailed archaeological records. In the following sections, I posit that this same trend can be seen in the examinations of Fujinoki, which have also adhered to an over-emphasis on data collection at the expense of interpretive research.

First excavation (July 22 – December 31, 1985)

During the early 1980s, a proposal was submitted for an eastward expansion to the Tatsutajinja urayama housing district, which was planned to extend to an area adjacent to the Fujinoki tumulus. Although the initial construction of this development had previously led to the destruction of the Gobōyama tombs, Ikarugachō had since become designated as a protected region of cultural importance. Furthermore, Fujinoki itself was registered as an archaeological site, officially documented within the 1973 map of Nara Prefecture's historic locales. As an area of known cultural significance, the Law mandated that an excavation be conducted before any new construction would be permitted.²⁶ Instead of an archaeological survey of just the location

²⁵ Tanaka Migaku, 82-84; Barnes, "The Origins of Bureaucratic Archaeology," 188-192; Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 137-138; Okamura and Matsuda, 101. A tacit understanding that the developer was responsible for paying for rescue excavations had been in place since the construction of the Meishin highway between Kyoto and Osaka in 1958. Although the 1975 amendment to the Law included a clause intended as a formalization of this agreement, the stipulation that the developer defray costs is still not explicitly stated, relying instead upon an interpretive reading. Okamura and Matsuda, 99-100; Bunkazai hogohō, art. 99-2.

²⁶ Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Nara ken iseki chizu dai 1 bunsatsu* (Nara: Naraken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1973); Fujii Toshiaki, "Chōsa no keiki to keika," in *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun: dai ichi ji chōsa hōkokusho*, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Ikarugachō: Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, 1990), 12. The registration of archaeological sites is carried out by prefectural and municipal

of proposed development, however, the Ikarugachō Board of Education decided instead to use the opportunity to conduct a more thorough excavation of the entire Fujinoki site, using its own discretionary budget as funding for the project. The Board delegated the investigation to Kashikōken, an organization under the jurisdiction of the Nara government that supervises CRM and academic-oriented excavations throughout the prefecture.²⁷

The investigation of Fujinoki began on July 22, 1985, under the direction of lead archaeologist Fujii Toshiaki. The first week of work was dedicated to preparations for the excavation (figs. 6-7). A temporary structure for equipment storage was erected north of the site, and the tomb's surface was shorn of accrued grasses and weeds. Measurements of the tumulus were recorded, and markers were placed to identify the site's center and cardinal orientations. Based on this preliminary survey, archaeologists surmised Fujinoki to be a circular-shaped tomb, though the mound itself had become deformed since its original construction. Beyond the degradation expected from natural weathering, nearby rice paddies had cut into the base of the tumulus along its north and west edges, and a portion of soil from the southwestern slope had been harvested for use as wattle and daub construction materials at nearby houses. During WWII, and for a short period afterward, sweet potatoes had been cultivated on top of the tomb. A small persimmon and plum orchard had also been planted nearby, and several of the fruit trees had since spread to the mound itself. Archaeologists tentatively dated Fujinoki to the fifth century, contemporaneous to the nearby Ikaruga-Ōtsuka Kofun. They expected to eventually uncover a pit-shaft burial chamber analogous to that of Ōtsuka at the Fujinoki tumulus' peak.

On the morning of July 30, following a ceremony dedicated to the soul of the buried deceased, excavation of the tomb commenced.³⁰ Four trenches were dug extending from the top

Boards of Education, and published maps of the nationwide location of these remains began to be made available in the mid-1960s. The process of registration does not necessarily entail the preservation of the site, but rather is an indication that the area requires an archaeological investigation before construction projects can take place. Tanaka Migaku, 83.

²⁷ Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun* (Ikarugachō: Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, 1986), 1; Fujii, "Chōsa no keiki to keika," 12. Kashikōken was initially founded as an independent organization under director Suenaga Masao in 1938 in order to direct the large-scale excavation of the Jōmon period Kashihara site in Kashihara City. In 1951, Kashikōken came to serve in a semi-public archaeological advisory capacity for Nara Prefecture and eventually would become completely incorporated as a governmental research center in 1974. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, ed., *Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo* 1938~2008 (Kashihara: Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 2008), 108-109. The differentiation between excavations classified as academic excavations and as rescue projects is discussed later in this chapter.

²⁸ Initial measurements recorded the tumulus at 45 m in diameter and 8 m tall. By the end of the first excavation dimensions for the original site were refined to 40 m x 8 m, and again during the second and third excavations to the currently reported 48 m x 8 m.

²⁹ Fujii, "Naraken Fujinoki Kofun," 504; idem., "Chōsa no keiki to keika," 12-13; Fujii Toshiaki., "Funkyū to naibu kōzō," in *IFK 1*, 15. Kidder notes that the fifth-century dating of the site also was based on initial finds of cylindrical *haniwa* sherds typologically characteristic of Middle Kofun period works. It was later discovered that these ceramics originated from nearby *kofun* that had been previously demolished, and that the vessel remains had been mixed together and buried adjacent to Fujinoki at some point in the past. Such was the conviction of archaeologists of their initial fifth-century attribution, however, that a sign identifying the site as a Middle period tomb was erected early in course of the excavation. Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-Goods," 58-60.

³⁰ *Ireisai* rites generally are conducted before beginning excavations of *kofun* tombs and other sites where human remains are likely to have been buried.

of the mound to the tumulus' base (fig. 8).³¹ These were used to examine the stratigraphy of the mound, and to provide a more accurate assessment of the site's dimensions, by allowing archaeologists to identify of the transition point between the piled earth of the tomb and the natural loam of the surrounding landscape (fig. 9).

On August 2, excavators working on the north trench encountered the edge of a buried granite slab. This quickly was identified as belonging to the ceiling of an interior stone burial chamber (fig. 10). The discovery was further confirmed when, days later, additional stones belonging to the roof of the chamber and its side corridor began to be revealed. On August 19, as the trenches were being cleaned to prepare for a cross-section photograph of the site's stratigraphy, a small stone was loosened near the southeast corner of the chamber ceiling, providing archaeologists their first glimpse of the tomb interior. They noted the presence of a red pigmented house-shaped stone sarcophagus along the northern wall and an accompanying assemblage of ceramics piled to the southwest.

Near the end of the first month of excavation, archaeologists identified an entrance passage situated on the southeast side of the tumulus (fig. 11). Although this portal had been previously sealed with piled stones, the upper section was found to be comprised only of loose soil, allowing excavators to create a hole large enough to permit access to the chamber within. Archaeologists entered on August 30, carefully laying sandbags ahead of them to avoid disturbing the layer of debris that covered the floor (fig. 12). During this preliminary survey, they confirmed that the site's stone sarcophagus remained sealed, suggesting that the contents inside had been undisturbed by tomb robbers.

A more detailed investigation of the Fujinoki burial facilities began on September 1. The corridor and chamber were divided into a 1 m per unit grid, and the contents inside of each cell were carefully recorded. Within the corridor were found medieval period lamp dishes, indicating that the site, although unlooted, had indeed been re-entered after its initial construction. The assemblage of ceramics in the burial chamber, on the other hand, consisted of Sue and Haji-ware vessels typologically associated with the sixth century. The largest collection of artifacts, however, were found wedged in the narrow gaps between the coffin and the surrounding walls of the chamber. These works consisted primarily of armor, weaponry, tools, and decorated horse-tack (fig. 13). Within the latter group, researchers were particularly surprised by their discovery of an ornate gilt-bronze saddle, its surface adorned with an elaborate composition of interconnected iconographic motifs.

Given the unexpected amount and quality of preserved materials at the site, it was decided that the remainder of the investigation would focus on documenting the burial chamber and gathering artifacts for further study off-site. The examination of the interior of the house-shaped coffin, on the other hand, was relegated to a future excavation. Starting in October, archaeologists began to diagram and remove the site's grave-goods. The artifacts surrounding the coffin had been haphazardly piled on top of one another, requiring excavators to meticulously inspect, photograph, and draw each of the twenty-two stacked layers of objects,

1995), 1:35.

³¹ These trenches would later become identified during the second excavation as trench 4 (north), trench 5 (east), trench 6 (south), and trench 7 (west). The combined report for the second and third investigations also designates the excavated soil above the chamber's southeast ceiling slabs as trench 8; the excavated roof of the entrance corridor as trench 9; and the front section of the tomb's drainage canal as trench 10. Matsuda Shinichi, "Funkyū oyobi chikeisokuryō," in *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun: dai ni • san ji chōsa hōkokusho*, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Ikarugachō: Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai,

before individually collecting and numbering the works. Diagrams recording the structuring of the burial facilities were created, and a drainage ditch that extended underneath the pebble floor of the chamber and corridor was excavated. The examination of the facilities concluded in December, and from the twenty-ninth through thirty-first excavators worked to reseal the tomb's entrance with piled sandbags and an installed iron gate.³²

Second excavation (May 9 – July 8, 1988)

It became clear to archaeologists during Fujinoki's initial excavation, first with the uncovering of the site's large-scale burial chamber, followed by the revelation of its expansive grave-good assemblage and sealed house-shaped sarcophagus, that the tomb constituted an unprecedented discovery. Even before the first investigation had concluded, there was mounting pressure from within the archaeological community, as well as from the press and local inhabitants of Ikarugachō, for a subsequent excavation of the site's coffin to be conducted. Not only was it rare to find an unlooted example of a Late period stone sarcophagus, but, given the quality of the gilded saddle and horse tack found in the surrounding burial chamber, there were high expectations regarding what might be discovered when the coffin's lid finally was removed.

In December of 1985, a committee was formed to begin preparations for the second excavation. Its members comprised of officials from Ikarugachō's municipal government, and archaeologists from Kashikōken and various outside academic institutions.³³ The committee met on December 2 and fourth for a preliminary deliberation of possible approaches to the examination of the coffin's interior. A primary topic of debate was the potential damage that lifting the sarcophagus' lid might cause to the materials interred inside. Archaeologists expected that they would likely encounter human remains and artifacts formed from organic materials, and they worried that the exposure of these objects to the outside air could dramatically hasten their decomposition.³⁴ Similarly, it was feared that simply moving the lid could cause an explosive change in pressure. During the excavation of Tsukayama Kofun in Gojō City, for example, archaeologists discovered an unlooted sarcophagus that had been sealed with a layer of clay. As they worked to remove the mud, an abrupt rush of gas escaped from the coffin, which they later discovered had been strong enough to disrupt the orientation of the bones stored inside. Upon the conclusion of the committee's meetings, it was decided to delay the second excavation while

³² Fujii, "Naraken Fujinoki Kofun," 504-507; idem., "Chōsa no keiki to keika," 13-14; idem., "Funkyū to naibu kōzō," 16-17; Izumori Kō, "Dai 1 ji chōsa," in *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun gaihō: dai 1 ji chōsa ~ dai 3 ji chōsa*, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1989), 45.
³³ This committee was officially designated the "Fujinoki Kofun hakkutsu chōsa kai" on December 1. Just three days later, the name was changed to "Fujinoki Kofun hakkutsu chōsa kihon kaigi," and was rebranded again on December 1, 1987, the "Fujinoki Kofun hakkutsu chōsa iinkai." Izumori Kō, "Keiki," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:16-23.

³⁴ Izumori states that several concerned archaeologists cited an episode recorded within philosopher Watsuji Tetsurō's 1919 work, *Kojijunrei*. Watsuji presents an account of a grave robber who discovered a sealed coffin within a *kofun* burial chamber. When the robber opened the lid, he found a preserved body inside, which rapidly began to desiccate before his eyes until only dust remained. The man subsequently became ill and died several days later. Regardless of its veracity, archaeologists stated that the story reflected the potential dangers connected with opening the coffin, which included risks to the interred materials and to the health of the excavators exposed to bacteria sealed inside. Izumori Kō, "Fujinoki Kofun kaikan no tekunorojī," *Kagaku Asahi* 49, no. 3 (1989): 102.

researchers at Kashikōken explored non-destructive methods for investigating the Fujinoki coffin's interior without removing its lid.³⁵

Almost a year and a half later, in May of 1987, researchers from Kashikōken under the direction of lead archaeologists Izumori Kō and Maezono Michio were ready to begin an examination of the sarcophagus. Using x-ray photography, they were able to determine that the interior still contained several objects, many of which were formed from organic materials. However, due to the poor quality of the images produced, it was unclear exactly what types of remains were preserved inside, and still less was known about their surrounding environmental conditions. In order to better understand its contents, it was proposed that a fiberscope camera be inserted inside. This technology had previously been used to examine the interiors of the burial chambers of Marukoyama Kofun and Kitora Kofun during their respective excavations in 1974 and 1983. In addition, rapid advances in fiberscope design had developed since their application at Kitora, the dramatic reduction in the size of the cameras enabling them to be interposed between the lid and body of the Fujinoki sarcophagus. 37

On July 9, a formal request to conduct a physical examination of the coffin's interior was submitted to the Nara Prefectural Board of Education and subsequently was sent to the Agency for Cultural Affairs for final approval. A preliminary plan for the study was formulated in August and was revised through successive meetings of the Fujinoki committee. It was decided that the second investigation would consist not only of the fiberscope examination of the coffin interior but also the further excavation of the tumulus in order to confirm its exact shape and scale. ³⁸

Excavation began on May 9, 1988. Through the remainder of the month, research focused on determining the scope of the tumulus and on recovering buried artifacts found surrounding the mound. 3 m wide trenches were dug starting at the base of the tumulus and extended 20-23 m to the north (trench 3) and northeast (trench 2) (fig. 14). Although archaeologists unearthed a number of artifacts from within these trenches, they concluded that the area was not associated with the tomb, identifying it instead as a refuse pit that had been used until around the eleventh century for discarding ceramic sherds and *haniwa* from nearby demolished *kofun*. The area directly in front of Fujinoki's entrance also was excavated (trench 1), as well as a small pit several meters to the south (trench 0). Both trenches contained further fragments of *haniwa*, which archaeologists concluded had been arranged within a ritual space

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³⁵ The primary methods proposed for further evaluation were ultra-sonic, eddy-current, and radiography (x-ray) testing. Among these technologies, radiography was thought most likely to yield results. Kuno Yūichirō tested the efficacy of x-rays on tuff stone blocks from Nijō mountain (the same materials used for the Fujinoki sarcophagus), before radiography was utilized in the examination of the coffin itself. Izumori, "Fujinoki Kofun kaikan no tekunorojī," 102-103; idem., "Keiki," 1:17.

³⁶ Marukoyama and Kitora Kofun are both located in Nara Prefecture's Asuka-mura and date to the Final Kofun period (600-710).

³⁷ Fiberscopes had previously been used for decades in medical examinations. The advances in their miniaturization was driven primarily from their application as a tool for diagnosing cholesterol buildup and other disorders within vascular systems. To learn more about the technology, Kashikōken archaeologists first consulted with specialists from the nearby Nara Medical University. Following these discussions, they then contacted Olympus Optical Co., a major manufacturer of fiberscope cameras, who agreed to assist in the Fujinoki excavation. Izumori, "Fujinoki Kofun kaikan no tekunorojī," 103; idem., "Keiki," 1:18; Asagura Masahiro, "Kōgyōyō naishikyō kensa," in *IFK 2-3*, 2:12-13.

³⁸ Izumori, "Keiki," 1:18; Maezono Michio, "Keika," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:23.

that abutted the tumulus entryway. Photographs and diagrams were created of the stratigraphy of the trenches, and the historical periods associated with each soil layer began to be identified.³⁹

On June 1, archaeologists conducted a surface inspection of the Fujinoki sarcophagus, identifying an 8 mm hole between the body and lid where a fiberscope camera could be inserted. Investigation of the coffin's interior commenced the following day, with technical assistance from engineers dispatched from Olympus Optical (fig. 15). A stainless-steel tube was placed into the opening, through which the inside temperature and humidity were measured, and a sample of the air was collected. A 5.9 mm diameter fiberscope was then inserted through the tube, and photographs and video were recorded of the interior. These images were simultaneously reviewed by archaeologists within a prefabricated structure at the tomb's entrance. Additional images were collected on July 3 using an 8 mm camera with greater low-light resolution. Through this investigation researchers were able to clearly identify human bones, swords, and various personal ornaments inside of the coffin, which they noted were partially submerged within several centimeters of accumulated water (fig. 16). 40

Meanwhile, excavators continued to diagram the trenches surrounding the tumulus and collect unearthed artifacts. In order to obtain further data of the site's soil strata, a section of the tumulus above the entrance corridor (trench 9) was exhumed and a portion the tomb's drainage ditch re-excavated (fig. 17). A cross-section diagram also was created of the piled stones in the tomb's entryway. The second investigation of Fujinoki concluded on July 4, and from the fifth through the eighth the remaining trenches were backfilled, temporary structures removed, and the entrance to the burial facilities barricaded. 41

Third excavation (September 30 – December 28, 1988)

Analysis of the conditions inside of the Fujinoki coffin revealed that the air quality, temperature, and pressure were nearly identical to the conditions present within the burial chamber. This assuaged fears that simply opening the sarcophagus posed a danger to the interred artifacts and human remains. ⁴² As a result, on August 31, the Fujinoki committee decided to conduct a third excavation to directly examine the sarcophagus interior. It previously had been recognized that opening the coffin within the confines of the burial chamber was going to pose a logistical challenge. In preparation for the endeavor, a carved tuff replica of the work was created, allowing researchers to test practical methods for removing the lid (fig. 18). They

"Torenchi no chōsa," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:42-50.

³⁹ Jōmon period (ca. 13,000-300 BCE) ceramics and stone tools also were identified in the lowest soil layers of trenches 1 and 2, providing evidence of habitation in the area long before the creation of Fujinoki Kofun. Maezono Michio, "Dai 2 ji chōsa nisshi," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:25-27; Sekigawa Hisayoshi,

⁴⁰ Additional photographs of the interior were taken on July 17, and, at the same time, a sample of the accumulated water was collected for compositional analysis. Izumori Kō, "Kaikan ga matareru: Fujinoki Kofun dai ni ji chōsa," *Asukakaze* 28 (1988): 18; idem., "Fujinoki Kofun kaikan no tekunorojī," 104-105; Maezono, "Dai 2 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:27-29; Maezono Michio, "Naishikyō ni yoru kan nai kansatsu," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:71-72; Asagura, 16-17.

⁴¹ Maezono, "Dai 2 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:29-31; Sekigawa, "Torenchi no chōsa," 1:50, 57.

⁴² Archaeologists assume that this similarity in conditions was due to minute gaps present between the lid and body of the coffin, which allowed air from the surrounding chamber to permeate inside. Maezono, "Dai 2 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:27, 29.

concluded that a small crane would be able to support the work's immense weight without presenting significant risks to the preservation of the sarcophagus.⁴³

The third excavation began on September 30. A two-story temporary structure was created to serve as a staging area for on-site research activities. Inside of the burial chamber scaffolding for a crane was erected, and an iron frame was fitted surrounding coffin lid to provide anchor points for lifting the work. Similar to the first excavation, a ceremony dedicated to the deceased was conducted at the tomb's entrance, led by the abbot of nearby Sainenji Temple (fig. 19). Preparations were completed by October 7, and that afternoon the arduous process of opening the coffin commenced. Jacks positioned along the corners of the frame were used to slowly raise the lid. Every few centimeters plywood and acrylic sheets were placed into the widening gap, ensuring that if the frame slipped, the lid would only fall a short distance. Once the cover had been raised 15 cm the crane was attached (fig. 20). While suspended, archaeologists were able to inspect the work's underside, discovering that, similar to the coffin's exterior, the interior surfaces of the lid and body had likewise been painted with a red pigment. The lid was then rotated upside down and lowered onto a pair of supports near the front of the chamber. This process took over fourteen hours to complete, with excavators working through the night. 45

The following day, archaeologists finally were able to directly inspect the contents of the coffin. They identified the partial skeletal remains of two bodies, several ornamental swords, gilt and silver necklaces, thousands of glass beads, and various other personal ornaments. The most impressive objects consisted of a crown, two pairs of shoes, and a cylindrical hair ornament, each created from gilt-bronze and decorated with small hanging pendants. Around 370 masses of material were found floating in the water of the coffin, which were comprised of fabric, wood, and other organic remains from decomposed portions of the interred artifacts and corpses. Photographs were taken of the contents and the interior gridded to assist in diagraming the locations of each object inside.

Collection of the floating materials began on October 11. Archaeologists wearing medical scrubs, gloves, and masks labeled each clump with an identifying tag (fig. 21). These were then placed into containers partially filled with water, which were intended to help preserve the color of dyed cloth fragments, as well as maintain the overall physical integrity of the remains. Once the floating materials had been gathered, the water of the coffin was drained. In order to avoid agitating interred objects and the layer of silt that had accumulated along the sarcophagus floor, the liquid was slowly pumped out using a needle-nosed hose (fig. 22). Using small brushes and ionized water, archaeologists then proceeded to clean away the accumulated

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in *IFK 2-3*, 1:76-77.

⁴³ The Fujinoki sarcophagus was created from tuff stone sourced from western Nara Prefecture's Mt. Nijō and is estimated to weigh about 4 t. Since Mt. Nijō is now a protected area, archaeologists used a similar quality stone from Tochigi prefecture for the manufacture of their replica coffin. Izumori, "Fujinoki Kofun kaikan no tekunorojī," 105; Ishino Hironobu, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa," in *Fujinoki Kofun to sono bunka*, eds. Mori Kōichi and Ishino Hironobu (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1989), 22-24; Maezono Michio, "Chōsa ni itaru katei to keika," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:75. The replica coffin currently is displayed in front of the Ikaruga Cultural Heritage Center, located several blocks south of Fujinoki.

⁴⁴ Ishino notes that it was feared that the metal frame surrounding coffin would slip free if force was applied abruptly. Archaeologists also were concerned that centuries of water seeping through the coffin had potentially weakened the structural integrity of the lid and that too much pressure in any one area could cause the work to fracture. Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa," 24-26.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 25-27; Maezono, "Chōsa ni itaru katei to keika," 1:75; Maezono Michio, "Dai 3 ji chōsa nisshi,"

buildup of mud and rust coating the interior, while also collecting the material for future analysis (fig. 23). This cleaning process was completed on October 24, and photographs were taken to record the full arrangement of objects inside.⁴⁶

Occupying the majority of the remaining two months of excavation, archaeologists examined, gathered, and sorted each object within the sarcophagus. Artifacts were labeled with a tag identifying their position, and photographs were created throughout the collection process to ensure a continuous record (fig. 24). While most of the objects were recovered by hand, the glass beads, swords, and several other works were found to be in poor condition, rendering them too fragile to handle. A solution of acrylic resin (NAD) was applied to these artifacts and allowed to harden over several days before the works were collected. For many of the glass beads, this also entailed affixing gauze over a section of the assemblage, allowing archaeologists to recover the works while also preserving their original threaded patterns (fig. 25).⁴⁷

The final objects from the coffin were removed on December 23, and photographs, rubbings, and measurements recorded of the now empty interior. On the twenty-sixth, two small reliquary containers, each containing a fragment of bone from one of the bodies, were placed inside of the sarcophagus, alongside a granite plaque engraved with the dates of the three excavations and names of the principal archaeologists involved (fig. 26).⁴⁸ The lid was then placed back onto the coffin, the crane's scaffolding removed, and, on December 28, following a final memorial service, the burial chamber entrance was resealed.⁴⁹

Site designation and maintenance (1989 – 2000)

Following the third excavation, archaeological research of Fujinoki shifted to the examination of the artifacts and other materials recovered from the site. The final comprehensive excavation report was published by Kashikōken in three volumes in 1990 and 1995, under the title *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun* (*IFK*). The tumulus itself, in recognition of the significant discoveries made during the excavations, was designated a Historic Site by the Ministry of Education in 1991. This designation not only ensured the continued protection and periodic maintenance of the tomb under governmental direction, but it also mandated that Fujinoki, as a public resource, be utilized in educational efforts to inform visitors of the local history and culture of the region. 51

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⁴⁶ Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa," 30, 35-38; Maezono, "Chōsa ni itaru katei to keika," 1:75; idem., "Dai 3 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:77-79.

⁴⁷ Maezono, "Chōsa ni itaru katei to keika," 1:75; idem., "Dai 3 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:79-85.

⁴⁸ Kidder states that the enshrinement of the reliquaries and plaque at Fujinoki was intended to appease the souls of the dead, ensuring that they would not later seek retribution from the archaeologists involved in the excavation. Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 420.

⁴⁹ Maezono, "Chōsa ni itaru katei to keika," 1:75; idem., "Dai 3 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:85.

⁵⁰ The 1990 volume (*IFK 1*) covered the first excavation of Fujinoki, while reports for the subsequent excavations were released together in a two-volume set (*IFK 2-3* vols. 1-2) in 1995. Similar to other archaeological investigations, less comprehensive preliminary reports were also published shortly after the conclusion of each excavation. For the first excavation, these early reports were Fujii, "Naraken Fujinoki Kofun," and Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun*. After the second and third excavations, Kashikōken published a preliminary combined report for all three studies, Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, ed., *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun gaihō: dai 1 ji chōsa* ~ *dai 3 ji chōsa* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1989).

⁵¹ Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Ikarugachō bunkazai chōsa hōkoku dai 4 shū: Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho* (Ikarugachō: Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, 2008), 12; Bunkazai hogohō, art. 109, 115-

In 1994, a committee assigned to overseeing the protection of Fujinoki was formed, consisting of scholars from Kashikōken and other archaeological institutions, and participants from Ikarugachō's municipal government. The first measure implemented by the committee in 1995 was to erect informational signs adjacent to the site, providing visitors with an overview of the tomb and of the ceramics recovered from the burial chamber. A protective fence also was constructed surrounding the tumulus. Unfortunately, later that year, three middle-school students, inspired by a televised program describing the discoveries at Fujinoki, were able to break into the site's burial chamber. Believing that the sarcophagus still contained grave-goods, the youths proceeded to smash a 60 cm x 40 cm hole along the center of the lid's southern edge (fig. 27). In response to this incident, the committee commissioned repairs to the sarcophagus the following year. A patch formed from pulverized fragments from the lid mixed with a vinyl resin was affixed along the damaged section of the work. During these repairs, it was also noticed that mold had begun to develop on the coffin, requiring the entire chamber to be treated with methyl alcohol to hinder its further spread. Additional maintenance was conducted in 1998 following minor damage to the stone chamber in the wake of a severe typhoon.

During the 1999 meeting of the Fujinoki committee, it was agreed that the tomb in its current degraded state was visually unimpressive, failing to sufficiently convey the historical importance of the site. It was concluded that the tumulus needed to be restored to its original sixth-century shape, and the surrounding area transformed into a public park to provide better viewing opportunities to visitors. During this meeting, the committee also decided that further maintenance work was needed inside of the burial chamber, not only to ensure its future preservation but also to allow for the installation of facilities that would enable controlled access to the interior. In preparation for the renovation, a comprehensive three-year photographic survey of the chamber was conducted, providing a greater understanding of the tomb's engineering, as well as a record of minute shifts that were occurring in the structuring over time.⁵⁶ Finally, since the transition of the tomb into a park was to entail major physical changes

^{116.} The artifacts from Fujinoki were collectively designated under a separate classification as Important Cultural Properties in 1988. This designation was upgraded to National Treasure in 2004, a classification that is reserved for works deemed to be of the highest cultural significance. Bunkachō, "Naraken Fujinoki Kofun shutsudohin," *Kunishitei bunkazai nado dētabēsu*, accessed July 3, 2018, https://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/bsys/maindetails.asp. An overview of the types of cultural properties and their associated designations under the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties can be found in Bunkachō Bunkazaibu Kinenbutsuka, *Cultural Properties for Future Generations ~Outline of the Cultural Administration of Japan~* (Tokyo: Bunkachō, 2017), 3.

⁵² This committee's official name is the Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun Seibi Kentō Iinkai. Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 12, 15. In the absence of a landowner, the creation of such a managerial body to oversee the preservation and utilization of a historic site is stipulated by the Law. Bunkazai hogohō, art. 113.

⁵³ Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 12; Hirata Masahiko in discussion with the author, July 29, 2014.

⁵⁴ Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 54; Kabushikigaisha Ai • Enu • Tekunikaru Rabo, "Heisei 8 nendo: Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun sekkan hozon shūri hōkokusho," in *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 262-264.

⁵⁵ Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho, 14.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 12-14, 16, 27, 39, 45; Ikarugachō, "Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi kihon sekkeisho," in *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 246. The results of the 1999-2001 photographic analysis of the chamber are reported in Ikarugachō, "Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun heisei 11 nendo sekishitsu

to the original site, a new round of excavations of the area began to be planned in order to preserve as much archaeological data as possible.

Fourth excavation (January 9 – March 30, 2001)

Since its discovery, the entryway into the Fujinoki burial facilities had remained obstructed by a 1.9 m blockade of piled stones (fig. 28). Access to the interior was limited to the narrow hole that had been created near the top of the passage during the initial 1985 investigation. As a result, the fourth excavation, which was proposed ostensibly as an examination of this barrier, also was intended to serve the practical necessity of removing the stones to facilitate future ingress into the chamber.

Kashikōken excavators began by taking photographs of the current arrangement of stones, followed by the meticulous diagraming of the blockade. The rocks then were removed individually by hand, and each painted with an identifying number. Through this examination, archaeologists concluded that the largest stones had been arranged near the bottom of the blockade, while smaller flattish rocks were placed into the uneven gaps along the surface. An area of packed earth was identified beneath the stones leading south from the tomb, which was presumed to be the remains of a former pathway to the grave. Stones

Fifth excavation (September 1 – December 26, 2003)

In the years following the first three excavations of Fujinoki, a number of historical documents referencing the tomb and its immediate surroundings had been discovered. The majority of these works were uncovered by Hōryūji's abbot Takada Ryōshin from within the temple's records, the earliest dating to 1160.⁵⁹ Many of the documents concern a small temple named Hōshakuji, which is described as having been constructed sometime prior to the twelfth century to serve as caretaker to the Fujinoki tomb. A 1709 map of the temple, the *Hōshakuji keidai zu*, places the compound directly in front of the tumulus' south entrance, while later records indicate that this structure was destroyed in a fire in 1854 (fig. 29).⁶⁰ In light of these

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genjō chōsa hōkokusho," in *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 139-167 and Ikarugachō, "Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun heisei 12 nendo sekishitsu genjō chōsa hōkokusho," in *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 169-180.

They remained there until construction of the surrounding park commenced, at which point they were buried in a trench, with the GPS coordinates recorded in case these materials were needed for future examination. Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 67.

Since there were no artifact remains discovered among the stones, archaeologists initially assumed that the blockade dated to the sixth century, having never been removed for the burial of additional bodies or by tomb robbers pilfering the site. This conclusion was later discarded during the following two excavations, which suggested that the adjacent Hōshakuji Temple had likely completely unsealed Fujinoki to conduct mortuary rites inside of the burial facilities. Hirata Masahiko and Aoyagi Taisuke, *Kuni shiseki Fujinoki Kofun (dai 4 ji) hakkutsu chōsa shiryō* (Kashihara: Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 2001), 4; Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 18-19.

⁵⁹ A full list of these documents and summaries of their contents are provided in Appendix A. ⁶⁰ Maezono Michio, "Bunken ni mieru Fujinoki Kofun," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:254-259; Takada, 87-89, 191-200. The *Hōshakuji keidai zu* was first discovered by Takada in the 1950s. He recalls that during his youth he would scour Hōryūji for buried or otherwise forgotten artifacts, reporting his finds to the abbot. While searching the rafters above Sōgenji Temple's kitchens, he discovered a chest of documents, which

documents, the fifth excavation of Fujinoki was conducted in order to verify the existence of Hōshakuji and to determine to what extent the construction of the temple compound may have compromised the original design of the tomb.⁶¹

Over the course of three months, archaeologists excavated five areas along the perimeter of the tumulus. Trenches 11 and 12 extended from the eastern side of Fujinoki and contained fragments of cylindrical *haniwa* that had originally ringed the site (fig. 30). To the west and northwest, archaeologists dug trenches 13 and 14, uncovering only virgin soil and further remains from the refuse pit that had been identified during the second excavation. Trench 15 extended east-west along the site's southern edge in the area where records indicate that Hōshakuji had once been located. Archaeologists noted that a section of the tumulus ended in a sharp angle, which they hypothesized could have been caused by a structure previously built adjacent to the tomb. They also identified a layer of burnt soil, possibly originating from the 1854 fire that destroyed Hōshakuji. However, no remains that could directly be attributed to the temple's buildings were discovered. 62

Sixth excavation (February 21 – March 31, 2005)

After the inconclusive results of the previous study, a subsequent excavation of Fujinoki was carried out to search for further material evidence of Hōshakuji. Two sections along the southern slope of the tumulus were excavated, consisting of trench 17 situated near the southwest corner of the tomb and trench 18 slightly to the west of the tumulus entrance. This time archaeologists were able to identify remnants of charred plaster and ceramic roof tiles from within a layer of burnt soil, which they determined likely originated from the covered walkway that formed the northern perimeter of Hōshakuji's monastic compound (fig. 31).

Site restoration and the construction of park facilities (September 25, 2006 – March 31, 2008)

After the completion of the sixth excavation, the Fujinoki preservation committee was ready to begin transforming the site into a park. Final plans for the project were drafted in 2005,

included the diagram of Hōshakuji. During the excavations of Fujinoki, Takada was reminded of the document, which prompted him to contact Kashikōken regarding Hōryūji's records. Idem., 8-9, 16.

Another reference to Fujinoki was discovered in the 1856 *Junryō kiji*, written by scholar Tomobayashi Mitsuhira, in which the site is described as having a fish-like (or keyhole) shape. As a result, an additional objective of the fifth excavation was the further examination of the mound's perimeter to confirm the results from the earlier investigations indicating the tumulus to be circular. Hirata Masahiko and Yonekawa Yūji, "Ikarugachō Fujinoki Kofun dai 5 ji chōsa: genchi setsumeikai shiryō (2003 nen 11 gatsu 22 nichi)," *Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo*, last modified November 22, 2003, http://www.Kashikōken.jp/from-site/2003/fujinoki5/fujinoki5.html; Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 22.

⁶² Hirata and Yonekawa; Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 21-22. Additional *haniwa* fragments also were recovered from trench 15.

⁶³ Trench 16 is indicated in a diagram in the report for the sixth excavation but otherwise is not mentioned. This trench appears to have been dug a short distance to the southwest of the mound, although it is unclear when or for what purpose it was created. Hirata Masahiko, "Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun (dai 6 ji) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō," in *Heisei 17 nendo: Nara kennai shichōson maizō bunkazai hakkutsu chōsa hōkokukai shiryō* (Nara: Nara Kennai Shichōson Maizō Bunkazai Gijutsu Tantōsha Renraku Kyōgikai, 2006), 41.

⁶⁴ Hirata, "Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun (dai 6 ji) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō," 39-44; Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 24.

and construction started the following year under the direction of the Ikarugachō Board of Education. The first step was the restoration of the tumulus to its sixth-century circular design. Persimmon trees and other vegetation were cleared from the site, and workers began to re-shape the existing soil of the mound (fig. 32). Over the course of the previous three excavations, as well as during periodic maintenance inspections of the tomb, it was noted that the tumulus had eroded to expose sections of the interior ceiling slabs. This, in turn, was causing excess rainwater to seep into the tomb's chamber and corridor. As a preventative measure, a water-resistant plastic lining was applied on top of the mound, which was then covered with a layer of additional soil to return Fujinoki to its original height (fig. 33). After the shaping of the tumulus was completed, the exterior was planted with kogumaza bamboo, intended both to slow the further erosion of the mound as well as dissuade visitors from climbing onto the site. 66

The tumulus completed, restoration work moved next to focus on the burial facilities. Previous inspections of the chamber had revealed areas of structural instability that needed to be reinforced.⁶⁷ This was accomplished through the application of an epoxy putty within the gaps between the stacked stones of the walls (fig. 34). Several larger rocks also had fallen free from the sides of the chamber and had to be replaced. New stones were labeled with the date and the reason for their addition to the tomb and were carefully wedged into place among the existing masonry (fig. 35). Beyond structural repairs to the chamber, new pigments were applied to the sarcophagus to better blend the acrylic patch over the hole in the coffin's lid with the surrounding patina of the work. Also, as a further aesthetic touch, the small stones that compose the floor of the chamber and corridor were removed, washed clean with a power sprayer, and then scattered again across the interior.⁶⁸

To facilitate viewings of the site's burial facilities, a lighting system was installed along the floor of the burial chamber and a raised metal walkway erected in the corridor (fig. 36). The most dramatic change, however, was the construction of a new entryway into the tomb. A poured concrete path with reinforced side buttresses was created cutting into the side of the earthen tumulus (fig. 37). The rebar gate previously used to secure the site was removed and replaced instead with a modern steel door with an electronic locking system. A shatterproof window at the center of the door provided visitors a view of the burial chamber, with a nearby motion sensor controlling the timed lighting system inside.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ During the reshaping, workers discovered a cache of roofing tiles and ceramics, possibly originating from Hōshakuji, buried along the southwest slope of the tumulus.

⁶⁶ The kogumaza variety of bamboo was selected in particular due to its usage at a number of other *kofun* restoration projects. Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 49-51, 58, 206.

⁶⁷ Starting in 2003, yearly maintenance examinations have been carried out at Fujinoki to measure humidity levels inside of the burial chamber, record the movement of its stone building materials, and otherwise monitor the condition of the site. Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 47.

⁶⁸ An armor platelet and several stone beads that had been overlooked during the previous excavations of the site were found during the process of removing the burial chamber's stone flooring. Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 111-113; Kabushikigaisha Ai • Enu • Tekunikaru Rabo, "Heisei 18 nendo: Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozonshori hōkokusho," in *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 266-279. Also during the restoration, the chamber was once again treated with an alcohol solution to prevent the spread of mold.

⁶⁹ Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho, 56-57, 60-61.

After work on the tomb had been completed, the area around Fujinoki was leveled, and landscaping began on the surrounding park. A packed earth walkway was created encircling the site, bordered by trees, shrubs, and scattered benches. A new sign identifying Fujinoki as a historic site was installed, and the previous informational plaques were replaced with updated texts, providing greater detail about the tomb and an overview of each of the six excavations. The project was completed in 2008.⁷⁰

Fujinoki's Interpretative Contexts

The Fujinoki excavations are characterized by the methodological precision and technological sophistication employed by archaeologists throughout their investigation of the site. Planning for each phase of the dig was extensively deliberated by groups of scholars and government officials to determine the best methods of collecting a wide range of rich data, while also guaranteeing the overall conservation of the tomb. Further demonstrating the commitment of archaeologists to the mandates of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties, the careful restoration of the site as a public park ensures that Fujinoki is not only physically protected but reincorporated into the community as a monument reflecting the local history of the region.

The investigation of Fujinoki involved almost a year and a half of culminative on-site excavation, in addition to countless hours dedicated to examinations of artifacts and other remains from the tomb. This research has resulted in the generation of an immense body of data, the greatest proportion of which is recorded within Kashikōken's official *IFK* reports. These three volumes provide comprehensive descriptions, measurements, diagrams, and photographs of nearly every aspect of the physical site. They include detailed accounts of each phase of the 1980s excavations and of the scientific analyses used in the subsequent examinations of recovered materials. Despite the impressive quantity and quality of information gathered from the excavations and reproduced within these publications, however, there is a notable lack of accompanying interpretive discourse. Descriptions of the site and artifacts therein are presented on their own, in most cases without the contextualization needed to provide a meaningful understanding of their practical use or ritual significance. Further analysis of empirical data, when it does appear, is limited to cross-site typological comparisons intended to refine the dating of the tomb, examinations tracing the geographical origins of artifacts, and deliberations on the identities of the two individuals interred within the sarcophagus. Conversely, discussions of funerary practices, soteriological belief structures, and the wider cultural circumstances for Fujinoki's production and usage, are largely absent.⁷¹

The focus on empirical data within the Fujinoki reports is emblematic of the research practices employed overall for archaeological studies of Jōmon, Yayoi, and Kofun period sites.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 49, 58-59. Concurrent to the work on the Fujinoki park, the Ikaruga Cultural Heritage Center also was being constructed several blocks to the south. The center opened on March 20, 2010, and, in addition to providing public information about recent archaeological work within Ikarugachō, it also contains a permanent museum space dedicated to Fujinoki. Since archaeological materials from the site primarily are held at Kashikōken, most of the displays at the Center are occupied by detailed replicas.

⁷¹ I should note that within the *IFK* reports, articles by Katsube and Maezono are exceptions to this pattern, providing a discussion on the cultural significance of the tortoise shell motif of Fujinoki's giltbronze saddle and of the cylindrical object found inside of the sarcophagus. Katsube Mitsuo, "Kikkōtsunagimon," in *IFK 1*, 436; Maezono Michio, "Kondōsei tsutsugata hin ni tsuite," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:275. Both accounts are extremely short, however, and are presented as concluding speculative comments by the authors, rather than distinct subjects of inquiry.

Pearson states that the consolidated management of Buried Cultural Properties under the auspices of the Agency for Cultural Affairs has led to a standardization in the methods and research goals pursued within the field. A result of this system is that excavation reports tend to follow a uniform format that prioritizes descriptive accounts and detailed illustrations, and which generally abstain from presenting conclusions intended to synthesize information. Okamura has been particularly critical of the paucity of interpretive discourse within these reports. Artifacts lack inherent significance, requiring further elucidation beyond mere descriptive accounts to be able to convey meaningful information about the past. He argues that the failure of archaeology to generate narratives that specifically engage Japanese public interest threatens to undermine the perceived relevancy of excavation within contemporary society.

Habu identifies that the descriptive nature of Japanese archaeological reports is reflective of excavation practices themselves. She states that digs are directed by a generalized goal to collect data through the complete excavation of a site rather than by specific problem-directed research.⁷⁴ Habu's interpretation certainly aligns with the studies of Fujinoki, in which the stated intent for all except the final two excavations was a broad desire to learn more about the site. This absence of a problem-oriented methodology, however, promotes an approach wherein archaeological practice and theory are perceived as occupying separate domains. Through generalized excavation strategies, all site data can be construed as relevant and the collection of materials becomes in itself a justification for the archaeological process. This leads, on the one hand, to practices that are directed toward recording large quantities of data, but on the other it reinforces a sense of complacency regarding the need to eventually arrange findings within meaningful theoretical interpretations.⁷⁵ Comprehensive investigation approaches also tend to result in a prioritization of certain types of data over others, as researchers default to using a standardized set of excavation techniques across a wide range of site studies. In the case of Japanese archaeology, this has led to the predominant emphasis on such practices as stratigraphic analysis and chronological determinations based on pottery typologies. ⁷⁶ Archaeological remains can only be excavated once, however, and the answers to certain questions often necessitate varying excavation techniques be employed to ensure the collection of applicable data. 77 One wonders, for example, how archaeologists might have differently approached the

⁷² Richard Pearson, "The Nature of Japanese Archaeology," *Asian Perspectives* 31, no. 2 (1992): 117-121.

Okamura Katsuyuki, "From Object-Centered to People-Focused: Exploring a Gap Between Archaeologists and the Public in Contemporary Japan," in *New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology*, eds. Okamura Katsuyuki and Matsuda Akira (New York: Springer, 2011), 84-85.
 Habu Junko, "Contemporary Japanese Archaeology and Society," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 8, no. 1 (1989): 39; Habu Junko, *Ancient Jomon of Japan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 23.

⁷⁵ Clare Fawcett, "Nationalism and Postwar Japanese Archaeology," in *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, eds. Philip Kohl and Clare Fawcett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 246; Ian Hodder, "Changing Configurations: The Relationships Between Theory and Practice," in *Archaeological Resource Management in the UK: An Introduction*, eds. John Hunter and Ian Ralston (Dover, NH: Allan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1993), 15.

⁷⁶ Habu, *Ancient Jomon of Japan*, 23.

⁷⁷ Several scholars have voiced concern that the rapid pace of excavation in Japan has resulted in a greatly diminished number of unexamined sites within the archipelago. Variation in excavation practices are necessary to generate a wide range of data that researchers will be able to utilize in addressing future research concerns. See for example Richard Pearson, 118; Okamura and Matsuda, 107; Habu Junko and Okamura Katsuyuki, "Japanese Archaeology Today: New Developments, Structural Undermining, and

initial excavations of the Fujinoki tumulus had their efforts been directed not only to furthering their overall understanding of the site but also to specifically exploring issues such as the nature and frequency of the rituals performed at the tomb.⁷⁸

The field's reliance on standardized excavation practices appears to be the result of an archaeological process that has become driven primarily by the methodologies of CRM research. In this regard, I posit that archaeology is held hostage both by the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties and its mandate that excavators strive for the total identification of all buried cultural patrimony, as well as by the government's bureaucratic administrative system, whose motivations are split between the preservation of sites and the reopening of land for economic development through public and private works. In the following section, I identify that the field's focus on empirical data first developed prior to WWII as a means for researchers to study excavated materials without contradicting the official mythology of the imperial family. Accompanying the post-war decline of historical-materialist theory, the empirical approach reemerged during the 1950s and 60s, gaining further momentum as archaeologists became increasingly occupied in salvage excavation projects.

Pre-war archaeology, Marxism, and the spread of Cultural Resource Management excavation
Despite previous examinations of prehistoric materials by scholars such as Tō Teikan
(1731-1798) and Gamo Hidezane (1708-1813), the beginning of modern archaeological study in
Japan is generally attributed to the introduction of Western research methods by Edward Morse
during his 1877 excavation of the Ōmori shell middens. The field rapidly developed through
the 1880s and 90s, first with the creation of 1884 Anthropological Society, followed by the
founding of Tokyo University's department of Anthropology in 1893 and the Imperial Museum's
Archaeological Society in 1895. The Meiji government, aware that growing scrutiny of Japan's
prehistoric past had the potential to disrupt nationalist claims of the imperial family's descent
from divinity, quickly began to set limits on the scope of archaeological inquiry. The Kofun

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Prospects for Disaster Archaeology," in *Handbook of East and Southeast Asian Archaeology*, eds. Junko Habu, Peter Lape, and John Olsen (New York: Sprenger, 2017), 12-13

⁷⁸ The fifth and sixth excavations of Fujinoki represent a more problem-oriented approach to the examination of the site. These investigations were designed specifically to examine the possible presence of Hōshakuji, while also fulfilling the obligation to collect generalized site data prior to the tomb's restoration.

⁷⁹ A discussion of pre-Meiji studies of Kofun period sites, and the contributions of foreign scholars Morse and William Gowland, is provided in Shiraishi Taichirō, "Kofun jidai kenkyūshi," in *Kofun jidai no kenkyū*, vol. 1, *Sōron · kenkyūshi*, eds. Ishino Hironobu, Iwasaki Takuya, and Shiraishi Taichirō (Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1993), 139-143. See also Fumiko Ikawa-Smith, "Co-traditions in Japanese Archaeology," *World Archaeology* 13, no. 3 (1982): 297-300; Peter Bleed, "Almost Archaeology: Early Archaeological Interest in Japan," in *Windows on the Japanese Past*, 57-67; Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 64-70.

⁸⁰ Ikawa-smith, "Co-traditions in Japanese Archaeology," 300-301; Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 69-70. Following its formation in 1868, the Meiji government began to promote the concept of the *kokutai*, or national body. This ideology characterized Japan as ethnically constituting a unified familial unit, led by the emperor as the father-figure whose right to rule was mandated by his divine ancestry. As Mizoguchi describes, the *kokutai* was employed as a means of transitioning people from a locality based personal identification borne from the Edo feudal government, to one of national identity, as the country reorganized itself as a modern nation-state. By characterizing all of Japan as a single family, the government was able to instill a sense of unity without

period, in particular, was deemed to be a politically dangerous area of study, since it was believed to align with the initial establishment of the imperial line under Emperor Jimmu, based on accounts from the *Kojiki* (712) and *Nihon Shoki* (720). Scholarship deviating from the government's approved historical narrative carried with it the risk of dismissal from university appointments. In 1891, for example, historian Kume Kunitake published an article aimed at criticizing what he considered to be outdated elements of Shinto religious practice. Members of the Meiji government interpreted Kume's arguments as an attack against the beliefs relating to the mythology of the imperial line and subsequently removed him from his professorship at the Imperial University. Although no archaeologists appear to have received comparable punishments, Tsuboi Shōgorō was reportedly severely reprimanded by the Imperial Household Ministry (Kunaishō) following his unapproved excavation of a tomb in Kyushu.

Due to the limitations placed on archaeological research, initial studies of the Kofun period were generally confined to descriptive records of sites and artifacts, and positivist comparisons in support of the imperial genealogy. This is notably exemplified by the 1912-1917 excavations of the Saitobaru Kofun group in Miyazaki Prefecture. Carried out at the request of the prefectural governor, these studies sought to uncover evidence connecting the sites to the mythological origins of the imperial lineage. During the increasingly nationalistic climate of the 1920s and 30s, further restrictions began to be placed on research of Japan's early development. In response, through the end of WWII, prehistoric archaeologists focused on the ideologically neutral collection of empirical data, with an emphasis on soil stratigraphy and the generation of artifact chronologies. Among the few investigations of *kofun* conducted during

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first developing the concept of autonomous citizenship, and they were able to generate loyalty toward the newly established imperial-based governing body. Mizoguchi Koji, "Identity, Modernity, and Archaeology: The Case of Japan," in *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, eds. Lynn Meskell and Robert Preucel (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 398-400; Mizoguchi Koji, *The Archaeology of Japan: From the Earliest Rice Farming Villages to the Rise of the State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 11-12.

⁸¹ Tozawa Mitsunori, "Nihon kōkogaku gennen o ōtta kuroi kage: Mōsu no shokujin setsu o megutte," *Kōkogaku kenkyū* 24, no. 3-4 (1977): 98-100.

⁸² Tsude Hiroshi, "Nihon kōkogaku to shakai," in *Nihon kōkogaku*, vol. 7, *Gendai to kōkogaku*, ed. Kondō Yoshirō (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1986), 39; Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 73; Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 12-13.

⁸³ Edwards, "Japanese Archaeology and Cultural Properties Management," 43.

⁸⁴ Shiraishi, "Kofun jidai kenkyūshi," 147; Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 13. Initial restrictions on Jōmon period research were less severe. The government's official position considered Jōmon huntergathers to have been an ethnically separate population that initially inhabited Japan, and who were subsequently conquered by ancestors to the imperial line. Tozawa, 100; Mark Hudson, *Ruins of Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Japanese Islands* (Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press), 35; Mizoguchi, "Identity, Modernity, and Archaeology: The Case of Japan," 400.

⁸⁵ Ikawa-smith, "Co-Traditions in Japanese Archaeology," 303; Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 75; Shiraishi, "Kofun jidai kenkyūshi," 150; Edwards, "Japanese Archaeology and Cultural Properties Management," 43-44. Despite the governor's intentions, archaeologists concluded that artifacts excavated from the tombs indicated that the sites post-dated the emergence of the imperial line by several centuries.

⁸⁶ Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 73-74; Habu, "Contemporary Japanese Archaeology and Society," 36; Ikawa-Smith, "Practice of Archaeology in Contemporary Japan," 681-682. Notable among scholarship of this period is Yamanouchi Sugao's

this period, studies were limited primarily to surface surveys of mounds and to the categorization of previously exhumed artifacts, such as armor, weapons, and bronze mirrors.⁸⁷

Following WWII, with Japan's surrender and the U.S. Occupation Government's containment of the Imperial House, archaeologists were able to reconfigure the discipline toward interpretation, particularly in regard to evidence of Japan's early history. Through the influence of prominent scholars such as Wajima Seiichi, much of the initial post-war scholarship was developed through the lens of Marxist historical-materialist theory. This model, which links changes in social structure with the evolution of material production systems, allowed archaeologists to reframe Japan's early development separate from the nationalist narrative that supported claims of the emperor's direct descent from the goddess Amaterasu. For some, Marxism also provided an ideological foundation from which the establishment of the imperial government and the nation's inevitable WWII defeat could be linked with the expansion of social

seminal research on Jōmon pottery, which constitutes the basis for the typological chronology still used today in archaeological studies of Jōmon sites.

⁸⁷ Ikawa-Smith, "Co-Traditions in Japanese Archaeology," 304; Edwards, "Japanese Archaeology and Cultural Properties Management," 44. Investigations of kofun burial chambers were largely restricted to instances where sites were either accidentally opened by local inhabitants or otherwise exposed by natural occurrences. An example of such research includes Umehara Sueji's 1935-36 excavation of Azuchi-Hyōtanyama Kofun in Shiga Prefecture. For a summary of specific Kofun period studies conducted during the early Shōwa period through the end of WWII, see Shiraishi, "Kofun jidai kenkyūshi," 147-151. 88 The Socialist Movement initially gained traction in Japan shortly before the turn of the century. Among intellectuals of the era, Marxist and socialist ideologies were viewed as a solution to the fraying moral fabric of the nation, conceived to be the result of Japan's rapid industrialization and the ensuing loss of traditional cultural values. The movement came under attack by both the Meiji and Taishō governments as a subversive influence, leading eventually to an outright ban on socialist thought in 1925 through the Peace Preservation Law (Hoan jorei). Despite these attempts at repression, however, Marxist theory continued to retain a prominent following throughout WWII, particularly among young academics. Germaine Hoston, Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 20, 36, 251-252; Peter Duus and Irwin Scheiner, "Socialism, Liberalism, and Marxism, 1901-1931," in The Cambridge History of Japan, vol. 6, The Twentieth Century, ed. Peter Duus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 659, 689-690; Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 76-77. Wajima first developed his interest in Marxist theory within these historical circumstances. Following his expulsion from Waseda University in 1933 for suggesting that his study group begin reading the works of Friedrich Engels, he began to independently study archaeology. In 1936, assuming the penname "Misawa Akira" to avoid governmental persecution, he wrote his seminal article in which he applied a Marxist historical-materialist framework to an archaeological analysis of Jōmon and Yayoi period social structuring. His work was published within the Nihon rekishi kyotei, a multi-authored volume dedicated to reexamining Japan's ancient past and the imperial family's linage through the use of scientific derived methods. In 1939, Wajima enrolled in the anthropology department of Tokyo Imperial University, and, following the completion of his studies, was offered a part-time professorship in 1942. Ichihara Hisafumi, "Wajima Seiichi ron," in Jōmon bunka no kenkvū 10: Jōmon jidai kenkvūshi, eds. Katō Shinpei, Kobayashi Tatsuo, and Fujimoto Tsuyoshi (Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1984), 241-244; Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 77-78; Habu, Ancient Jomon of Japan, 80-81. Wajima continued his commitment to historical-materialism in his archaeological publications following the war. See for example, Wajima Seiichi, "Shūrakukushi," in Nihon kōkogaku kōza, vol. 1, Kōkogaku kenkyūhō, ed. Wajima Seiichi (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1956), 46-47, 74.

inequality throughout Japan's past. ⁸⁹ Within the contexts of the short-lived 1951-55 People's History Movement (Kokuminteki rekishigaku undō), Marxist archaeologists pushed for new excavation methods that encouraged participation from local communities and which focused on the generation of narratives highlighting the role of the common man within the history of the archipelago. This movement was epitomized by Kondo Yoshiro's 1953 excavation of Tsukinowa Kofun. Through the course of the investigation, an estimated 10,000 people participated in the dig and contributed to regularly held public discussions debating the significance of exhumed materials. ⁹⁰

During the later 1950s and 60s, scholarly interest in research dedicated to interpreting archaeological materials within the historical-materialist social development model began to diminish. Many studies returned to the prewar emphasis on stratigraphy and typological analysis, with researchers eager to characterize the field within the guise of an objective science, free from socialist ideological manipulation. Anti-communist sentiment within Japan from Cold War political tensions further led the social sciences to distance themselves from Marxism. By the early 70s, elaborations on historical-materialism had largely disappeared from archaeological publications. Despite the loss of this framework, however, no new dominant interpretive paradigm has since emerged within the field to drive research. ⁹¹ As Habu, Mizoguchi, and others have critiqued, the continued absence of overarching disciplinary theory has resulted in the predominant focus on data collection within site investigations, leading to a lack of explanatory analysis within the field as a whole. ⁹²

The progressive expansion of Japan's system of CRM excavation has further contributed to the empirical emphasis within archaeology. Rescue projects strive for the complete excavation of sites with the intent of collecting as much data as possible before construction commences in a region. These investigations typically are conducted within a limited time frame, partially due to the obligation of archaeologists to quickly transition to other sites awaiting CRM survey, and as a result of pressure from the developers themselves, who often are legally obligated to provide funding for the dig. Because of the rapid pace, excavators rarely

⁸⁹ See in particular Oguma's discussion of the post-war work of historian Ishimoda Shō. Oguma Eiji, <*Minshu> to <aikoku>: sengo Nihon no nashonarizumu to kōkyōsei* (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2002), 307-313. See also Mizoguchi Koji, *An Archaeological History of Japan: 30,000 B.C. to A.D. 700* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 39-40; idem., *The Archaeology of Japan*, 15-17.

⁹⁰ Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 106-108; idem., "Nationalism and Postwar Japanese Archaeology," 235-236.

⁹¹ Habu, "Contemporary Japanese Archaeology and Society," 39; Clare Fawcett and Junko Habu, "Education and Archaeology in Japan," in *The Excluded Past: Archaeology in Education*, eds. Peter Stone and Robert MacKenzie (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 226-227; Ikawa-Smith, "Practice of Archaeology in Contemporary Japan," 685-686. Although the field has moved away from overt reliance on Marxist ideology to drive interpretive analysis, most research still is based implicitly on the historical-materialist understanding of unequal control over means of production as the underlying cause for early social development and the establishment of the Yamato state. See for example discussions of Yayoi and Kofun social development in Sahara Makoto, "Rice Cultivation and the Japanese," *Acta Asiatica* 63 (1992): 40-63 and Tsude Hiroshi, "Early State Formation in Japan," trans. Walter Edwards, in *Capital and Countryside in Japan*, 13-53.

⁹² Habu, "Contemporary Japanese Archaeology and Society," 39-43; Gina Barnes and Okita Masaaki, "Japanese Archaeology in the 1990s," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 7, no. 4 (1999): 353, 377; Mizoguchi Koji, *Archaeology, Society and Identity in Modern Japan* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2006), 134-138, 166.

have time to analyze the significance of their findings, instead limiting their site reports to descriptions and measurements of the artifacts and features discovered. ⁹³

Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs categorizes excavations either as rescue projects conducted prior to construction work (*kōji ni tomonau hakkutsu chōsa*) or as academic investigations (*gakujutsu chōsa*) carried out by universities or archaeological institutions. ⁹⁴ Whereas the funding for rescue projects is provided by the developer, academic excavations, typically associated with the research of non-threatened sites, tend to rely on governmental support. In the early 1960s, excavations were nearly equally divided between academic and CRM studies. ⁹⁵ This balance began to shift in the latter half of the decade as the government responded to public calls for the further preservation of sites, with rescue digs rapidly outpacing university-led investigations. In 1985, the year of Fujinoki's first excavation, of the 5,533 total excavations conducted, only 223 (4%) were designated for academic research. ⁹⁶

The disproportionate number of CRM studies, along with the overall brisk pace of excavation in Japan, has had a considerable impact on the state of the field. One of the most significant outcomes has been the generation of an immense body of archaeological data. Several thousand sites are investigated each year, the results of which are recorded within reports that are either published individually or compiled into volumes containing information from multiple excavations. The benefit of the decades of amassed reports has been that researchers now have access to an unparalleled resource of highly nuanced, geographically specific site data from which to develop and test theoretical models relating to Japan's historical development. In practice, however, as Tsude and others have noted, many archaeologists struggle to keep abreast of the continuous flood of new reports. Researchers are left with little time to synthesize the imposing body of data into their own research, much less draw broad interpretive deductions. ⁹⁷

The prevalence of CRM excavation has also influenced the overall methodological focus of the field. Since the late 1960s, employment opportunities for new archaeologists have primarily been within the administrative system for rescue excavation. Ikawa-Smith and Okamura state that in order to best prepare students to enter into this workforce, the curriculum taught at universities has tended to emphasize the practical application of excavation and artifact preservation techniques while placing less focus on the instruction of research methods and theory. The result of this CRM-oriented training has been a further narrowing of the field, in

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 ⁹³ Habu, "Contemporary Japanese Archaeology and Society," 39-40, 42; Ikawa-Smith, "Practice of Archaeology in Contemporary Japan," 693; Habu and Okamura, "Japanese Archaeology Today," 16.
 ⁹⁴ Bunkachō Bunkazaibu Kinenbutsuka, *Maizō bunkazai kankei tōkei shiryō: heisei 28 nendo* (Tokyo: Bunkachō Bunkazaibu Kinenbutsuka, 2017), 10.

⁹⁵ In 1960, for example, of the total 301 excavations, 143 were academic projects and 198 were preconstruction rescue digs. Tsuboi Kiyotari, "Problems Concerning the Preservation of Archaeological Sites in Japan," trans. Kazue Pearson, in *Windows on the Japanese Past*, 487.

 ⁹⁶ In 2001, concurrent to the fourth excavation of Fujinoki, despite the greater overall number of excavations, there was a similar disparity in dig types, with 446 (5.2%) academic studies compared to the 8,115 (94.8%) CRM digs. Bunkachō Bunkazaibu Kinenbutsuka, *Maizō bunkazai kankei tōkei shiryō*, 11.
 ⁹⁷ Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 141; Tsude Hiroshi, "Archaeological Theory in Japan," in *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective*, ed. Peter Ucko (New York: Routledge, 1995), 293; Habu, *Ancient Jomon of Japan*, 22-23; Ikawa-Smith, "Practice of Archaeology in Contemporary Japan," 692-693; Okamura, "Ethics of Commercial Archaeology: Japan,"

⁹⁸ Ikawa-Smith, "Practice of Archaeology in Contemporary Japan," 693; Okamura, "From Object-Centered to People-Focused," 81-82.

which archaeologists often approach academic investigations, such as Fujinoki, in much the same manner as rescue digs, with the intent of total site excavation and the collection of empirically derived data.⁹⁹

Finally, regarding the standardization of archaeological reports identified by Pearson, Japan's rapid pace of excavation has also contributed to the development of this trend. Tanaka and Tsude note that the post-excavation processing of artifacts and preparation of data for publication is particularly time-consuming. Often archaeological institutions are forced to balance a persistent backlog of unwritten reports alongside the planning and implementation of new projects. 100 By adhering to a uniform structure within site reports, and focusing predominantly on descriptive rather than interpretive analysis, archaeologists are able to greatly expedite the writing process. Among excavation reports for kofun, the general format for these texts follows: 1) an account of the surrounding natural environment and the identification of nearby historic and/or archaeological sites; 2) a summary of the excavation; 3) descriptions and measurements of the tomb, artifacts, and other features, and the circumstances of their discovery; 4) an overview of the results of the excavation and general conclusions regarding the site's dating, noteworthy characteristics, and areas for future investigation. Occasionally articles discussing additional research are appended to the end of the reports, generally consisting of typological studies or material analyses of specific artifacts and features. ¹⁰¹ Each of the Fujinoki reports also follows this format, although the IFK volumes include additional sections devoted to the methods and results of scientific analyses conducted at the site.

In addition to the standardization seen in the formatting and overall range of data presented in reports, these works also rely on similar sets of shared technical vocabulary. Much of the terminology utilized is specific to the particular subfield of archaeological study, often developed as an expedient means for distinguishing fine-grained typological differences, identifying structural elements specific to a class of artifacts or features, or describing stratigraphic soil types. 102 In Fujinoki's IFK volumes, such terminology frequently is used in place of broad descriptions of the formal appearance of artifacts and architectural elements. The bulk of explanatory text is instead directed toward recording measurements, and an elaboration of minute design, material, and manufacturing details. Archaeologists in Japan, as Bleed notes, have a referential understanding of this archaeological jargon through their time spent working directly with sites and objects, and from instruction provided by experienced specialists. As would be expected for readers outside of the specific subfield, however, this technical vocabulary becomes a linguistic barrier for interpreting the information presented by the excavation report. 103 The problem is further compounded for foreign researchers. Excavation results are generally written for an exclusively Japanese audience and rarely are provided in other languages. 104 When research does appear in English, technical terms tend to be literally

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⁹⁹ Richard Pearson, 120-121; Fawcett, "Nationalism and Postwar Japanese Archaeology," 246; Habu, *Ancient Jomon of Japan*, 23.

¹⁰⁰ Tanaka Migaku, 84; Tsude, "Archaeological Theory in Japan," 293.

¹⁰¹ These observations are based on my examination of *kofun* reports published by Kashikōken and other archaeological institutions.

¹⁰² Nishimura Masao, "Glossary", ed. Nancy Vaida, in Windows on the Japanese Past, 497.

¹⁰³ Peter Bleed, "Foreign Archaeologists in Japan: Strategies for Exploitation," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 8, no. 1 (1989): 22-23.

¹⁰⁴ The lack of English language versions of Japanese archaeological research has been acknowledged within a number of publications. See for example Bleed, "Foreign Archaeologists in Japan," 19; Imamura

translated (e.g. *sankakubuchi shinjūkyō* translated as 'triangular-rimmed deity and beast mirror')¹⁰⁵ or simply transliterated, without a further descriptive explanation provided to fully disambiguate the objects or concepts being referenced. This linguistic hurdle has likely contributed to the overall lack of scholarship in the West currently directed toward the study of Japan's Kofun period.

Fujinoki in popular discourse and its impact on archaeological research

Although the excavations of Fujinoki have adhered to overall archaeological trends in empirical data collection, typological analysis, and standardized reporting, this is not to imply that scholarship on the site has been altogether devoid of interpretative research. Several of the articles appended to the *IFK* volumes discuss select artifacts with the intent of developing expository conclusions, and expanded investigations of the tomb's historical significance are explored within an extensive body of secondary literature. The increased scrutiny of Fujinoki compared to other *kofun* investigations can be attributed to the unusually well-preserved condition of the site's burial chamber, which has provided researchers the rare opportunity to study an intact, unlooted Late period tomb, and has fascinated the Japanese public at large with its trove of extravagant grave-goods. However, despite the opportunities for interpretive research presented by Fujinoki, discourse primarily has been divided into two dominant lines of inquiry: the identification of the bodies interred within the sarcophagus and the classification of the geographic origins of artifacts from the site. Furthermore, these areas of study seem to have been guided less by an impetus to investigate larger questions within the field, than by a desire to appeal to the apparent interests of the general public.

Scholars frequently cite the enthusiasm that the Japanese public displays toward archaeological research of their nation's past. ¹⁰⁶ Reports on discoveries from recent excavations are the subject of front-page newspaper articles, and announcements for upcoming exhibitions and lectures on archaeological materials can be found plastering the windows of neighborhood groceries and convenience stores. Site viewings held at the end of excavation projects are almost always well-attended, with particularly significant digs drawing sightseers from across the country. ¹⁰⁷ The Japanese public's widespread interest in archaeology emerged alongside several prominent excavations conducted in the wake of WWII. The investigations of the Toro site (1947-50) and Tsukinowa Kofun (1953), for instance, each received tens of thousands of visitors eager to view or participate in the excavation, and the overall progress of the digs was covered nationwide through newspapers and radio programs. Early public support for excavation work has been attributed to the prevalent postwar desire to redefine Japanese national identity separate from the mythology of the imperial family. This particularly aligned with the aims of Marxist

Keiji, *Prehistoric Japan: New Perspectives on Insular East Asia* (London: UCL Press, 1996), x; Barnes and Okita, 353.

¹⁰⁵ As exemplified in Kobayashi Yukio, "Treatise on Duplicate Mirrors," 101.

¹⁰⁶ See for example Tanaka Migaku, 83; Barnes and Okita, 378-379; Ikawa-Smith, "Practice of Archaeology in Contemporary Japan," 694.

¹⁰⁷ Near the end of the third Fujinoki excavation, the burial chamber was opened for public viewings from the eighteenth through nineteenth of December. During these two days an estimated 5,070 people visited the site. Maezono, "Dai 3 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:84-85.

archaeologists during the 40s and 50s to create new historical narratives that highlighted the role of the common man within Japan's social development. 108

Initial postwar archaeological endeavors, particularly those of the 1951-55 People's History Movement, sought to develop a collaborative relationship in which archaeologists worked with the public in the excavation of sites and the generation of interpretive discourse. However, with Japan's growing reliance on CRM projects during the 1960s, and the corresponding development of increasingly standardized excavation methods, researchers began to progressively curtail the role of untrained workers in digs. By the early 1970s, the public's association with archaeology had shifted from active participation in studies and preservation efforts to an interest in ingesting new information about recent findings. 109 Even detached from direct engagement with site excavations, however, overall Japanese enthusiasm for archaeological research remained high, driven in large part by the media's extensive coverage of a series of major discoveries stretching from the early 1970s through the mid-1990s. Leading up to the investigation of Fujinoki, particularly significant studies included the 1972 excavation of the painted Takamatsuzuka tomb, the recovery of an inscribed sword from Sakitama-Inariyama Kofun in 1978, and the discovery of a muraled burial chamber at Kitora Kofun in 1983. The widespread excitement that Takamatsuzuka and subsequent archaeological projects were able to generate among the public have been colloquially referred to as Japan's "archaeology boom (kōkogaku būmu)."110

The increased coverage of excavations by the mass-media starting in the 1970s led to it becoming a primary medium for disseminating archaeological information to the public. As Fawcett and Mizoguchi have noted, however, the overall focus of the media has generally been on producing compelling content rather than an objective account of archaeological discoveries. Articles and television programs have tended to report on only the most exemplary artifacts recovered from digs, while also promoting narratives that tie sites into a simplified historical context, intended to provide a sense of connection between modern Japanese and the ancient past. Fawcett and Mizoguchi further argue that archaeologists often are complicit in supporting the specious interpretations presented by the media, to the point of perpetuating popular narratives in their own lines of research as a means of generating additional interest for their sites.¹¹¹

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¹⁰⁸ Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 106-108; Walter Edwards, "Buried Discourse: The Toro Archaeological Site and Japanese National Identity in the Early Postwar Period," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 17, no. 1 (1991): 12-15.

Okamura, "From Object-centered to People-focused," 80-81.

¹¹⁰ Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 146, 254-255; Habu and Fawcett, "Jomon Archaeology and the Representation of Japanese Origins," 590-591; Okamura, "From Object-centered to People-focused," 80-81; Okamura and Matsuda, 103. In addition to Fujinoki, the 1986-89 excavation of the Yayoi period Yoshinogari site and the 1992-94 rescue dig of the Jōmon period Sannai-Maruyama settlement have been cited as fostering a similar atmosphere of public excitement.

111 Fawcett, "A Study of the Socio-Political Context of Japanese Archaeology," 263-266, 342; idem., "Nationalism and Postwar Japanese Archaeology," 243-244; Clare Fawcett, "Archaeology and Japanese Identity," in *Multicultural Japan: Paleolithic to Postmodern*, eds. Donald Denoon, Gavan McCormack, and Tessa Morris-Suzuki (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 62, 71, 76; Mizoguchi Koji, "The Protection of the Site: Discursive Formation and Self-Identification in Contemporary Society," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6, no. 4 (2001): 327-329; idem., *Archaeology, Society, and Identity in Modern Japan*, 6.

In the case of Fujinoki, a dominant theme within the media's coverage of the tomb has been the attribution of the site to various historic personages recorded within the *Chronicles of Japan*. A newspaper article published during the first excavation of Fujinoki, for example, provides a cursory overview of the site before suggesting that the tomb belonged to a relative of Prince Shōtoku. This offhand linking of Fujinoki to one of the most prominent figures in Japan's early history, who generally is credited with promoting the widespread adoption of Buddhism among the Asuka period (538-710) elite and with the founding of Ikarugachō's famous Hōryūji Temple, allows the author to contextualize the importance of the site within a historical narrative that is immediately recognizable to an average reader. By the third excavation, columns proposing identities for the deceased were appearing with regularity within newspapers. A notable article within Asahi's weekly *Aera* magazine, for instance, listed arguments for eight possible attributions for the tomb's inhabitants and encouraged readers to send in their own opinions of who they believe to be buried at the site. 113

Following the first excavation, discussions on the identity of the Fujinoki deceased also began to appear within archaeological scholarship. A number of these works approach this analysis in a manner similar to other *kofun* investigations, focusing on identifying the relative social standing of the dead through typological analyses of the site's grave-goods, sarcophagus, and overall tomb design. Many other scholars, however, adopted the same narrative focus presented by the media, developing arguments to align Fujinoki with specific historic personages. Central within these debates have been the previously discussed collection of

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¹¹² "Kofun kara shunuri no sekkan Shōtoku Taishi yukari no hitoka Hōryūji no nishidonari," *Asahi Shimbun*, morning edition, September 26, 1985.

¹¹³ The potential candidates included in the article comprised Emperor Sushun, Soga no Iname, Mononobe no Okoshi, Kashiwade no Hasubi, a high-ranking member of the Heguri clan, a high-ranking member of the Nukatabe clan, a high-ranking member of the Ki clan, and royalty from the Paekche kingdom. Kitabatake Kiyoyasu, ed., "Keibahōshiki de daitan yosō (ripōto • Fujinoki no nushi wa dare)," *AERA*, October 25, 1988, 18. Other examples of newspaper articles providing attributions for the Fujinoki tomb include, "Fujinoki Kofun, hisōsha rongi futatabi kappatsuka Sogashi setsu mo fujō," *Asahi Shimbun*, evening edition, October 13, 1988; "Kenbishigata kanagu mo hakken Soga ichizoku to kankei ka Nara • Fujinoki Kofun," *Asahi Shimbun*, morning edition, October 31, 1988.

¹¹⁴ See for example Ishino Hironobu, "Fujinoki Kofun: kaikan chōsa no igi," in *Fujinoki Kofun to sono bunka*, 6-8; Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Yamato no kurinukishiki iegata sekkan," in *IFK 1*, 350-360; Urabe Yukihiro, "Sōshingu ni tsuite," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:270-271.

¹¹⁵ Discussions of the specific identities of the Fujinoki deceased within archaeological scholarship can be found in Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-Goods," 81-87; idem., "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 450-460; Kuroiwa Jūgo and Ōwa Iwao, Fujinoki Kofun to roku seiki: hisōsha wa dareka (Tokyo: Yamato Shobō, 1989); Kuroiwa Jūgo and Ōwa Iwao, "Fujinoki Kofun no hisōsha to roku seiki," Higashi Ajia no kodai bunka, no. 58 (1989): 115-119; Kuroiwa Jūgo and NHK Shuzaihan, Fujinoki Kofun no nushi wa dareka: Kuroiwa Jūgo suiri dokyumento (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1989); Kawakami Kunihiko, "Fujinoki Kofun no hisōshazō," in Yomigaeru Kodai!, 108-110; Ōbayashi Taryō, "Bunka jinruigaku • minzokugaku no tachiba kara," in Fujinoki Kofun to sono bunka, 107; Toyoda Aritsune et al., "Hisōsha o megutte," in Fujinoki Kofun to sono bunka, 199-217; Wada Atsumu, "Kodaishigaku no tachiba kara," in Fujinoki Kofun to sono bunka, 117-134; Ōtsuka Hatsushige, "Fujinoki Kofun no shomondai," Higashi Ajia no kodai bunka, no. 59 (1989): 101-106; Ōwa Iwao, "Ikaruga no shizoku to Fujinoki Kofun," Higashi Ajia no kodai bunka, no. 59 (1989): 156-180; Kunimitsu Shirō, Fujinoki Kofun no nazo: shiruku rōdo no shūchakuten (Tokyo: Zenkoku Asahi Hōsō, 1989), 123-169; Kadowaki Teiji, "Hisōsharon o kentōsuru," in Kokusai shinpojiumu Fujinoki Kofun no nazo (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun,

historical documents preserved at Hōryūji. One of the earliest records, the *Hōryūji terabe kenbata chūshinjō no koto* (1265), identifies Fujinoki using the terminology of an imperial mausoleum (*misasaki* ミササキ) (fig. 38). 116 Later documents directly link the tomb to Emperor Sushun, a figure who, according to the *Nihon Shoki*, came to power in 587 and was assassinated soon after by Soga no Umako in 592. 117 Complicating this attribution, however, is the fact that a tumulus near Sakurai City has been officially recognized by the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaichō) since the Meiji period as Sushun's *kofun*. 118 Ultimately, whether an author argues for this attribution or a separate identity for the Fujinoki deceased is of little difference. By simply entering into this debate, archaeologists are able to raise the stakes for the study of the tomb by suggesting its potential association with members of the sixth-century imperial family. Also, since genealogically Sushun is the purported uncle of Prince Shōtoku, research of Fujinoki gains further significance, as it comes to represent a means of providing additional biographical depth to an already widely recognized historic figure. 119

My primary contention with the identification of the Fujinoki dead is that this discourse fundamentally relies on accounts of historic personages within the *Chronicles of Japan*. The *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, compiled in 712 and 720 respectively, are the earliest extant Japanese literary works. These texts were created based upon oral traditions and earlier written accounts to provide an official history of Japan, beginning with its mythological origins and extending through much of the seventh century. However, scholars have long acknowledged the danger of relying on these texts as accurate records of prehistoric Japanese culture. Not only were they written long after many of the events they purportedly relate, they also were created under the direction of the Nara period (710-794) court with the intent of legitimizing the political position of the contemporary ruling imperial line. As a result, it is likely that historical accounts within

^{1989), 294-313;} Izumori Kō and Yaoshi Bunkazai Chōsa Kenkyūkai, *Fujinoki Kofun to kodai no Kawachi: Bunkazai kōza kiroku shū 3* (Osaka: Yaoshi Bunkazai Chōsa Kenkyūkai, 1991), 51-60; Takada, 59-162; Maezono Michio and Shiraishi Taichirō, *Fujinoki Kofun: Ikaruga ni hanahiraku Higashi Ajia no kodai*, ed. Ōtsuka Hatsushige (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbun, 1995), 56-63, 228-233; Maezono Michio, *Ikaruga ni nemuru futari no kikōshi • Fujinoki Kofun* (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 2006), 74-91; Shiraishi Taichirō, "Kofun no hisōsha o kangaeru: Fujinoki Kofun to Takamatsuzuka Kofun no baai," in *Dai 30 kai Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo kōkai kōenkai: kōki • shūmatsuki kofun to sono hisōshazō* (Kashihara: Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 2011), 7-8.

¹¹⁶ The *Hōryūji terabe kenbata chūshinjō no koto* survives as a transcription of the original recorded within the *Hōryūji denbata haien nikki* (1347), reproduced in Maezono Michio, "Bunken ni mieru Fujinoki Kofun," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:255.

¹¹⁷ W. G. Aston, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (London: Kegan, Paul Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited, 1896), 2:119-120. Four documents attribute the site to Emperor Sushun: *Jochi no oboe* (1679), *Chōchū manroku* (1697), *Hōshakuji keidai zu* (1709), and *Sushun tennō gobyō zu* (1872). Discussion of these works can be found in Maezono, "Bunken ni mieru Fujinoki Kofun," 1:256-260. See also Appendix A.

¹¹⁸ Ōbayashi, 107. The tomb in Sakurai has been given the same name as that listed for Sushun's grave in the *Chronicles*, Kurahashi no Oka no Misasagi.

¹¹⁹ This potential for research on Fujinoki to expand our understanding of Prince Shōtoku is cited within a number of publications as a primary benefit of the continued study of the site. See for example Wada Atsumu, 121; Maezono Michio, "Fujinoki Kofun," in *Ikarugachō no Kofun*, 28; Takada, 142-148.

the *Chronicles* were edited or entirely fabricated for its eighth-century audience. ¹²⁰ Even if we were to assume that the people described within these texts existed, however, I would still argue that aligning Fujinoki with the names of these personages does little to expand our knowledge of the tomb, or even of sixth-century Japan as a whole. Archaeologists have already determined through examinations of the site's material remains that the *kofun* belonged to a member of the upper echelons of the social elite, and simply identifying one of the bodies as Emperor Sushun does not fundamentally alter this assessment. ¹²¹

Beyond the mass-media's coverage of excavations, interpretive research of sites also has been impacted through the *Nihonjinron* genre of nationalist literature. As Befu describes, *Nihonjinron* refers to an overarching discourse found across a wide range of disciplinary writing, that focuses on describing unique characteristics of Japan's culture and society. He states that the genre, which tends to characterize Japan's populace as a homogenous ethnicity with a shared ancestral background, developed wide-spread popularity starting in the 1970s as a response to the nation's growing global presence. These writings provide affirmations of self-identity, describing what it means to be Japanese separate from the Western cultural traditions that have come to permeate contemporary society. ¹²²

One theme to have emerged from the *Nihonjinron* genre is the concept that unique characteristics of the Japanese psyche can be traced to the ancient past. Authors such as Umehara Takeshi, for instance, argue that the essence of Japan's identity can be found in the prehistoric hunter-gatherer societies of the Jōmon period. ¹²³ Sahara Makoto, in a similar vein, claims that the peaceful nature of Japan was disrupted by the incorporation of elements of foreign culture starting during the Yayoi period (400 BCE-250 CE). He contends that the technologies for wet-rice agriculture and weaponry both were introduced from the continent and ultimately are to blame for the eventual development of social inequality and inter-regional violence among the Japanese people. ¹²⁴

While most archaeological scholarship eschews the overtly ethnocentric rhetoric of Umehara and Sahara, cultural essentialist assumptions perpetuated by *Nihonjinron* literature can still be identified underlying the interpretative paradigms that guide the analysis of sites and

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¹²⁰ A concise discussion of the historiographical issues surrounding these texts can be found in Gary Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 7-12.

¹²¹ A further discussion of the material signifiers of elevated social status present at Fujinoki is provided in chapter three.

¹²² Harumi Befu, "Civilization and Culture: Japan in Search of Identity," in *Japanese Civilization in the Modern World: Life and Society*, eds. Umesao Tadao, Harumi Befu, and Josef Kreiner (Suita, Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1984), 61, 66-68, 71-74; Harumi Befu, "Nationalism and Nihonjin-ron," in *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia: Representation and Identity*, ed. Harumi Befu (Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1993), 109-116, 125.

¹²³ Umehara Takeshi, "Yomigaeru Jōmon," in *Chūō kōron* 100, no. 12 (1985): 156.

¹²⁴ Sahara Makoto, *Taikei Nihon no rekishi 1: Nihonjin no tanjo* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1987), 296-298, 328-330; idem., "Rice Cultivation and the Japanese," 41, 50-52. Mizoguchi argues that the "violence" model adopted by Sahara and other scholars follows the same overall structure as the Marxist framework for Japan's social evolution. Instead of the natural development of inequality through a growing differential control over the means of production, however, this model links the development of despotism primarily with the import of foreign culture. Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 19-20.

excavated materials. ¹²⁵ In the case of Fujinoki, investigations of many of the tomb's artifacts have focused on identifying their geographical origins, classifying individual aspects of the typological design, iconographic motifs, and manufacturing techniques displayed by the works as being either unique to the Japanese archipelago or representative of the material culture of China and Korea. ¹²⁶ This type of analysis is particularly prevalent within scholarship discussing the site's gilt-bronze saddles, crown, shoes, and ornamented swords. ¹²⁷ The reduction of these artifacts into a collection of individually identifiable Japanese, Chinese, and Korean characteristics seems intended to isolate the innate Japanese core of these objects from among foreign elements, rather than to promote an understanding of the works as a complex amalgam of multiple cultural traditions.

This focus on tracing objects to specific geographical origins also presents a misrepresentation of the political landscape of East Asia during Japan's Kofun period. It characterizes the polities of China and the Korean peninsula as distinct states, separated from Japan by defined ideological boundaries. As Barnes has argued, however, "prior to nation-states, geography was broad and unbounded, with peoples traveling and intermixing at will. Despite the development of multitudinous regional 'cultures' and even states across East Asia, interaction was the name of the game." She conceptually identifies the fluid exchange of people and ideas between China, Korea, and Japan as comprising a "Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere." This model characterizes the social development of the Korean peninsula and Japanese archipelago as closely intertwined with one another, to the extent that, prior to the eighth century, these areas can be thought as constituting a single geographical unit, which she terms the "Pen/Insular" region. The inter-connected polities of the Pen/Insulae represented the periphery of the Interaction Sphere, who together emulated and competed with the dominant economic and cultural core of the Chinese Dynasties. 129

In her recent analysis of Levantine ivories and bronzes, Feldman argues that stylistic similarities between artifacts are not necessarily representative of geographic locales, but instead specifically refer to social networks of people who together participate in the production and usage of objects. Such communities are fluid, expanding and contracting over time, and are entangled with other co-existing social systems, some represented by their own stylistic artifact types. The manifestation of repeated stylistic elements, she states, is the material encoding of communal memory, reflecting the shared knowledge of the methods of production, usage, and

¹²⁵ The connection between *Nihonjinron* discourse and the identification of specific Japanese cultural traits within archaeological scholarship has been previously noted in Richard Pearson, 123; Fawcett, "Archaeology and Japanese Identity," 74-75; Habu and Fawcett, "Jomon Archaeology and the Representation of Japanese Origins," 589-590.

¹²⁶ Mizoguchi states that research focused on tracing the technological and typological origins of artifacts became a prominent theme within archaeological studies of the Kofun period starting in the 1970s. Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 18-19.

¹²⁷ See for example Azuma Ushio, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo ibutsu no keifu o megutte," in *Yomigaeru Kodai!*, 79-87; Matsuda Shinichi, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo no kondōsei kazari kutsu no ichi," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:225-239; Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Tōkenrui ni tsuite," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:262-266. An extended discussion of the scholarship linking various elements of the Set A saddle to continental antecedents is provided in chapter four.

¹²⁸ Gina Barnes, *Archaeology of East Asia: The Rise of Civilization in China, Korea and Japan* (Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2015), 1.

¹²⁹ Ibid., State Formation in Japan, 1-4, 33-37; idem., Archaeology of East Asia, 1-3, 6.

meaning that become associated with works. ¹³⁰ A similar theoretical framework can be applied to typological analyses of the Fujinoki grave-goods, the material design locating the objects within an expansive system of consumption encompassing wide areas inclusive of multiple Pen/Insular and Chinese polities. Furthermore, while past scholarship has focused primarily on discussing these works as indicative of overlapping Japanese and foreign material culture, examinations of the technical and visual elements could instead be explored in terms of a confluence of intersecting traditions, with the various meanings entrenched in the works' formal design becoming re-contextualized to serve the ritual needs of Japan's sixth-century funerary system. ¹³¹

Framework for the dissertation

Although this chapter has been predominantly critical of the empirical focus and limited interpretative range demonstrated within investigations of Fujinoki, it is not intended to undermine the overall archaeological achievement that the excavation of the site represents. The examinations of the tomb reflect the analytical precision of the archaeologists involved, who, in the planning and implementation of the dig, were able to generate a vast and detailed body of data, as well as ensure the extensive preservation of the physical site and its grave-goods. The widespread media coverage of the Fujinoki excavations and the site's incorporation into a historic park also are indicative of the overall commitment in Japan to contextualizing the importance of sites to appeal to a wider audience outside of the scholarly community.

Despite the continued dedication to public outreach, however, Okamura cautions that archaeology in Japan is facing a crisis in relevancy. He states that the focus on empirical data and narratives of national identity stagnate research, leading the field overall to continue to be of interest to only a dedicated subsection of Japanese society. Given that the majority of archaeological materials from the Kofun period have been recovered through the excavation of tombs, it is surprising that examinations of burial practices have been underrepresented within scholarship. In this regard, Yamauchi's elaboration on the rituals performed at *kofun* through the investigation of changes in the types and placement of *haniwa*, demonstrate the potential for examinations of early mortuary culture to provide compelling new perspectives on the social traditions of ancient Japan. More recently, Saitō's study of the ritual use and symbolic function of wooden *haniwa* for the protection of the souls of the dead, and Mizoguchi's analysis of the connection of early tumuli with communal agrarian ceremonies, further reflect the interpretive range for research exploring *kofun* specifically as funerary sites. 134

In the following chapters of this dissertation, I discuss Fujinoki primarily in terms of situating the site within the funerary systems and associated soteriological belief structures of

¹³¹ I adopt this methodology in my examination of the Set A saddle in chapter four.

¹³⁰ Feldman, 37-40, 50-51, 64-67.

¹³² Okamura, "From Object-Centered to People-Focused," 82-85.

¹³³ Yamauchi Noritsugu, "Fukugen sareru girei," in *Kofun jidai no kenkyū*, vol. 9, *Kofun III haniwa*, eds. Ishino Hironobu, Iwasaki Takuya, Kawakami Kunihiko, and Shiraishi Taichirō (Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1992), 191-198.

¹³⁴ Saitō Kiyohide, "Ki no haniwa," in *Yamato no Kofun II*, 57-63; Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 263-270; Mizoguchi Koji, "De-Paradoxisation of Paradoxes by Referring to Death as an Ultimate Paradox: The Case of the State-Formation Phase of Japan," in *Death Rituals and Social Order in the Ancient World: Death Shall Have no Dominion*, eds. Colin Renfrew, Michael Boyd, and Iain Morley (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 255-278.

sixth-century Japan. I approach this subject through a material-visual analysis of excavated remains, taking as a theoretical basis Alfred Gell's contention that artifacts serve as a physical record of internal intentions. Objects are created within specific historical circumstances and represent an individual's subjective desire to affect the external world. Examinations of material culture allow a viewer to deduce the agentive factors causing a work's production and, by extension, approach an understanding of the encompassing social traditions that governed its creation. 135 Although this methodology must ultimately rely on an inferential leap to link the physical artifact with its agentive intent, I seek to minimize potential misrepresentations of the Fujinoki objects by framing interpretations within a wider consideration of the inter-site relationships of artifact types and placements at the tomb, and their associations with the wider material culture of the archipelago and Asian mainland. Regardless, there are limits to what objects alone can tell us regarding the complexities of real-world social interactions. My present work is able to provide only a limited perspective on the funerary practices conducted at Fujinoki and is still further restricted to an examination solely of the traditions that remain accessible to us through surviving affiliated material culture.

Beyond my intent to push the discourse of Fujinoki from its current empirical focus into new areas of interpretative research, each of the following three chapters also represent a reaction to specific issues in Kofun archaeology, which I have identified within this extended introductory discussion. Chapter two provides a detailed overview of the design of the Fujinoki tomb and of the artifactual remains identified at the site. Central to this chapter are the formal descriptions of works and discussions of their functional application, which are intended to promote an understanding of these artifacts as specific material objects and to disambiguate them from the abstract archaeological jargon that has traditionally been used for their identification. Chapter three presents a cross-site examination of Fujinoki with the nearby Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya tombs, offering an analysis of specific burial rituals and the treatment of corporeal remains that eschews aligning the deceased with historical accounts from the Nihon Shoki and Kojiki. Finally, chapter four discusses at length the heavily ornamented gilt-bronze saddle recovered from the tomb. I explore how the design and iconographic motifs of the work not only originate from areas throughout East Asia, but also how the meanings associated with the various images have been integrated to represent specific Japanese conceptions regarding death and the soul's posthumous journey to the afterlife.

¹³⁵ Gell, 14-20, 220-221.

<u>Chapter Two</u> A Consolidated Assessment of the Fujinoki Assemblage

The examination of Fujinoki Kofun I present throughout the remaining chapters of this dissertation is dedicated to interpreting evidence of the site's production and usage as representative of the specific mortuary practices of Japan's sixth-century Nara Basin. This study therefore investigates the rituals and accompanying belief structures of Fujinoki through an analysis of the material composition and formal design of site artifacts. I consider the interrelationship between the grave-goods arranged at the tomb, as well as their association with remains recovered from other kofun and mainland Asian sites. As the first step in this analytical process, this chapter provides a descriptive overview of the Fujinoki assemblage. By examining individual artifacts or grave-good sub-groupings in isolation from other remains, previous scholarship, I argue, has contributed to a misrepresentative understanding of the full extent of material culture present at the tomb. This chapter instead seeks to present a comprehensive catalog of excavated materials, building toward a synthetic analysis of Fujinoki in which the architecture and grave-goods of the site can be conceived as forming a unified assemblage that together reflect the practice of Kofun period funerary traditions. I situate measurements, technical terminology, and structural analyses derived from the Fujinoki archaeological reports within a broader discussion of the overall visual and functional design of artifacts and site features. This approach is intended to provide a rendering of the site in immediate material terms, and as a further explication of the empirical data collected from the tomb's excavations. Equipped with a foundational understanding of the content and interred locations of the Fujinoki artifacts, subsequent chapters will proceed toward a focused examination of the ritual meaning of the tomb and its interred grave-goods.

Excavation-centric descriptions of the Fujinoki assemblage

The initial excavation of Fujinoki Kofun in 1985, and the subsequent opening of its stone sarcophagus in 1988, astonished both archaeologists and the Japanese public at large with the breadth and quality of grave-goods recovered from the site. Many of these artifacts, such as the openwork gilt-bronze saddle, Korean-style crown and shoes, and swords with beaded scabbards, were exceptional discoveries in their own right, prompting numerous explorations into the individual objects' cultural origins and their correlation to the identities of the personages interred within the tomb's sarcophagus. The interest that the excavations garnered led news outlets, as well as many scholars, to proclaim Fujinoki as the most significant Kofun period finding since the 1972 unearthing of the painted wall and ceiling frescos at Takamatsuzuka Kofun. 136

Amid the excitement over the tomb's excavation one can also detect a palpable sense of relief within archaeological scholarship on Fujinoki. The tomb is one of the few large-scale sixth-century *kofun* to have avoided being pillaged prior to its excavation. A common sentiment expressed in publications interprets Fujinoki as an opportunity to finally resolve a gap within the archaeological record; the site represents a previously missing data-point within the continuum

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¹³⁶ Comparisons of the relative importance of Fujinoki to the discovery of Takamatsuzuka Kofun can be found, for example, in Hotta Keiichi, "Fujinoki Kofun hakkutsu to ringoku no hannō," *Higashi Ajia no kodai bunka*, no. 50 (1987): 151; Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and Its Grave-Goods," 57; Higuchi Takayasu, "Jobun 序文," in *IFK 1*, i; Tanaka Tsuguhito, "Fujinoki Kofun hisōsha kō," *Kachō hakubutsukangaku kenkyū*, no. 1 (1994): 10.

of tombs constructed during the Late Kofun period and provides a comparative reference for conceptualizing the original chamber designs and artifact assemblages of less-intact contemporaneous *kofun*. ¹³⁷

Although the Fujinoki site is remarkably well-preserved, this not to say that it has remained untouched since its original construction in the sixth century. The changes to the tomb that have occurred over course of almost fifteen centuries present a number of challenges to our modern interpretation of the site's archaeological materials. The rows of *haniwa* that once surrounded the slopes of the tumulus, for example, have been reduced to fragments, while the remains of others seem to be missing entirely. The interior of the sarcophagus, sealed since the Kofun period, had become inundated with rainwater prior to its excavation, hastening the decomposition of the bodies, funerary shrouds, and other organic materials interred inside. The rise and fall of the water levels over the centuries also displaced much of the sarcophagus' assemblage of grave-goods from their original arrangements.

In addition to the natural degeneration of the site, Fujinoki also was transformed as a result of its assimilation into a Buddhist monastic compound until the mid-nineteenth century. As discussed in the previous chapter, documents discovered at Hōryūji indicate that by 1165 a small temple, Hōshakuji, had been constructed adjacent to the tumulus (fig. 29). According to Meiji period records, the compound was eventually destroyed by a fire in 1854, killing the sole resident nun. The remaining debris surrounding the tumulus was later cleared, but the temple was never reconstructed. Other documents attest that by 1594 Fujinoki had become identified as the gravesite of Emperor Sushun. Likely the monastic community at Hōshakuji served as caretakers for the supposed imperial tumulus, cleaning and maintaining the site, as well as protecting it from potential tomb robbers. It would also seem that Hōshakuji was responsible for reopening the burial chamber, as evidenced by post-Kofun period ceramic lantern dishes found near the coffin and in the entrance corridor, which likely were used to light the interior during Buddhist memorial services performed on the behalf of the deceased. These intrusions into the tomb open the possibility that the collection of grave-goods stored within the burial chamber

¹³⁷ See for example Mori Kōichi, "Maegaki," in *Fujinoki Kofun to sono bunka*, ii.

¹³⁸ Within these early documents Fujinoki is simply referred to as *misasaki* ミササキ or *misasakiyama* 陵山. The tomb continued to lack an official name throughout much of the twentieth century, as seen in the 1925 archaeological report "Nara ken shiseki chōsakai hōkokusho dai 8 kai," which generically titles the site *goryō* 御陵. Maezono, "Bunken ni mieru Fujinoki Kofun," 1:254. The current name, Fujinoki Kofun, is derived from its local administrative district and was assigned in order to disambiguate the tomb. It was given to the site in 1971 during a four-year study conducted by the Kashikōken to map archaeological sites within Nara Prefecture. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Nara ken iseki chizu dai 1 bunsatsu*.

¹³⁹ These documents are summarized in Maezono, "Bunken ni mieru Fujinoki Kofun," 1:254-261. A listing of the Hōryūji records are included in Appendix A. See also my discussion of these works in chapter one. Kidder interprets the presence of a nun caretaker in 1854 as an indication that Hōshakuji was constructed to serve as a nunnery. Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and Its Grave-Goods," 61. However, none of the documents mentioning the temple specifically indicate whether it functioned as a monastery or nunnery. It is equally possible that the site had varyingly served in both capacities at different points in its history.

¹⁴⁰ *Jochi no oboe*, Empō 7 (1679), reproduced in Takada, 67. This document declares the land around Fujinoki to be exempt from taxes, due to it having been identified as the site of Emperor Sushun's mausoleum as early as Bunroku 4 (1594).

¹⁴¹ The design and location of these lamp dishes is described below.

may not, in fact, be completely intact. We should at least assume that the original sixth-century layout of these objects has been compromised. Indeed, the peculiar placement of horse tack, weapons, and armor in the narrow gaps between the Fujinoki sarcophagus and chamber walls, and the unceremonious clustering of Sue and Haji-ware ceramics together in a corner of the room, seem to intimate a later reorganization of the assemblage. 142

The six excavations and 2008 restoration of Fujinoki have further distanced the site from its Kofun period design. The burial goods and ritual ceramics have all been removed from the chamber, sarcophagus, and exterior of the tumulus, and are now located in the museum and storage facilities of Kashikōken. The tomb has become incorporated at the center of a landscaped park, and the stones and loose soil that once sealed the chamber entrance have been replaced by a poured concrete entryway with an electronically locked steel door (figs. 1-3). 143

In order to develop an understanding of the original design of Fujinoki despite its alterations, and by extension examine the sixth-century funerary practices that led to its construction, we are reliant on archaeological reports detailing the excavations of the tomb. These provide records on the state of the architecture and artifact assemblage prior to modern conservation efforts, and they identify where natural deterioration, as well as human interaction from Hōshakuji, seem to have affected the site. Unfortunately, very few publications actually provide a comprehensive assessment of Fujinoki. This is chiefly due to the staggered timeframe in which the principal excavations were carried out. Following the survey of the tumulus and opening of its burial chamber in 1985, a number of publications were produced detailing the process of excavation and identifying the recovered artifacts. ¹⁴⁴ A similar flurry of articles was produced following the two 1988 examinations of the coffin's interior. In June of 1989, Kashikōken published *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun gaihō* (*IFKG*), which was intended as a preliminary report summarizing each of the three prior excavations. This report is structured based on the chronology of the excavations, starting with a summary of the 1985 survey and the artifacts recovered, and then repeating the process with a combined discussion of the 1988 excavations. The end result of this organizational structure, however, is that the tomb is not presented as a unified whole but instead treated as two halves, the tumulus and burial chamber juxtaposed with the sarcophagus. In addition, the data supplied in the report is predominantly derived from the more recent 1988 examinations of the coffin and its interior. Only a few

¹⁴² Kidder, in a report following the first excavation of Fujinoki, comments on the strange placement of the burial chamber's grave-goods. He suggests that a rearrangement of the artifacts was carried out by tomb caretakers, possibly in response to a failed looting attempt. Valuable items such as the gilt-bronze saddle, he contends, were placed in the dark niche behind the sarcophagus in order to hide them from thieves. Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and Its Grave-Goods," 64-65. I find it likely that following the destruction of Hōshakuji, the workers tasked with cleaning up the debris also reorganized the grave-goods stored in the burial chamber. Similar to Kidder's suggestion, these workers may have intended to hide the objects from potential robbers. They also likely were responsible for resealing the tomb with a new barricade of rocks and soil after the cleanup had been completed.

¹⁴³ See chapter one for the expanded summary of each excavation and of the site's incorporation into a public park.

¹⁴⁴ Among these works were the abbreviated preliminary report by lead archaeologist Fujii Toshiaki, and a slightly longer account of the excavation provided within the catalog for the special exhibition of site artifacts held in Ikarugachō from February 16-23, 1986. Fujii, "Naraken Fujinoki Kofun," 505-508; Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun*.

objects from the burial chamber assemblage are included in the discussion, which primarily were chosen from among the artifacts comprising the chamber's sets of gilded horse tack. 145

Following the precedent of the *IFKG*, subsequent publications on Fujinoki have continued to structure examinations of the tomb's assemblage based upon the two initial periods of excavation. The most prominent example of this separation can be seen in the exhaustive *IFK* site reports later compiled by Kashikōken. The first volume, published in 1990, covers the 1985 excavation of the tomb, while the subsequent two volumes were released as a paired set in 1995, and present a combined report on both the second and third studies. The problem of organizing examinations of Fujinoki based upon the chronology of the excavations is that it has led to scholars treating the tomb as comprised of two completely separate artifact assemblages. This division, in turn, has led to scholarship that leans toward an analytical emphasis on either the burial chamber's grave-goods or the coffin interior, while providing only a partial listing of the archaeological materials held within the opposing assemblage, usually confined to references of the most materially extravagant or uniquely designed works.

The partial catalogs of Fujinoki's archaeological materials are not only inconvenient from a research standpoint, but they also influence our perception of the significance of the site. Umberto Eco describes catalogs as practical lists, intended as complete records of all objects contained within a certain group or location. By contrast, the partial list, through the selective citation of works from a larger whole, creates an unspoken "etcetera," and the impression that the enormity of the full collection is such that the writer is unable to convey its entirety. In the case of Fujinoki, the tendency to focus on a single assemblage from within the separate groups of grave-goods, or to make limited references to only the most impressive works while nebulously indicating the presence of numerous other preserved artifacts, constructs a romantic image of the tomb as overflowing with a myriad of other unstated treasures. The site's perceived importance drifts from it being an unlooted representative of large-scale *kofun* created during the sixth century, to a tomb of singular wealth and importance, unique among the funerary monuments constructed within the Nara Basin.

In order to move away from the excavation-centric analyses that have shaped the prior publications on Fujinoki, this chapter presents a comprehensive discussion of the tomb's excavated materials. I begin with a description that highlights the original sixth-century design of the tumulus and burial chamber, proceeding into a discussion of the complete, unified catalog of the artifact assemblage. ¹⁴⁷ This description will serve as a foundation for my following

¹⁴⁵ Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun gaihō: dai 1 ji chōsa ~ dai 3 ji chōsa.*

¹⁴⁶ Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of Lists*, trans. Alastair McEwen (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2009), 67, 113-117.

¹⁴⁷ I would be remiss if I failed to mention the 2007 publication *Kin no kagayaki, garasu no kirameki*, which separates itself from earlier Fujinoki scholarship by providing a consolidated discussion of the Fujinoki assemblage and includes a complete updated inventory of the tomb within its Appendix. The work was published as a catalog to accompany a similarly titled special autumn exhibition of Fujinoki artifacts at the Kashikōken Museum, which ran from October 6 through November 25, 2007. Although this publication makes strides by considering the entirety of Fujinoki, the nature of the exhibition catalog format necessitates that textual descriptions of the artifacts are selective and brief to provide space for the numerous accompanying illustrations. Similarly, detailed scholarly analyses of the origins and significance of individual grave-goods are relegated to only a few short articles at the end of the work. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, ed., *Kin no kagayaki, garasu no*

chapter, which compares the assemblage with those of other Late period tombs in regions neighboring Fujinoki's Ikarugachō.

Fujinoki's Structural Design and Artifact Assemblage 148

Tumulus and stone chamber

The Fujinoki tumulus was constructed as a circular earthen mound 48 m in diameter and 9 m tall, which encloses a corridor-style stone burial chamber (vokoanashiki sekishitsu). 149 The exterior slopes and base of the tomb were originally adorned with haniwa, the largest concentration of which were clustered around the entrance into the burial facilities on the southeast side and along the tumulus' eastern edge. It is thought that these ceramics delineated areas adjacent to the tomb where funerary rituals would have been conducted. 150 The majority of the recovered sherds have been identified as belonging to at least four cylindrical haniwa (fig. 39). A single section of a shield-shaped haniwa with residue red pigment decoration has also been identified. 151 Other indeterminate remains are thought to have belonged to an asagaoshaped haniwa, 152 and another from the head of a sculpted horse (fig. 40). 153 The top of the Fujinoki tumulus had been left bare, lacking the small fukiishi stones that frequently were used to pave the surfaces of *kofun* mounds. 154

kirameki: Fujinoki Kofun no zenbō (Kashihara: Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, 2007).

¹⁴⁸ A consolidated listing of the number and types of artifacts discovered during the site's excavations is provided in Appendix B.

Although the height of the tumulus during its excavation was measured at 7.6 m, the original design before soil loss is estimated to have been closer to 9 m. Maezono, "Chōsa ni itaru keiki to keika," 1:23. ¹⁵⁰ These *haniwa* were excavated from trenches 0 (south of the entrance), 1 (adjacent to the entrance), 11, and 12 (eastern side of the tumulus). Based on the arrangement of many of the haniwa along the edge of the tumulus, archaeologists assume that a row of these works lined the perimeter of the mound, similar to the haniwa placement at other kofun. However, the lack of fragments excavated from additional areas around the tumulus, perhaps due to disruption of the site after the sixth century, renders this theory inconclusive. Matsuda Shinichi, "Haniwa," in IFK 1, 208; Sekigawa, "Torenchi no chōsa," 1:42-48, 58; Hirata and Yonekawa, "Ikarugachō Fujinoki Kofun dai 5 ji chōsa." Additional haniwa sherds also were recovered near the northern side of Fujinoki (trenches 2 and 3). These assemblages were located several meters distant from the tumulus and contained additional ceramics dating to the Nara and Heian periods. Sekigawa suggests that these haniwa were not originally associated with Fujinoki. Instead they may have been brought from other nearby, presumably destroyed, tombs and discarded in refuse pits near Fujinoki as late as the eleventh century. Sekigawa, Torenchi no chōsa," 1:49-50.

¹⁵¹ Matsuda Shinichi, "Haniwa," 209.

¹⁵² Asagao, or morning-glory, haniwa consist of a cylindrical body with a wide, bowl-like mouth.

¹⁵³ Sekigawa, "Torenchi no chōsa," 1:58. The exact number of *haniwa* sherds that were excavated from the Fujinoki tumulus is difficult to determine. IFK I records that around fifty-one fragments were recovered during the first excavation, fifty of which were attributed to cylindrical works and the other to a shield-shaped haniwa. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, "Ibutsu," in IFK 1, 35. The number of fragments excavated during the second and sixth excavations, however, are not supplied within published reports. The current estimate that fragments from a total of four cylindrical and three sculpted haniwa were recovered is derived from the recent inventory of the tomb included in Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, Kin no kagayaki, 97.

¹⁵⁴ The lack of *fukiishi* was first recognized by archaeologist Izumori Kō during an examination of the Fujinoki tumulus in 1975. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, Kin no kagayaki, 5-6.

The tomb's interior corridor (*sendō*) (8.28 x 1.76-2.08 m) leads northwest from the entrance and widens into a burial chamber (*genshitsu*) (6.15 x 2.43-2.67 m) situated at the proximate center of the tumulus (figs. 41-42). The walls of the chamber (h: 4.15-4.41 m) and corridor (h: 2.27-2.38 m) are formed from large stacked unmasoned granite stones, with small rocks and pebbles used to fill the gaps in-between. These walls are, for the most part, straight, with a small degree of corbeling near the ceiling. On one of the walls an iron hook had been installed, and in three other areas throughout the burial chamber the remains of five additional fittings were identified (fig. 43). Similar hooks have been excavated from other side-entrance *kofun* and are assumed to have been used to hang tapestries or other objects during mortuary ceremonies. On the southern side of the burial chamber, vertically oriented slabs topped by smaller rocks frame the entrance from the preceding corridor (fig. 44). Six massive stone lintels form the ceiling, the slabs overlapping at the juncture between the burial chamber and corridor. Between the ceiling and the soil of the surrounding tumulus is a layer of raw clay, which excavators believe had been placed during the construction of the burial mound to inhibit rainwater from seeping into the interior facilities.

The floor of the chamber and corridor consists of a 10 cm layer of pebbles spread on top of packed and leveled soil. Underneath this flooring on the southern side of the burial chamber is a small drainage pit (70 x 35 cm) connecting to a trench (14 m x 50 cm; h: 25-40 cm) running along the center of the corridor (fig. 45). Flat stones arranged in the trench form a crude rectangular pipe, which serves to divert precipitation that accumulates in the burial facilities to an area just south of the tomb mound. 159

Prior to excavation, Fujinoki's burial chamber was blocked by a mound of small and medium stones that had been piled in the tomb's entrance and in the front section of the corridor. While it was initially assumed that the tumulus was sealed shortly after its construction in the sixth century, archaeologists now recognize that the tomb was previously opened by the monastic community of Hōshakuji, and that this new blockade was erected in the mid-nineteenth century following the destruction of the temple. ¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ The burial chamber is slightly off-axis from the corridor, angling eastward. The lateral walls of the main chamber are each set wider from the corridor, extending an additional 0.42 and 0.41 m on the east and west sides of the chamber doorway. Matsuda Shinichi, "Yokoanashiki sekishitsu," in *IFK 1*, 18. This style of burial facility layout is called a *ryōsodeshiki sekishitsu*. This is compared the *katasodeshiki sekishitsu* design, where one side of the burial chamber is directly in line with a wall of the corridor, and the *naisodeshiki sekishitsu*, where there is no distinction between the corridor and burial chamber.

¹⁵⁶ The east and west walls of the burial chamber are formed from layers of five or six large stacked stones, which grow in size from the base of the wall to the ceiling. The northern wall has a slightly different design, with two layers of smaller stones at the base and two large slabs comprising the upper half. The corridor walls are shorter and consist of four layers of stones. Ibid., 18-20; Kawakami Kunihiko, "Yokoanashiki sekishitsu," in *IFK 1*, 343.

¹⁵⁷ Matsuda Shinichi, "Kofun no katachi to sekishitsu • sekkan (ichi)," 43; Matsuda Shinichi, "Sonota no kinzokuseihin," in *IFK 1*, 190.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., "Yokoanashiki sekishitsu," 18; Kitagaki Sōichirō, "Sekishitsu kōchiku," in *IFK 1*. 293.

¹⁵⁹ Matsuda Shinichi, "Yokoanashiki sekishitsu," 19.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 20; Hirata and Aoyagi, 4.

¹⁶¹ Maezono, "Bunken ni mieru Fujinoki Kofun," 1:261.

Burial chamber ceramics (Appendices C1, C2, C3)

Within the Fujinoki burial chamber and corridor archaeologists discovered the remains of twenty-five Haji-ware plates (fig. 46). These simple circular ceramics are thought to be lamp dishes (tōmyō zara) that were brought inside during the Edo period. Most of the works were discovered clustered in the center of the corridor mixed within a layer of soil and debris that had fallen into tomb prior to its excavation, while three others were located amid assemblages of artifacts within the burial chamber. 162

A larger group of ceramics was found near the front of the burial chamber, clustered along the western wall (fig. 47). This assemblage consists of forty Sue-ware works and eleven Haji vessels (fig. 48). The Sue ceramics comprise nine lidded and seven lidless pedestaled dishes (takatsuki) (with fourteen accompanying dish lids), one jar (tsubo), three lidded pedestaled jars (daitsuki tsubo) (with three accompanying lids), two wine servers (hasō), and one jar stand (kidai). The Haji works consist of five pedestaled dishes, five jars, and one pot (kame). 163 The Haji and Sue ceramics were mixed together, several in fragments and covered by soil that had fallen into the tomb. This mixing of the various vessel types, as well as the discovery of a solitary Edo lamp dish concealed beneath the assemblage, suggests that the ceramics had been rearranged sometime after the tomb was initially sealed. In addition, five spare Sue dish lids which lack corresponding vessels were recovered, indicating that ceramics originally placed within the burial chamber are now missing from the current assemblage. 164

Overall, the ceramics at Fujinoki represent the same general vessel types as those found at other Late Kofun period tombs. The Sue pedestaled dishes range in size but share a similar design (figs. 49-51). A wide circular base supports a tapered cylindrical pedestal, culminating in a wide, shallow bowl at top. On the lidless variants, the lip of the bowl flares slightly outward, while the other vessels have a small inward angled projection past the lip, designed to accommodate a domed lid. The lower halves of the bowls display one or more raised decorative ridges and, in some cases, include incised wave-like lines or vertical gouges. All but one of the works have rectangular holes cut vertically along the sides of their hollow pedestals, bisected by an ornamental raised band. 165 The Haji pedestaled dishes have a design analogous to their Sue counterparts. The works again feature circular bases, tapered pedestals, and have shallow bowls (fig. 52). Overall, however, the ceramics are cruder in design than the Sue works, lacking the decorative flourishes and refined workmanship of the other vessels. 166

¹⁶² Toyoda Aritsune, Ishino Hironobu, Ōtsuka Hatsushige, and Mori Kōichi, "Fujinoki Kofun no nendai," in Fujinoki kofun to sono bunka, 147-148; Fujii Toshiaki, "Ibutsu no shutsudo jōtai," in IFK 1, 25; Matsuda Shinichi, "Haji sara," in IFK 1, 211-212. Unidentified iron fragments were also found buried under the entrance corridor infill and are thought to have possibly been the remains of additional horse equipment.

¹⁶³ Haji vessels are earthenware ceramics generally fired between 700-800 degrees Celsius. Sue works, on the other hand, are stoneware manufactured at a higher temperature and tend to be of finer quality. The terminology generally used for the classification of ceramics, such as "jar," "dish," and "wine server," is both descriptive (e.g. pedestaled) as well as related to the overall dimensions of the vessel, dependent on such factors as the relative proportions of the base compared to the rim, neck width, ceramic height, etc. In order to better distinguish the designs of each Fujinoki work, I include below full descriptions of each vessel and how they differ from one another.

¹⁶⁴ Fujii "Ibutsu no shutsudo jōtai," 26; Toyoda, Ishino, Ōtsuka, and Mori, 148.

¹⁶⁵ Kinoshita Wataru, "Sueki," in *IFK 1*, 196-200.

¹⁶⁶ Hayashi Hisako, "Hajiki," in *IFK 1*, 205-207.

The sole Sue jar at Fujinoki has a globular body with a rounded base and features a tall neck that flares outwards near the lip to form a wide mouth (fig. 53). The neck is decorated by three bands and bears a motif of incised diagonal lines. Sue pedestaled jars recovered from the tomb have a similar design, with the addition of a short cylindrical support at their base (fig. 54). Two of these pedestaled jars again are decorated with a ring of incised diagonal lines located slightly below the works' necks, and their accompanying lids are dome-shaped with a circular handle at top.

The two Sue wine vessels represent further deviations from the jar design (fig. 55). They retain the spherical body and rounded base, but have a squat elliptical shape, as well as a circular hole cut along their sides. The necks are quite tall and flare dramatically to form a mouth wider than the works' lower bodies. The larger of the two ceramics also is adorned with bands of incised vertical lines repeated across the entirety of the vessel's exterior. 167

Three of the Haji-ware jars are simplified versions of their Sue counterparts (fig. 56). They have a spherical body, rounded base, and slightly flaring long neck, but display no decorative motifs. Another jar, classified as a wide mouth jar (*hirokuchi tsubo*), is taller and has a globular body with a long, dramatically flaring neck (fig. 57). It features decorative bands of waved lines incised along its exterior. The final Haji jar, a short necked jar (*tankei tsubo*), is a small work with a rounded body and short flaring lip (fig. 58). The Haji pot also features a rounded body, short neck, and wide mouth, but has larger overall dimensions (fig. 59). ¹⁶⁸

The most elaborate and largest of the ceramics recovered from Fujinoki is the Sue-ware jar stand (fig. 60). It measures 39.9 cm tall and was discovered standing upright within the burial chamber, despite having been mostly buried by fallen soil and rocks (fig. 61). The work consists of a wide, deep bowl attached to a tall pedestal that tappers outward near the bottom. Its bowl widens slightly at the lip, below which is a narrow band of diagonal decorative lines accompanied by a cross-hatch motif along the bottom half. The pedestal features four registers of decorative diagonal and vertical lines, each separated by a horizontal band. Four sets of four vertical rectangular holes have been cut into the sides of the pedestal, adding further visual complexity. Traces of ash around the rim suggest that this ceramic likely was utilized as a makeshift brazier alongside the Edo period lamp dishes, providing light for the Hōshakuji clergy that later entered into the tomb. To

Stone coffin

A house-shaped stone coffin (*iegata sekkan*) is located at the rear of the Fujinoki burial chamber (figs. 62-63). It is oriented perpendicular to the corridor, sitting 80 cm from the northern wall of the chamber, and 30 cm and 15 cm from the east and west walls respectively. ¹⁷¹ The sarcophagus is a hollowed-out style coffin, the body and lid each formed from a single carved porphyritic pyroclastic tufa block, which archaeologists believe originated from Mt. Nijō in Osaka Prefecture. ¹⁷² The coffin measures 235 cm long, and has a maximum width and height (with lid) of 139 cm and 154 cm. The body of the work has a slightly uneven rectangular form

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¹⁶⁷ Kinoshita, "Sueki," in *IFK 1*, 200-203.

¹⁶⁸ Hayashi Hisako, 207.

¹⁶⁹ Kinoshita, "Sueki," in IFK 1, 203.

¹⁷⁰ Fujii, "Naraken Fujinoki Kofun," 506.

¹⁷¹ Fujii Toshiaki, "Sekkan no ichi," in *IFK 1*, 21.

 $^{^{172}}$ Matsuda Shinichi, "Sekkan no keitai," in *IFK 1*, 23. House-shaped coffins alternatively can be formed from multiple stone slabs that are fitted together to create the base, sides, and lid of the coffin.

that tapers slightly inwards, and which is wider and taller on its eastern side. The interior of the coffin has been carefully carved, creating a cavity (197 x 93 cm; h: 58 cm) for the bodies and burial goods. It features straight sides and crisp, sharply formed corners (fig. 64). 173

The sarcophagus lid has a trapezoidal shape, with each of the sides angling inwards and culminating in a flat, narrow top. The interior face has also been carved into a trapezoidal impression, with a surrounding lip 19-19.5 cm wide where the lid rests on the coffin's body (fig. 65). Four rectangular lugs (*nawagake tokki*) emerge from the slanted sides of the lid, two on both the north and south sides. The top edge of the lugs has been cut to form a short bevel, and the sides of the projections taper slightly inwards. Lengths of rope would have been tied to these lugs to remove the lid during the interment of the deceased and accompanying burial goods. 175

The entirety of the Fujinoki sarcophagus was painted with a red cinnabar pigment. Although only faint traces of the coloring can be seen on the outside, the pigment remains vibrant on the interior surfaces of the body and lid. Surface wear is visible along the coffin's exterior, with the most pronounced abrasions located on the southeast corner of the lid and the northeast side of the sarcophagus body. Small divots also are found along the top of the work and on the edges of the lugs. These gouges are thought to have been caused both by falling rocks and by centuries of water dripping onto the sarcophagus. Rain and condensation also managed

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¹⁷³ Measurements for the coffin body: 1: 234.8 cm at base; 1: 229.0 cm at top; w: 139.4 cm at base of east side; w: 129.8 cm at top of east side; w: 133.9 cm at base of west side; w: 117.2 cm at top of west side; h: 96.6 cm on east side; h: 79.8 cm on west side; h: 84.9 cm at center. Interior measurements: 1: 197 cm on north side; 1: 196 cm on south side; w: 86 cm on west side; w: 93 cm wide on east side; h: 51 cm at the north and south edges of the west side; h: 53 cm at center of west side; h: 56 cm at the north and south edges of the east side; h: 58 cm tall at center of east side. The lip around the top edge of the sarcophagus has a width ranging from 17-18.5 cm. A number of engraved lines, thought to have been made with a small knife, have been identified in the interior of the coffin body, near the rim. The significance of these gouges, however, is unknown. Matsuda Shinichi, "Sekkan no keitai," 21-23; Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Sekkan," in IFK 2-3, 1:217. Measurements for the sarcophagus were recorded during the three initial excavations of Fujinoki, and the values remain consistent in all of the official excavation reports published by Kashikōken. Differing sizes, however, are recorded in other sources. Kidder, for example, lists measurements that differ by almost 10 cm from the official reports. Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 421-422. Although house-shaped coffins generally have fairly uniform measurements, designs similar to Fujinoki, where one side is wider and taller, are frequently seen among wood and smaller stone sarcophagi. Sekigawa states that the larger side of the coffin usually corresponds with where the interred body's head was placed, and that the uneven design provided more space to accommodate the width of the shoulders of the deceased. Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Kofun no katachi to sekishitsu • sekkan (ni)," in Yomigaeru Kodai!, 51.

¹⁷⁴ Measurements for the coffin lid: base 1: 231.0 cm, w: 129.0 on east side, w: 115.5 cm on west side; top 1: 166.0 cm, w: 48.5 cm on east side, w: 39.5 on west side; h: 55.6 cm on east side, h: 52.1 cm on west side; sides begin to slant inwards 16.2-17.3 cm from base; lugs range from w: 30.5-35.0 cm and are located 3-10 cm from the top of the lid and 42-56 cm from the side edges; underside cavity 1: 192 cm at base, w: 92 cm at base east side, w: 83 cm at base west side, 1: 151-152 cm at top, w: 42-43 cm at top, h: 15 cm. Matsuda Shinichi, "Sekkan no keitai," 21-23; Sekigawa, "Sekkan," 1:215-216.

¹⁷⁵ Rope-like wear marks on the underside of the lugs attest to their prior usage, likely in conjunction with a block and tackle. Given the narrow space within the chamber and corridor, the coffin probably was opened for the burial of the two bodies before the surrounding tomb facilities were completed. Maezono and Shiraishi, *Fujinoki Kofun: Ikaruga ni hanahiraku Higashi Ajia no kodai*, 32.

to seep into the interior of the coffin and measured between 7-14 cm deep when archaeologists first removed the lid. 176

Artifact arrangement surrounding the sarcophagus

A large number of grave-goods were discovered under a layer of fallen rocks and soil in the narrow space between the sarcophagus and the northern wall of the burial chamber (fig. 66). These artifacts consist of three saddles with extensive sets of associated horse trappings, a set of lamellar armor ($keik\bar{o}$), iron arrowheads, the remains of an arrowcase (seishigu), iron miniature tools and fittings, tale beads, and an unidentified wood plank. Although items from each of the sets of horse tack seem to have been generally grouped together, most of the other artifacts were found simply piled on top of one another, with little attention given to their arrangement. Additional objects were placed in the gaps on the east and west sides of the coffin (fig. 67). The east side contained a collection of over 800 iron arrowheads that had been roughly grouped into five separate bunches. Also discovered was a sword blade, which had become broken into five pieces. The gap on the western side of the coffin is quite narrow, containing only the remains of a 'pinwheel' crupper ornament (hoyō tsuki kazari kanagu) and fragments from a further collection of arrowheads. 177 Scattered in areas in front of the sarcophagus were found various iron objects, comprised of arrowheads, the remains of crupper ornaments, and lamellar armor platelets. Finally, mixed within the upper soil infill near the rear wall, several human teeth were unearthed. 178

Set A horse trappings (Appendix C4)

The most intact set of Fujinoki horse trappings, identified as set "A," is also the most lavish, containing highly decorated pieces of horse tack and supplemental ornaments, many of which are adorned with gilding and figural openwork motifs. ¹⁷⁹ These horse trappings form an

Matsuda Shinichi, "Sekkan no keitai," 23; Sekigawa, "Sekkan," 1:215. Chemical analysis has identified the pigment as cinnabar (vermillion), with some additional traces of iron on the interior, which likely were leeched from artifacts stored within the sarcophagus. Yasuda Hiroyuki and Mori Mayumi, "Sekkan nai ibutsu jo narabi ni genshitsu yukamen rekiseki ni fuchaku no sekishoku ganryō biryō kagaku bunseki," in *IFK 2-3*, 2:295-296. Mori Kōichi suggests another possible cause of the damage to the Fujinoki sarcophagus. He states that in two places surface abrasions seem to have been repainted with vermillion, while in another damaged area the pigment was not reapplied. He hypothesizes that the sarcophagus was marred when the lid was removed during the interment of the first body and gravegoods, and that these areas were repainted upon the completion of the burial. He states that the coffin's second body was added later and that less care was taken to repair the damage that resulted from again opening the sarcophagus. Mori Kōichi, "Kōkogaku no tachiba kara (1)," in *Fujinoki kofun to sono bunka*, 73. I discuss the burial of the two bodies in greater detail in chapter three. My analysis differs from that of Mori, however, instead interpreting both bodies as having been interred simultaneously.

¹⁷⁷ Fujii, "Ibutsu no shutsudo jōtai," 27-34. I borrow the term 'pinwheel' to describe the design of the crupper ornaments from Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-Goods."

¹⁷⁸ Fujii "Ibutsu no shutsudo jōtai," 27; Miyagawa Susumu, "Sekkan gai shutsudo no shiga," in *IFK 1*, 320-322.

¹⁷⁹ When first discovered, the metalwork of the set A saddle and other gilt-bronze works located around the coffin were covered by a layer of green corrosion, masking much of the decorative reliefs and engravings adoring these works. Initial research of the saddle was carried out using x-ray, allowing researchers to examine the obscured motifs. The corrosion was later cleaned from the work before the

elaborate ensemble of equipment for dressing a horse and are a style of tack generally identified as possessions exclusive to the highest ranking members of Kofun period society. A full set of tack of this type generally consists of a headstall with bit and reins for controlling the horse; a saddle, secured by a breaststrap and crupper; mudguards and stirrups that would hang from the saddle along the flanks of the animal; and various ornamental fittings, some functional and others purely decorative (fig. 68).

Saddlebow and cantle

Prominent among the set A trappings are the gilt-bronze remains of the saddletree's saddlebow (*maewa*) and cantle (*shizuwa*) (figs. 69-70). These surviving sections of metalwork served as exterior ornamentation, adorning the saddle's front and rear wood uprights (fig. 71). ¹⁸¹ The original wood body of the work has almost completely rotted away, however, leaving only a few small pieces still attached to the metal remains. The saddlebow measures 41.7 x 51.9 cm, while the cantle is slightly larger at 43.2 x 58 cm. ¹⁸² Each share a similar crescent-shaped construction, consisting of a metal plate forming a lower arc, called the *iso*, a three-piece upper arc, *umi*, and a u-shaped flange, *fukurin*, that wrapped around the top edge of the *umi* and body of the saddle, helping to secure the decorative gilt-bronze metalwork firmly in place (fig. 72).

The *iso* (saddlebow: 17.1 x 34.8 cm; cantle: 18.6 x 42.4 cm) is made from a single sheet of gilt-bronze (fig. 73). The curved upper edge is bordered by a 4-7 mm wide band of gilded rivets. Each rivet head takes the form of a lotus-like flower, and functions to connect the *iso* with the *umi* and to affix the metalwork to the saddle's wood body. ¹⁸³

The central register of the *iso* features an image of dragons and palmettes in cast relief. ¹⁸⁴ On the saddlebow, dragons are depicted on the left and right sides, their serpentine bodies

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saddle and several pieces of its associated tack were put on permanent display at the Kashikōken museum. A full discussion of the composition of the rust and the cleaning processes utilized is found in Sawada Masaaki, "Fujinoki Kofun kondōsei bagu: Nara," *Bukkyō Geijutsu*, no. 195 (1991): 52-61. ¹⁸⁰ For a discussion of the scholarship identifying the set A tack as a prestige good owned by a high-ranking member of Kofun period society, see chapter four.

¹⁸¹ The basic saddle design that emerged in Japan in the Kofun period consisted of saddlebow and cantle uprights, connected to each other by a horizontal seat. The seat usually consisted of two wooden seat-boards arranged on the left and right sides of a horse's back, leaving a gap along the middle to reduce strain on the animal's spine. Leather and cloth padding would be placed over the seat-boards when the saddle was in use by a rider. A detailed description of traditional Japanese saddles and their evolution can be found in Sasama Yoshihiko, *Zusetsu Nihon kassen bugu jiten* (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 2004), 288-289.

¹⁸² Kano Yoshinori, "Kura kanagu," in *IFK I*, 86, 91; Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Sekkan oyobi shūhen shutsudo ibutsu," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:220. Earlier publications by the Ikarugachō Board of Education and Kashikōken provide slightly smaller measurements for the set A saddletree, recorded as 51 x 41.5 cm and 57 x 43 cm for the saddlebow and cantle respectively. Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun*, 6-7; Izumori, "Dai 1 ji chōsa," 52. In such instances of diverging measurements, I defer to the 1990 and 1995 *IFK* reports.

¹⁸³ Eighty-two rivets appear on the saddlebow and 100 on the cantle, each about 4 mm in diameter and depicting a flower with between four and seven petals. Kano, "Kura kanagu," 87.

¹⁸⁴ In his analysis of the manufacturing techniques of the saddle, Suzuki states that likely the relief images on the *iso* and *umi* were created during the casting of the work and engraved lines later added for further embellishment of the main motifs. Suzuki Tsutomu, "Fujinoki bagu kara Asuka e," in *Kin no kagayaki*, 89.

emerging from the middle of the work and writhing along the arms of the saddle. Near the far edges, the dragons twist back on themselves, culminating in an opened mouthed head with protruding tongue, their single visible eye gazing toward the center of the composition. On the cantle the action is reversed, with the dragons' bodies beginning at the arms of the saddle and their heads appearing near the middle, amidst a flurry of clawed legs and lashing tongues. Locks of flame-like hair emerge from the heads, legs, and bodies of each beast, and the spaces surrounding the figures are occupied by palmette fronds. The overall design is one of flattened perspective, with the dragons' two sets of fore and rear legs depicted side-by-side rather than receding in visual space. In contrast to their two-dimensional rendering, the animal and vegetative motifs have physical depth, emerging from the body of the saddle in relief. Hairline hatch lines along the sides of the depicted forms help emphasize undulations in the surface of the work and provide a sense of movement. Further definition is added to the dragons through an engraved texturing that delineates their scales, teeth, eyes, and hair.

Gilt-bronze buckles with domed bases are attached to the *iso*, two located on the saddlebow and four on the cantle. Areas of negative space along the *iso*'s dragon motifs accommodate these fixtures without disrupting the overall composition. The circular bases (w: 28 mm, h: 10 mm) depict low relief palmettes, and the buckles emerging from their tops consist simply of a ring with an interior hinged peg. A bronze extension emerges from the rear of the buckle, passing through both the center of the domed base and a rectangular hole in the *iso*, and emerges about 5 cm from the back of the saddle. These extensions would have originally been attached to wooden seat-boards (*igi*) using an iron rivet, helping to secure the saddlebow and cantle in their upright orientations. While these seat-boards are no longer extant, remnants of wood were found still adhered to the saddlebow's right buckle. ¹⁸⁵

The lower edge of the *iso* is formed into straight lines that run diagonally upwards along the sides of the saddle. In the center, the edge curves into an arc-shaped indentation. This section is decorated with a narrow row of hairline vertical hatch marks, which provide a visual boundary for the bottom edge of the dragon and palmette composition.

The upper arc, *umi*, of the saddlebow and cantle is formed from three connected panels, although the middle section from the saddlebow is missing. The left and right panels have a curved design and consist of a gilt-bronze openwork layer affixed over an iron plate. Although large sections of the iron backing are no longer extant, the remaining portions are painted with dark lacquer, creating a contrasting background that highlights the individual motifs of the openwork above it. The gilt-bronze ornamentation of the cantle's *umi* remains relatively intact. The saddlebow, on the other hand, has several areas of significant loss, notably the right edge of the work's left panel and a portion near the bottom right tip. The exterior and interior edges of the two *umi* display an openwork border of repeating ovals with inscribed alternating upward and downward facing palmettes. Two small rectangular tabs with a central hole project from the inner edges of both the left and right sides, allowing rivets to connect the *umi* to the lower *iso* section and bind the metalwork to the saddle's wood body. Separating the band of palmettes

¹⁸⁵ Kano, "Kura kanagu," 87, 91-97.

¹⁸⁶ This indentation, referred to as either the *suhama* or *waniguchi*, is another element commonly found on the saddlebow and cantle of Japanese saddles. The gap is oriented over the center of the horse's back and, similar to the gap in the seat boards, is intended to help prevent the saddle from pressing against the spine, which could potentially cause discomfort or injury to the animal.

from the *umi's* central register is a 5 mm border decorated with an inner row of tiny raised bumps and flanked by hairline hatching. ¹⁸⁷

The central section of the left and right *umi* panels features a motif of repeated hexagons, creating a tortoise shell pattern (*kikkōtsunagimon*). Only a few of these hexagons are fully fashioned, with most becoming partially fragmented where they intersect the edges of the register. The interconnected bands delineating the pattern are decorated with perpendicular furrows. Where each band intersects, the vertex forms a small circle with a centrally embedded blue glass bead. ¹⁸⁸ Inscribed within the hexagons are openwork low-relief depictions of mundane animals, mythical beasts, and palmettes. These motifs are portrayed in a similar fashion to the dragon images from the *iso*, each presented in a flattened side-view, while also gaining physical depth and detail through their raised relief construction and hairline engraving. Several of the animals depicted in the *umi* are repeated on both the saddlebow and cantle, and palmettes are scattered throughout the compositions. Despite this repetition, however, the execution of the images in each hexagon is subtly unique. The end result is a composition that presents at a distance a uniform, albeit elaborate, decorative design, with the individualized complexity of each motif only resolving upon a closer inspection of the work.

Within the openwork of the saddlebow umi, there are fifteen separate images inscribed in hexagons on the left side and twelve on the right. These consist of sixteen palmettes; two firebirds $(h\bar{o}\bar{o})$, one depicted with wings outstretched (left) and the other with its wings held close to its body (right); four dragons, their bodies curled into sinuous rings; two lions, the left turning to face the viewer with its tongue lolling, and the right looking upwards with mouth agape; and three small birds depicted in flight. The cantle is slightly larger, featuring eighteen motifs on the umi's left side and fifteen on the right. These comprise nineteen palmettes; two firebirds, both with opened wings and curling tail feathers; four dragons; two ogre masks (kimen), the left showing a toothy face, with arms and legs protruding from either side, and the right depicting a hunching body surrounding the head; two elephants, each shown standing with a curled trunk; a fish-like water monster (kaigyo), depicted with sharp teeth and biting a palmette frond; a lion with its head turned to look behind itself; a crouching rabbit surrounded by palmettes; and a standing bird with outstretched wings. ¹⁸⁹

The central plate, while missing from the saddlebow's *umi*, is intact on the cantle (figs. 74-75). This section is formed from a trapezoidal sheet of gilt-bronze (14.2 x 16.6 cm at top, 13.4 cm at bottom), which is slightly curved along the upper and lower edges. Two holes on both the left and right sides allow for rivets to secure the sheet to its accompanying *umi* panels. About 2.5 cm from the top of the plate is an attached gilded handle supported by three cylindrical legs. Each support has a carved relief base depicting an eight-petaled lotus. The tubular handle is capped at either end by bulbous domes of blue glass. ¹⁹⁰ These caps are affixed by a circular

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¹⁸⁷ Kano, "Kura kanagu," 86-87, 91.

¹⁸⁸ In several areas, particularly on the saddlebow, the beads have fallen out, leaving behind a small indentation where they had originally been located.

¹⁸⁹ Four of the images depicted within the tortoise shell motif of the cantle show evidence of prior mending. This is most evident on the left ogre mask, where a hexagonal piece of bronze was attached to reinforce the gilded openwork. It is unclear if these repairs were performed during the initial manufacturing of the work or in response to the saddle having been damaged during its transportation or use. Kano, "Kura kanagu," 91.

¹⁹⁰ Ring-shaped fittings encircle the handle at the center and at either end. It is unknown if the handle is formed from single sheet of bronze or multiple fused sections. In the case of the latter scenario, it is

base with minute repeated ring-shaped decorations, and the glass itself is adorned with numerous gold-inlay circle and arrow-shaped designs. 191 Large rivets extend from the bottoms of the three handle supports, emerging from the underside of the central plate of the umi. These rivets would have originally passed through the wood body of the cantle, securing the handle to the saddle. 192

The surface of the central *umi* plate depicts a cast relief image of an ogre (kishin). The hulking form faces the viewer, filling the majority of the gilt-bronze plate, while a flame-like aura extends from his body and occupies the remaining space. His arms extend in front of him, wielding an axe on the right side and a ring-pommeled straight sword on the left. The ogre's legs bend at the knees, his unshod feet splaying to either side as if crouching or caught mid leap. Wavy ruffles at the knees and shoulders indicate the figure to be dressed, and engraved lines help to define the voluminous pantaloons and shirt of the outfit. The creature's head shares a similar design to the mask motifs found on the left and right sides of the cantle's umi, depicting the ogre with a tusked mouth, bulbous nose, enlarged eyes, and tufts of hair emerging from his cheeks. His head looks upwards with his mouth wide open, giving the figure the appearance of biting onto the central support of the handle, positioned just between his jaws. The two other legs of the handle connect along the left and right of the ogre's shoulders. 193 A number of small holes have been cut along the surface the *umi* plate and seem to have been intentionally created as a means of modifying the cast image to more closely mimic the aesthetics of the openwork motifs that surround the ogre. 194

The final element of the set A saddlebow and cantle is the *fukurin*, an arcing u-shaped ornamental flange. A 2 cm gap along its concave interior is intended to fit over the top of the *umi*, as well as the wood body of the saddle. 195 The rounded top is adorned with low relief images; two tendril-like arcing lines crisscross the length of the work, dividing the space

thought that the ring fittings may have served as decorations intended to hide the seams between handle

¹⁹¹ This inlay seems to have been created by placing gold thread within small grooves engraved into the glass caps, which was then sealed in place by a clear varnish.

¹⁹² Kano, "Kura kanagu," 97. Several scholars have hypothesized that a similar handle was once attached to the missing central plate of the saddlebow umi. Ito has argued against this notion, however. The only other known example of a gilded saddle with an attached handle was recovered from the Silla kingdom Hwangnam-daechong tomb (see chapter four). The Korean work only had a single handle, and Itō argues that the Fujinoki saddle likely shared the same design. Itō Akio, "Shiragi kofun shutsudo no sōshingu to bagu," Chōsen gakuhō 122 (1987): 213. It is unclear whether the handle was intended to be functional, perhaps serving as a grip to help riders mount their horse or as an additional attachment point for various straps, or if it was purely an ornamental flourish designed to mimic a practical form. ¹⁹³ Kano, "Kura kanagu," 97.

¹⁹⁴ Itō suggests that these holes are evidence of the saddle having been remodeled at some point after its initial construction, possibly to mimic the design sensibilities of the Silla kingdom. Itō, 213-214. I discuss the possible origins of the Fujinoki saddle in chapter four.

¹⁹⁵ Based on the width of the gap along the underside of the *fukurin* and the thickness of the surviving umi, we can assume that the wood body of the saddlebow and cantle was likely around 1.5 cm thick. Remains of metal sheeting that would have been attached to the underside of the saddle body also suggest a similar thickness. Wood fragments attached to a saddlebow buckle further indicate that the saddle's body had been painted with black lacquer. Kano, "Kura kanagu," 87. While the lacquer may have added an additional aesthetic touch to the saddle, it was also practical, serving as a waterproof protective layer. Later saddles within Japan similarly used lacquer as a means of protection, as well as decorative embellishment.

between them into a series of ovals and creating knotted rings where they intersect. Each oval is inscribed with a relief motif of a firebird, dragon, or palmette. Along the edges of the *fukurin*, between each oval, are additional fronds, which alternate between facing upwards and down.

Headstall

Fragmentary remains were recovered from the snaffle bit of the set A saddle's bridle (fig. 76). 196 The original design consisted of an iron bar mouthpiece (hami) with molded rings at either end. The mouthpiece would pass through cheekplates (kagamiita) and have metal rein connector rods (hitte) attached to the rings on both sides. Only the left side of the bit is still intact, however, with the mouthpiece reduced to its end ring and about 1 cm of the central bar. 197 The surviving cheekplate (10 x 12.1 cm) is made from an iron base with attached gilt-bronze openwork decoration. The work has a vaguely heart-shaped design, consisting of a vertically oriented oval that comes to a sharp point on its left side. Along the center of the right edge is a short projection with a rectangular hole, attached to which is a small leather strap affixed to a pointed gilt-bronze fitting with a heart-shaped opening. Likely the strap had been used as a fastener to join the cheekplate with the horse's leather headstall (tachigiki). Small rivets run along the exterior rim of the cheekplate, serving both as decoration and as a structural element affixing the gilt-bronze to its iron backing. The central openwork of the piece is separated into four quadrants by crossed bars, each register containing a single palmette executed in low relief. The middle of the work has a circular hole, allowing the mouthpiece bar to pass through. A rein connector is still attached to the mouthpiece ring and consists of parallel gilt-bronze rods that widen into loops at either end. 198

Two cross-shaped strap dividers recovered from the headstall likely served to connect the leather cheek straps that ran on the sides of a horse's head to a brow band (fig. 77). The fittings are formed from gilt-bronze, and they have a simple design consisting of a central low dome with four short projecting petal-shaped arms. These arms would have been attached to the straps via three small rivets. 199

Archaeologists also recovered a ring-shaped decoration that is thought to belong to the headstall (fig. 78). This work measures 9.3 cm in diameter and is formed from iron with a layer of gilt-bronze affixed on top. A circular hole sits at the center of the work, its circumference slightly raised from the body of the fitting. The gilt-bronze surface is decorated with openwork floral motifs, featuring of an inner ring of palmettes and curling tendrils, and an outer register depicting an arabesque of heart-shaped leaves sprouting from twin engraved vines. Bordering the openwork are solid bands displaying hairline hatch marks and repeated etched rings. It is thought that this ring-shaped ornament would have been attached to the center of the leather brow band of the headstall, serving as a frontlet (*bamen*). The hole in the center of the work likely functioned to gather a tuft of the horse's mane into a decorative plume that would sprout outwards from the piece.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ A snaffle bit defines a mouthpiece made from two bars linked at the center, as opposed to a single rod. ¹⁹⁷ Likely the mouth piece would have consisted of two separate iron bars, connected by rings at the center, although this is impossible to determine with certainty due to the condition of the work.

¹⁹⁸ Kano Yoshinori, "Shinyō gata kagamiita tsuki kutsuwa," in *IFK 1*, 83.

¹⁹⁹ Kano Yoshinori, "Tsuji kanagu," in *IFK 1*, 85.

²⁰⁰ Takeda Masataka, "Enkei kazari kanagu," in *IFK 1*, 83-85; Chiga Hisashi, "Kondōsei bagu (A setto)," in *Kin no kagayaki*, 30.

Mudguards

Large leather mudguards, *aori*, would have originally been attached to the left and right sides of the saddle, hanging along the flanks of the horse. The remains of the Fujinoki *aori* consist of the metal borders that served to embellish and protect the edges of each mudguard. The two surviving frames, identified as *aori* "A" and "B," are made from gilt-bronze and are decorated by openwork palmettes on the upper half, and an embossed arabesque along the lower. Both frames were discovered in fragmentary condition, although archaeologists were able to almost completely reconstruct work A (fig. 79). The original mudguards likely measured about 50 x 80 cm, and, based on the orientation of leaves depicted within the works' lower arabesque, researchers assume that *aori* A hung on the left side of the horse and B on the right. Organic fibers were found adhered to both frames. An analysis of these remains suggests that the bodies of the mudguards originally were created from leather and topped by a tan-colored silk brocade, with a layer of lacquer between the two materials serving as an adhesive. Two circular gilt-bronze fittings with attached u-shaped buckles accompanied each *aori*. These would have been riveted near the top of works, allowing the mudguards to be suspended by straps or chains along the horse's sides.

The upper half of the *aori* A metalwork has straight sides and a top edge that dips into a shallow arc. Openwork ornamentation depicts an alternating palmette motif bordered by a curved vine and was positioned to allow the leather and fabric body of the mudguard to be visible underneath. Along the interior edge of the metalwork is a narrow band decorated with a series of small ring-shaped bumps, flanked by hairline hatching. The outer edge of the *aori* was covered in an undecorated protective cap that would wrap around the sides of the openwork frame and leather body of the piece, and was secured using gilt-bronze rivets. The lower half of mudguard frame A again depicts an interior border of repeated rings. Instead of openwork decoration, however, the central register is a solid sheet of gilt-bronze that is adorned with an embossed motif of an undulating vine with sprouting four-leaf palmettes. This lower half lacks an exterior edge cap, replacing it instead with a re-enforced band of bronze attached by a row of rivets. *Aori* B is heavily damaged but appears to share the same overall design as its pair.²⁰²

Stirrups

A pair of cup-stirrups (*tsubo abumi*) accompanied the set A horse tack (figs. 80-81). These works originally consisted of a wooden body that formed a ring along the bottom half, connected to a long rectangular projection. A hole at the top of the work would allow the stirrups to hang from the saddle by attached straps or chains. A piece of leather would have been attached to the front of the ring-shaped section to form the toe-cup of the stirrup. Sheets of gilt-bronze coated iron were affixed with rivets to the exterior of the work for added structural

Tamaki and Hisa note that the leaves along the bottom edge of the *aori* are each depicted extending towards a single direction. They hypothesize that this corresponds to the direction of movement of the horse, allowing them to designate *aori* A and B as hanging on the left and right sides respectively. Tamaki Kazue and Hisa Yōichirō, "Aori," in *IFK 1*, 106. I find this designation to be somewhat arbitrary, however, and would argue that it is equally likely that the leaves would point in the direction opposite of movement, creating a visual impression of vegetation streaking by the rider. Also, the floral patterns found on the fragments of *aori* B are heavily corroded, making it difficult to determine exactly which direction the leaves are pointed. It appears that its design may exactly match that of *aori* A, in which case the two mudguards could be used interchangeably.

202 Ibid., 100-106.

support and decoration. The surviving portions of the two stirrups consist primarily of this exterior metalwork, although portions of the decomposed wood core were also recovered, retaining traces of lacquering.²⁰³ The metalwork covering the wood body of the stirrups lacked decorative embellishment, but on the toe-cup it had been carved to form a vertical band with three pairs of symmetrical palmettes sprouting from the sides.²⁰⁴

Crupper ornaments

Several types of decorative fittings would have adorned the crupper straps of the set A horse tack. These comprised seventeen hanging pendants $(gy\bar{o}y\bar{o})$, the forty-six pinwheel-style crupper ornaments, and four palmette-shaped fittings. The pendants (12.9-13.9 x 9.5-10.2 cm) consist of a gilt-bronze openwork attached to an iron plate (fig. 82). The top half of these works has a rounded, oval shape, while the bottom is wider and extends into five sharp points. Japanese archaeologists refer to this overall design as a "thorny leaf-shaped pendant ($kyokuy\bar{o}keigy\bar{o}y\bar{o}$)." A rectangular projection on the top of each work is equipped with a pointed gilt fitting. In the fitting's center is a heart-shaped hole, and three rivets are positioned along the rounded edges to secure the work to the end of a crupper strap.

The central openwork motif is the same across all of the pendants, with only minor differences in the execution of the detailing of the works. ²⁰⁷ Each depicts a vertically symmetrical image of two facing firebirds, divided by a central vegetative stalk with spouting leafy palmettes. Similar to the images found on the gilt-bronze saddlebow and cantle, the pendant motifs are presented in a two-dimensional side-view, and the birds and palmettes cast in low-relief with hairline engraved detailing. Each bird stands with its head held upright, its beak opened in front, and a cock's comb winding along the back. One wing is held tucked in front of the body, while the other extends vertically from the animal's back, its pinions arcing over its

²⁰³ Since the wood surfaces of the stirrup would have been almost completely covered by gilded metal, the lacquer found coating the wood remains likely served as a waterproofing layer and was not intended as ornamentation.

²⁰⁴ Immediately after excavation, archaeologists examining the stirrups found remains of leather attached to the palmette metalwork, allowing them to identify the material used for the work's original toe-cup. Since then, however, these leather fragments have completely decomposed. Kano Yoshinori, "Abumi," in *IFK 1*, 106-112.

²⁰⁵ Kofun period cruppers were functional elements of horse tack, securing the saddle by wrapping around the rump of the horse, just below the tail. Crupper remains discovered within large-scale *kofun* tended to be elaborately decorated, consisting of several intersecting straps with attached metal crupper bosses, strap dividers, and/or hanging pendants. Although leather straps rarely are found intact, archaeologists have been able to identify several patterns of how ornaments were arranged on the crupper through the depictions of horse-tack found on horse-shaped *haniwa* and *sekiba* stone sculptures. This method of identifying cruppers through the analysis of *haniwa* and *sekiba* was first adopted by Gotō Shuichi in his seminal article, "Jōko jidai no gyōyō ni tsuite," *Kōkogaku hyōron* 4 (1928).

²⁰⁶ Gyōyō (lit. apricot leaf) is a general term used to identify the hanging pendant decorations used on ancient horse tack. The term likely was first assigned due to the similarity in the shape of many excavated pendants to the pointed leaves of apricot trees. Many examples, however, including the crupper pendants of set A, are identified as gyōyō despite their lack of the apricot leaf-like design.
²⁰⁷ Archaeologists have noted that the engraved lines along the wings and tail feathers of the firebirds are thicker on some pendants than others. This suggests that the sizes of chisels used to manufacture these designs differed from pendant to pendant and are likely representative of the work of separate artisans. Kano Yoshinori, "Kyokuyōkei gyōyō," in IFK 1, 112-117.

head. At the rear of each bird, the tail feathers climb upwards along the edges of the pendant, resembling tongues of flame. Above the animals are two pairs of stacked palmettes, and at their feet an additional five-leafed frond emerges. Around the edges of each work is a border studded with gilt-bronze rivets.

The pinwheel-like ornaments functioned as strap dividers and would have been attached along the gridwork of leather belts that comprised the saddle's crupper (fig. 83). These works are made from gilt-bronze applied over an iron base. Twenty-four of the ornaments remain intact, while the other twenty-two are fragmented. They have a cast hexagonal domed base (2.06-2.67 x 6.19-7.79 cm) with a similarly shaped flange running along their perimeter. The concave underside of the domes was filled with a plug made from cork, several of which were recovered still intact. A hexagonal rod runs through the middle of the work, extending beyond the apex of the domed base. Near the top of each rod is raised ring-shaped band, above which the pole ends in a bulbous crown. Below the ring, between nine and eleven spoke-like metal hangers extend perpendicular, each ending in a curled hook, giving the ornament its pinwheel appearance. These hangers would have originally held one or more thin gilt-bronze petal-shaped pendants, which were designed to bounce and twist on their hangers, creating what must have been an impressive display of flashing gold when affixed to the crupper of a moving horse. The petals themselves were discovered within the sarcophagus, having been intentionally removed from their hangers and scattered along the coffin's interior. The petals themselves were discovered within the sarcophagus, having been intentionally removed from their hangers and scattered along the coffin's interior.

Archaeologists have developed several possible reconstructions of the original arrangement of straps and decorations on the set A crupper. Azuma proposed that there were several rows of leather straps that ran down the length and width of the horse's rump, creating a lattice-like design. This style of crossed strap placement would have been similar to the crupper depicted on a stone horse sculpture excavated at Iwatoyama Kofun in Fukuoka Prefecture (fig. 84). The pinwheel ornaments were arranged at the intersections of straps, and the firebird pendants hung along the right and left sides of the horse from the strap ends. Since an uneven seventeen pendants had been recovered, Azuma suggested that a single pendant is missing from the current artifact assemblage, and that originally nine works would have hung from each side

²⁰⁸ The typological differentiation between artifacts designated as crupper bosses, or *uzu*, and strap dividers (*tsuji kanagu*) is somewhat unclear. Both serve as decorative fasteners for multiple straps and are usually either domed or ring-shaped. *Uzu* tend to be somewhat larger works and often appear alone, centrally oriented within the arrangement of crupper straps. Strap dividers, on the other hand, were attached to cruppers in groups and could be used on cruppers either in conjunction with *uzu* or on their own. The Fujinoki pinwheel ornaments could be classified as either type of artifact, but because of the large number of works recovered from the burial chamber, they have generally been identified as strap dividers.

²⁰⁹ Izumori, "Dai 1 ji chōsa," 54; Azuma Ushio, "Hoyō tsuki shirigai kazari kanagu," in *IFK 1*, 118-138. ²¹⁰ Two sizes of petal ornaments were recovered from the sarcophagus: 463 larger works (3.6 x 2.2 cm) and 340 small decorations (2.3 cm). The hole at the top of each work matches the size of the hangers from the pinwheel strap-dividers and had previously led many archaeologists to assume that both sizes of petal ornament originated from the set A crupper. Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 445; Katsube Mitsuo, "Monyō no sekai," in *Yomigaeru kodai!*, 96; Miyahara Shinichi, "Kondōsei enkei · kaben gata seihin," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:165. Traces of thread found on many of the works and the distribution of the larger and smaller petals into separate clusters within the sarcophagus, however, provide evidence of a differing function for the two sizes of ornament. Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa," 22; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 59. I discuss these petal ornaments in greater detail later in this chapter.

of the crupper, making the design symmetrical. In order to accommodate these pendants, there must have been nine crupper straps oriented along the width of the horse. Four perpendicular belts would have been attached to the buckles on the cantle's iso and would have run the length of the horse's rump, each holding nine pinwheel ornaments. A final strap, which was not directly connected to the saddle, would have run down the center of the horse's spine, again with nine pinwheel ornaments attached at the strap intersections, as well as an extra pinwheel at the front of the crupper to bring the total to forty-six.²¹¹

Azuma's crupper design was later amended by Momosake Yūsuke. He argued that instead of assuming that a pendant is missing from the tomb, we might instead interpret the crupper as having only eight pendants on each side. The remaining seventeenth pendant, he theorized, was placed on the center lateral strap that ran down the horse's spine and was positioned just above the animal's tail.²¹² Miyashiro provides an interpretive visual model of Momosake's crupper design (fig. 85). At each strap intersection Miyashiro interprets the pinwheel decorations as being connected by palmette-shaped fittings. ²¹³ Four of these decorative connectors were recovered from the assemblage of the set A tack, each depicting a seven-lobed frond in gilt-bronze relief, designed to attach to the hexagonal rim of the pinwheel ornaments (fig. 86).²¹⁴ Since only four palmette fittings were recovered, however, Miyashiro's proposed model, which contains 186 of these works, seems fairly unlikely, even if we assume the possible loss of many of these artifacts. It is unclear, then, where the palmette fittings appeared within the crupper's original arrangement, although Chiga has suggested that they may have been used to cover the ends of straps emerging at the rear of the horse.²¹⁵

Other fittings

Eight large fittings displaying a central openwork dragon motif (ryūmon kazari kanagu) (8.0 x 15.3-15.8 cm) have also been associated with the set A trappings (fig. 87). The original function of these works is somewhat unclear, but it is currently theorized that they were attached along the surface of the saddle's breaststrap, four adorning each side of the horse. ²¹⁶ The dragon

²¹¹ 5 x 9 straps with nine pendants hanging on each side, pinwheel ornaments at each strap intersection, and an unconnected extra pinwheel at the front of the center column. Azuma, "Hoyō tsuki shirigai kazari kanagu," 138-139; Chiga Hisashi and Kano Yoshinori, "Bagu," in IFK 1, 379. Note that an unattributed diagram modeling the horse tack arrangement was published earlier in Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Ikaruga* Fujinoki Kofun, 15. This diagram shares the same general lattice design found in Azuma's model but proposes that only fourteen pendants were hung from the crupper, with an additional four suspended from the breast strap. The diagram fails to illustrate the full arrangement of all of the crupper ornaments, however, and is acknowledged within the text as serving as merely a loose visual reference intended to help readers identify the general function of the artifacts belonging to the set A tack.

²¹² Momosaki Yūsuke, "Zaruuchi 37 gō yokoana shutsudo bagu kara fukugensareru basō ni tsuite," in Fukushima Ken Bunkazai Sentā Shirakawakan kenkyū kiyō 2001, ed. Fukushima Ken Bunkazai Sentā Shirakawakan (Fukushima: Fukushima Ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 2002), 67.

²¹³ Miyashiro Eiichi, "Kofun jidai ni okeru shrigai kōzō no fukugen: basō ga shimesu mono," *Hominids* 3

^{(2003): 44.} Two of these works were still attached to pinwheel strap dividers when archaeologists excavated the tomb. Azuma, "Hoyō tsuki shirigai kazari kanagu," 119.

²¹⁵ Chiga Hisashi, "Fujinoki kofun no kondōsei bagu," in Kin no kagayaki, 94.

²¹⁶ Early reconstructions of the set A tack proposed that thorny leaf-shaped pendants also were hung from the breaststrap, creating a unified decorative theme between both the breast and crupper straps. The dragon ornaments, as well as the ring-shaped headstall frontlet, were previously of indeterminate function

ornaments are flat, oval-shaped works that are narrower on the left side, bulge in the middle, and end in a slight point on the right. They share a similar construction to the other openwork decorations found within the set A horse tack, consisting of a ground sheet of iron with an attached gilt-bronze layer on top. The edge of the work is bordered by hairline hatchings and a pattern of repeating engraved rings, which conceal thirteen iron rivets. The central openwork depicts a two-dimensional dragon moving from left to right, surrounded by palmettes and vines. The snake-like body of the dragon emerges from the left side of the work, slightly undulating across the image before wrapping around itself in a large loop on the right. The beast is shown with its mouth open and tongue extended, while tufts of hair emerge from the brow and jawline. A single embedded blue glass bead forms the eye, and minute engraved scales and fur run along the body. Four curved legs emerge along the length of the dragon, each ending in sharp talons. ²¹⁷

Other decorative trappings include ten openwork gilt-bronze fittings that serve as plaque-like ornaments for covering leather straps (fig. 88). Eight of these rectangular works (16.8-16.9 x 2.5-2.7 cm) feature a hinge separating them into larger and smaller halves. The other two fittings are much shorter and have an oval shaped buckle at one end. The works are double-sided, the two faces connected by small rivets and decorated by an openwork flowing cloud motif (*hiunmon*). Although their exact function is unclear, it is possible that these works adorned a belly band for the horse, or alternatively were attached to decorative straps that would hang from the front of the crupper and dangle over the rear edge of the mudguards (fig. 89). 219

A number of miscellaneous gilded buckles and other fittings form the final group of the set A artifacts. The most elaborate of these works are a collection of four gilt-bronze oval buckles with attached heart-shaped fittings (8.0 x 6.8 cm) (fig. 90). The edges of the fittings are studded with gilded rivets, while in the center a vertical band of vegetative openwork bisects the pieces. The rivets on one of the fittings held traces of lacquered cloth and leather from the original straps of the tack, although it is unclear where these works would have originally been

and were omitted from early models of the saddle. See for example, Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun*, 9, 11; Izumori, "Dai 1 ji chōsa," 53-54.

²¹⁷ Takeda Masataka, "Ryūmon kazari kanagu," in *IFK 1*, 139-143; Chiga and Kano, 381. One problem I see with identifying the dragon-motif fittings as ornaments for the saddle's breaststrap is that the design of these works is identical throughout. When attached horizontally to the right side of the horse, the dragon motif would face forward, and on the left side they would face toward the rear. Every other ornament within the set A horse tack (with the exception of small variations in the motifs of the *umi* of the saddlebow and cantle) have been symmetrical along the central axis of the horse, and it seems out of place that this unified design should be disrupted by the breaststrap. It is also possible that these pendants were intended to hang vertically. Rivet holes along the perimeter of the rear faces of these works indicate that the ornament did not hang freely, however, and would have had all edges affixed. If indeed these fittings were oriented vertically, it would have necessitated an overly wide breaststrap. Despite these objections, I am unsure where else aside from the horse's breast that these dragon fittings could have been attached.

²¹⁸ Kano Yoshinori, "Obi saki kanagu," in *IFK 1*, 144. Two of the larger variants were found in fragmentary condition.

²¹⁹ Momosaki, 67-68. A recent diagram depicting these works hanging from the crupper was created for a 2010 exhibition of horse equipment at Kyūshū National Museum. Kyūshū Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Uma: Ajia o kaketa nisennen: Kyūshū Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan kaikan 5 shūnen kinen tokubetsuten* (Kyūshū: Kyūshū Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2010), 75.

located within the complete set.²²⁰ A total of ten other gilded buckles of indeterminate function also were recovered from set A (fig. 91). Many of the buckles are connected via a hinge to double-sided ornamental strap fittings in a variety of shapes and sizes. These buckle fittings consist of a bulbous petal-shaped work, three half-oval pointed ornaments with central heartshaped holes, and three oblong decorations.²²¹ Finally, twenty-one other gilt-bronze fittings, originally attached at various locations along the saddle's straps, were recovered (fig. 92). Nine of these are pointed half-oval works with a central heart-shaped hole. The other fittings include four small oval works, similar in shape to the set A dragon pendants, two hemispherical decorations, a single petal-shaped ornament with a large central heart-like opening, and four square fittings with wide rectangular clasps at one end. The square works, in particular, are thought to have functioned as fasteners, holding together bunches of three or four leather straps. 222

Set B and C horse trappings (Appendix C4)

The B and C sets of horse tack are neither as extensive nor as lavishly ornamented as the set A assemblage. Regardless, both sets are copiously embellished with gilt-bronze and comprise a range of decorative saddle, crupper, and bridle trappings. Also unlike set A, whose saddle has been remarked as being unique among the examples of horse equipment recovered from East Asia, the types of artifacts and styles of ornamentation found within the B and C assemblages are more directly comparable to other examples of mid sixth-century Japanese gilded tack.²²³

Saddlebow and cantle

The primary surviving portions of the set B saddlebow and cantle comprise its iron iso and fukurin, both of which are adorned with a veneer of gilt-bronze (fig. 93). The iso

²²⁰ Kano Yoshinori, "Shinyō gata kazari kanagu," in *IFK 1*, 143-144.

²²¹ Kano Yoshinori, "Kako," in *IFK 1*, 149. Although a total of ten buckles were found, only seven fittings were recovered. The two largest buckles seemed to have completely lacked fittings, while two others may have once been affixed to bulbous petal-shaped ornaments. One of the recovered pointed half-oval ornaments also is missing its accompanying buckle.

²²² Kano Yoshinori, "Kawaobi kazari kanagu • kawaobi," in *IFK 1*, 144-149.

²²³ Chiga and Kano identify several tombs where similarly designed crupper pendants, cheekplates, and saddles were excavated. Notable among these are the assemblages from Misato and Bakuya Kofun, both located in Nara Prefecture in close proximity to Ikarugachō. I discuss Fujinoki in relation to these tombs, as well as to Udozuka Kofun, in greater detail in the following chapter. Chiga and Kano, 382-386. The B and C sets of Fujinoki tack were discovered amid the collection of grave-goods stored behind the sarcophagus. Differentiation between the two assemblages is based upon characteristics shared among artifacts within each set. In set B, the bit plates and crupper pendants share the same bell-like shape, and the crupper ornaments and surviving portions of the saddle have a distinctly gold-colored tint. Set C has oblong-shaped fittings with rounded edges attached to both the headstall and crupper bosses. The gilding of the set C saddle and crupper ornaments also have a more silver-tinted luster. Ibid, 382. Overall, however, I find the stylistic criteria that has been used to identify the two sets of tack to be fairly subjective in nature. In some cases, the attribution of artifacts seems to have been arbitrary, in particular the identification of the saddle *fukurin* and cup stirrups as belonging to set B. This may reflect a bias within the analysis of these works, which has tended to characterize set B as a larger and more decorative ensemble than set C.

(saddlebow: 14.3 x 29.2 cm; cantle: 16.4 x 42.7 cm) is divided into three metal sheets, consisting of slightly convex teardrop-shaped sections on the left and right that are linked by a flat *suhama* arch. A band of gilded rivets along the top of the *iso* binds the three sections together, while an additional row of rivets serves as decorative embellishment along the lower edges. On the cantle, two buckles, only one of which remains extant, were attached. The surviving buckle emerges from a shallow domed base. It is connected by a hinge to a T-shaped iron band, which would have run through the cantle and been embedded into the rear of the saddle's *igi* seat boards. Unlike set A, the wooden body of the set B saddle would not have extended behind the *iso*. Instead, the metalwork was simply riveted to the lower edge of the *umi*, lacking a supportive backing.

Traces of cloth were found along the rear face of the set B *iso* remains. It is thought that these fibers were once part of a brocade covering for the seat boards. Although the *igi* themselves are no longer extant, two gilded iron fittings (5.4-5.7 x 7.2 cm) from the boards were discovered (fig. 94). These flat works have a curved, beak-like shape and would have been affixed to the seat by a single rivet through their center. Around the perimeter are the faint remains of an etched motif depicting a continuous undulating line surrounded by tiny dots. Similar to the *iso*, the reverse of these ornaments retained traces of fabric from the seat's original brocade covering. ²²⁴

Although the majority of the set B saddle's *umi* has been lost, fragments, primarily from the saddlebow, provide an approximation of its original design. The surface was covered in a thin sheet of gilt-bronze, which was affixed directly to the wood body of the saddle by gilded bands studded with silver rivets that ran along the edges and laterally across the center of the work. Between the top edge and central rivet band, the *umi* depicted an arabesque of curling wave-like forms, likely created by gently hammering the surface gilding over a relief carved into the wood underneath. No sections of the *umi*'s lower register remain intact, although presumably this portion would also have been adorned with relief embellishment. An undecorated u-shaped *fukurin* wrapped around the top edge of the *umi*, providing a protective cap for the saddlebow and cantle. 226

Only the *iso* sections (saddlebow: 16.0 x 13.7 cm; cantle: 19.3 x 41.2 cm) of the set C saddlebow and cantle are intact (figs. 95-96). These remains are almost identical to set B, again consisting of three gilt-bronze coated iron sections connected by a band of rivets. Unlike set B, the side plates of the *iso* are flat, missing the other saddle's convex shape, and the domed bases for the two extant cantle buckles are slightly larger.²²⁷ The lack of any surviving fragments of the set C *umi* and *fukurin* suggests that these sections may have been created entirely from wood and have since decomposed.

²²⁴ Kano Yoshinori, "Igi kazari kanagu," in *IFK 1*, 160; Kano Yoshinori, "Kura no kōzō," in *IFK 1*, 389-390.

²²⁵ Although no sections of relief gilt-bronze survive on the cantle, it seems likely that it also was once decorated with arabesques similar to the saddlebow.

²²⁶ Based on the size of the two surviving *fukurin*, we can determine that the saddlebow measured 34.5 x 46.0 cm and the cantle 34.7 x 53.3 cm. The gap on the *fukurin*'s underside also suggests that the no longer extant wood body of the *umi* was about 1.9-2.1 cm thick. Kano Yoshinori, "Kura kanagu," in *IFK* I, 151-160.

²²⁷ Ibid., 160.

Headstall

Surviving from the set B headstall are the pair of decorative cheekplates (19.5-19.8 x 18.7-18.8 cm) that would have framed either side of the snaffle-bit (fig. 97). Both works are heavily fragmented, damage archaeologists theorize to be the result of a stone falling from the chamber ceiling onto the set B assemblage. 228 The cheekplates have a bell-like shape, featuring a rounded top, sides that curve gently outwards, and a straight lower edge formed into seven curved points. Their construction consists of an iron sheet, affixed along the perimeter by a row of silver-coated rivets to an upper openwork. The openwork also is made from iron but has been embellished by a thin coating of gilt-bronze.²²⁹ At the center of the cheekplates, a short domed cap attached by rivets covers the hole where the headstall's mouthpiece would originally have been connected. Surviving sections of the openwork indicate that its decorative motif consists of numerous vines studded with honeysuckle-like flowers that radiate outwards from the central cap. At the top of the cheekplates is a small rectangular projection, which, on one of the works, retains an attached square strap fitting. Small pieces of the segmented mouthpiece also were recovered, as well as one side of the iron rein connectors. This rein connector, consisting of a rod with rings at each end, would have attached to the mouthpiece bar along the inner face of the cheekplates.²³⁰

The set C snaffle-bit, on the other hand, has a comparatively simple design and remains largely intact (fig. 98). The segmented iron mouthpiece has rings at either end, which attach to hexagonal rod rein connectors, as well as to twin ring-shaped cheekplates. The intact right cheekplate has a rectangular projection at one end that is attached to an oblong gilt-bronze and iron fitting. This fitting would have connected to the headstall's leather cheek straps via eight silver-coated rivets.²³¹

Stirrups

One pair of triangular cup stirrups (*sankakusui gata tsubo abumi*) (33.1-33.9 x 20.3-20.6 cm) was recovered and has been attributed to the set B tack assemblage (fig. 99). The original

²²⁸ Fujii, "Ibutsu no shutsudo jōtai," 32.

²²⁹ The gilded tack from the set A assemblage was constructed entirely of gilt-bronze in some instances, and in others consisted of gilt-bronze plates that were riveted to iron backings. X-ray analysis of the chemical compositions of sets B and C, on the other hand, indicate that a thin layer of gilt-bronze coated the iron bodies of these works. Archaeologists theorize that this was accomplished in some cases by dipping the iron artifacts into molten copper. Gold was then added on top of this copper layer to create a copper-gold amalgam. Another method that may have been utilized was simply stretching a thin sheet of gilt-bronze over sections of tack, and then hammering and riveting the gilding to affix it to the iron artifact below. Kiyonaga Kingo, "Tetsu," in *IFK 1*, 219-224, 258. The methods of gilding used for sets B and C has led these assemblages to be identified as "iron horse tack with affixed gilt-bronze (*tetsuji kondō bari bagu*)" (translation my own), in order to differentiate their construction from set A (simply identified as "gilt-bronze horse tack (*kondōsei bagu*)").

²³⁰ Kano Yoshinori, "Kane gata kagamiita tsuki kutsuwa," in *IFK 1*, 151.

²³¹ Kano Yoshinori, "Tessei kanjō kagamiita tsuki kutsuwa," in *IFK 1*, 151; Chiga Hisashi, "Tessei kondō bari bagu (C setto)," in *Kin no kagayaki*, 41.

²³² It is unclear why archaeologists have specifically identified these stirrups as belonging to set B. The riveted iron bands that remain from these works bear little resemblance to any of the other artifacts in either the set B or C tack assemblages. I suspect that these stirrups have been associated with set B due to archaeologists construing this grouping as the more complete and visually elaborate assemblage

carved wood body of these works has deteriorated leaving only the iron frame. The remains consist of a circular metal band that wraps around the base of the work, which is attached to three vertical strips that angle inwards along the sides and front. Originally, the front portion of the stirrup would have been formed from carved wood, with an arced opening above the base of the work designed to accommodate the toe of the rider. Two short iron chains (25.5 cm) from the set B assemblage would have attached to loops at the top of the stirrups, with buckles at the opposite end allowing them to hang from leather belts emerging from the sides of the saddle. An excessive quantity of rivets stud the remains, numbering over 750 on each stirrup. Traces of lacquer indicate that both the frame and wood body of the stirrups had likely once been painted black.²³³

Crupper

Ten bell-shaped crupper pendants were recovered (fig. 100). These works consist of a carved iron openwork sheet adorned with a thin layer of hammered gilt-bronze, that is affixed to a plain iron backing by a band of silver-coated rivets. The central openwork depicts a lattice of vines with honeysuckle-shaped flowers blooming at each juncture. These works can be divided into two groups based upon their sizes (17.5-17.9 x 13.1-13.4 cm and 22.1-23.1 x 17.1-17.3 cm). Although both types of pendant share the same overall shape, there are subtle differences in their openwork ornamentation, with the larger works displaying a greater number and variety of flower designs. A square fitting is attached to a top rectangular projection on each pendant, which would have been used to secure the ornaments to the leather straps and ornamental bosses of the crupper. Based on the similarity of the pendants' bell-shape and honeysuckle motif to the set B headstall's cheekplate designs, archaeologists believe that these crupper ornaments also belonged to the set B tack assemblage.²³⁴

One of the smaller bell-shaped pendants was recovered from the burial chamber still attached to an *uzu* crupper boss. The *uzu* consists of a gilt-bronze and iron dome (3.4 x 12.0 cm), with six short rectangular arms projecting from around the perimeter. These arms would have been affixed to pendants using silver rivets, with the leather straps of the crupper originally hidden underneath.²³⁵ The boss's dome is embellished with engraved ornamentation. Although the motifs are partially obscured in areas where the gilding of the work has deteriorated, they appear to depict a circle with an inscribed waved line at the dome's apex, followed by a ring of flower petals, and an undulating line accompanied by small dots around the base.

One other *uzu* was discovered, similarly made from iron plated with gilt-bronze (fig. 101). The dome of this work is taller and narrower than the above crupper boss (3.7 x 7.0 cm) and lacks engraved ornamentation. The arms of this *uzu* also are constructed differently, consisting of eight rounded projections emerging at even intervals. Because of these divergent

compared to set C. This attribution may in itself be a fallacy resulting from the subjective characteristics that were used to assign artifacts within the two assemblages in the first place (see previous footnote). ²³³ Kano Yoshinori, "Moku shin teppansō sankakusui gata tsubo abumi," in *IFK 1*, 160-168.

There are minor differences between the forms of the cheekplates and pendants: the lower edge of the cheekplates feature seven curved points compared to the five of the crupper ornaments, and the openwork motif on the headstall radiates outwards from a central dome, whereas the pendants are a uniform lattice of vines. Kano Yoshinori, "Kane gata gyōyō," in *IFK 1*, 169-174; Chiga and Kano, 382; Chiga Hisashi, "Tessei kondō bari bagu (B setto)," in *Kin no kagayaki*, 38.

²³⁵ Remnants of leather were found adhered to the uzu arms, including the underside of the still attached crupper pendant.

characteristics, as well as an overall silver tint to the gilding compared to the other *uzu*'s gold coloring, it is thought that this work belonged to the set C crupper assemblage.

Fifteen strap-dividers comprise the final group of crupper ornaments. These works have a central dome and four projecting arms but are smaller than the *uzu* (1.35-3.0 x 4.4-7.2 cm). These works can be divided between the set B and C cruppers based on the same criteria used for the bosses: the thirteen set B strap-dividers have gold-colored domes adorned with engraved petals and undulating lines, and have rectangular arms (fig. 102), while the two set C works have taller, silver tinted domes with rounded arms.²³⁶

Unlike set A, there have been few studies that attempt to model the original design of the set B and C cruppers. Miyashiro has proposed that set B may have mimicked the crupper arrangement of tack excavated from Chiba Prefecture's Ekoda-Kikanzuka Kofun, Nara's Tamakiyama tomb no. 1, and Fukuoka's Takasaki tomb no. 2 (fig. 103). Cruppers from these sites feature a six-armed *uzu* that sat at the center of the horse's rump. A single strap connected the boss to the saddle, while three of the other arms held pendants that would hang along the sides and rear of the horse. Two additional belts connected the *uzu* to strap dividers, each of which supported a single pendant. These dividers also were affixed to lateral belts that led to buckles on the saddle cantle and to a solitary strap that looped under the horse's tail.

One difficulty in adopting Miyashiro's model for the set B crupper, however, is that it fails to account for all of the assemblage's artifacts, since his design only includes five of the ten total set B pendants and just two of the thirteen strap-dividers. Miyashiro justifies his interpretation by suggesting that only five pendants were originally attached to the Fujinoki crupper, with the remaining ornaments instead belonging to a no longer extant breaststrap. Similarly, he proposes that five of the strap dividers would have been used for the horse's headstall, which, although possible, still fails to account for the six remaining dividers. The design of the set C crupper is even more nebulous. This assemblage is rarely discussed in scholarship on Fujinoki, but likely it again consisted of a centrally oriented *uzu* whose eight arms would have held numerous looping straps, and which may have been connected to the buckles on the cantle by a pair of strap dividers. ²³⁸

Other fittings

Forty-seven gilt-bronze coated iron fittings have been attributed to the set B tack (fig. 104). These works range from square to rectangular-shaped (3.6-10.0 - 2.7-4.1 cm), each displaying a grouping of four raised bumps, along with an exterior band of engraved waved lines and dots. The fittings likely were decorative embellishments that would have been affixed along

²³⁶ Kano Yoshinori, "Tessei kondō bari tsuji kanagu • uzu," in *IFK 1*, 174-178; Chiga and Kano, 382.

²³⁷ Miyashiro, "Kofun jidai ni okeru shrigai kōzō no fukugen," 49, 60. Despite his proposal that many of the pendants and strap dividers may instead have belonged to the breaststrap and headstall of set B, he provides no further detailing regarding how these works may have been organized.

²³⁸ I have yet to encounter any studies that specifically discuss the set C crupper design. A possible model that includes both an eight-armed *uzu* and strap-dividers is Miyashiro's reconstructed diagram of the Saitama-Inariyama Kofun crupper. Miyashiro, "Kofun jidai ni okeru shrigai kōzō no fukugen," 51. The Inariyama assemblage has crupper pendants and includes an extra strap-divider compared to Fujinoki's set C, however.

²³⁹ Although not directly mentioned within the excavation reports, these fittings likely were attributed to set B due to the gold hue of the gilt-bronze that coats these works.

the surfaces of the set B saddle straps. 240 In addition, fragments from a total of eleven iron buckles were found (fig. 105). These works, by contrast, are undecorated, serving as purely functional fixtures for the straps of both sets B and C. 241

Armor

A total of 2,721 rectangular iron platelets (kozane) were discovered alongside the assemblages of horse tack, excavated from behind the sarcophagus, adjacent to the eastern side of burial chamber's rear wall (fig. 106). These artifacts would have been tied together by leather thongs and woven cords coiled through holes along the platelets, and affixed over strips of leather or cloth under linings, to form a set of lamellar armor $(keik\bar{o})$. Although the majority of the bindings have deteriorated, leaving only traces of attached organic materials, many lamellae retain the original shape of sections of the complete armor set, having become fused together from centuries of corrosion. Based on the various sizes of the platelets discovered (ranging from 4.0-23.0 x 2.0-3.0 cm), the differing arrangements of thong holes, and the preserved segments of fused lamellae, archaeologists have been able to identify the various elements of armor that were included within Fujinoki.²⁴³ The body section comprised a *dōmaru* style lamellar suit, formed from 1,525 platelets. This sleeveless tunic-like armor would have hung from the wearer's shoulders by cloth bindings, covering the torso and extending into an armored skirt over the upper thighs. Additional lamellar constructed elements provided further protection, and included a pair of gauntlets (272 lamellae), ²⁴⁴ knee guards (*hiza yoroi*) (393 lamellae), a narrow band of neck armor (shikoro voroi) (37 lamellae), and 494 other platelets of indeterminate function.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ Ōmi Toshihide, "Kawaobi kazari kanagu," in *IFK 1*, 178-183; Momosaki, 54-55.

²⁴¹ Kano Yoshinori, "Tessei kako," in *IFK 1*, 183-184.

²⁴² Iron armor first appeared in Japan during the Kofun period and is divided into two general types: cuirasses, or tankō, and lamellar armor, keikō. Cuirasses emerged in the early fourth century and consist of connected metal chest and back plates that create a rigid body armor. The earliest designs used vertical iron strips bound by leather cords, which were eventually replaced during the later fourth and fifth centuries by $tank\bar{o}$ formed from either rectangular or triangular plates that were riveted together and bound by an exterior frame of horizontal iron bands. Later cuirasses also were complemented by slated shoulder guards and armored tuilles, gauntlets, gorgets, and a variety of helmets to provide protection for other areas of the body. Lamellar armor began to appear near the middle of the fifth century and consisted of hundreds of small platelets that were tied together to form a protective tunic-like garment. This armor proved to be more flexible, providing greater mobility for the wearer both when on foot or riding a horse, and would eventually replace cuirasses during the sixth century. Lamellar armor also often included separate leg and shoulder armor, gauntlets, and helmets. Yoshimura Kazuaki, "Tankō keifu shiron," Kōkogaku ronkō 13 (1987): 23-29; Yoshimura Kazuaki, "Appendix II: Iron Armor and Weapons in Protohistoric Japan," Journal of East Asian Archaeology 2, no. 3 (2000): 106-109; Gina Barnes, "Archaeological Armor in Korea and Japan," Journal of East Asian Archaeology 2, no. 3 (2000): 63-64, 68-77; Tanaka Shinsaku, "Buki • bugu," in Yamato no Kofun II, 112-114.

²⁴³ Based on the criteria of size and hole placement, archaeologists have divided the platelets into thirteen groups, each of which is associated with different sections of the complete set of armor.

²⁴⁴ The gauntlets are specifically classified to as *shinogote*. This general style of arm protection, which

²⁴⁴ The gauntlets are specifically classified to as *shinogote*. This general style of arm protection, which continued to be used after the Kofun period, featured long, narrow armored plates that were bound together and wrapped around the wearer's forearms.

²⁴⁵ Shimizu Kazuaki, "Keikō to fuzokugu," in *IFK 1*, 43-48, 62, 70, 72, 78, 80; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 42-43.

Arrowheads and archery equipment (Appendix C5)

Most of the weaponry found within the burial chamber consists of archery equipment. Prominent among these works are a collection of 809 iron arrowheads (fig. 107). These were primarily arranged in five bunches in the niche to the east of the coffin, with further scattered fragments excavated from the sarcophagus' south and west sides, as well as mixed among the horse equipment and armor remains along the rear wall of the chamber. The intact works consist of a blade with a projecting iron tang, which would have been affixed to the wood shaft of the arrow. Overall the works have been categorized into five distinct typological groups: type 1 (621 arrowheads) features short blades and long tangs; type 2 (121) have shorter tangs and slightly longer blades; type 3 (43) are similar to types 1 and 2, but have bladed heads with an ovoid cross-section that are the smallest of the assemblage; type 4 (6) are broad-bladed arrows with downward facing barbs on either side; and type 5 (18) have broad heads without barbs and have very short tangs. ²⁴⁷

Archaeologists believe that a rectangular quiver may have once accompanied the interred collection of arrows. Fragments from a pair of iron bands are the only surviving remains of this arrowcase, however (fig. 108). These iron strips would have wrapped around the exterior of the container, fastened by the rows of rivets that run along their top and bottom edges. Instead of completely encircling the quiver, the iron bands would have left a small gap on the front face, with each tip culminating in a decorative pointed arrow-like shape. Wood grain markings on the interior faces of the remains indicate that the body of the arrowcase had been made from wood. ²⁴⁹

A single bow completed Fujinoki's collection of archery equipment. The wood body of this work is no longer extant, but ten decorative iron fittings remain (2.8-3.4 cm), two of which were found lying in front of the coffin and the other eight within the niche on the eastern side (fig. 109). These works consist of a central bar that would have been embedded in the body of the bow, with two bulbous heads emerging on either side. Wood remains affixed to these works indicate that the weapon would have originally been lacquered.²⁵⁰

Sword

Fragments of a functional iron sword also were found alongside the arrowhead and bow remains next to the eastern side of the coffin (fig. 110). Five sections from the blade and tang of the work were recovered, indicating it to have been a straight single-edged sword, which

²⁴⁷ Occasionally short sections from the wood shafts of the arrows were found still affixed to the iron tangs of the arrowheads. Matsuda Shinichi and Sugiyama Hidehiro, "Tetsuzoku," in *IFK 1*, 36-38; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 44.

²⁴⁶ Fujii, "Ibutsu no shutsudo jōtai," 27-34.

²⁴⁸ The Fujinoki archaeological reports do not indicate where in the burial chamber the arrow case remains were discovered. I have been unable to identify the works within excavation photographs or in the diagrams detailing the assemblages along front and sides of the coffin. I assume, therefore, that they were located amidst the confusion of burial goods stashed along the rear wall of the chamber.

²⁴⁹ Although the exact height of the case is unknown, reconstructions of the twin bands suggest that the quiver originally would have been about 18-20 cm wide and 8.5 cm deep. Matsuda Shinichi, "Seishigu," in *IFK 1*, 38-39.

²⁵⁰ Matsuda Shinichi, "Yumi kazari kanagu," in *IFK 1*, 39-41.

archaeologist estimate measured about 67.5 cm. Traces of wood and thin fabric on the blade are thought to have belonged to a cloth-lined scabbard that once covered the weapon.²⁵¹

Miniature tools (Appendix C6)

Archaeologists discovered a large collection of imitation agricultural and construction tools stowed in the niche behind the Fujinoki coffin (fig. 111). This assemblage comprises twenty spearhead-shaped planning tools (*yariganna*), nineteen axes (*ono*), twenty-one small knives (*tōsu*), twenty-seven chisels (*nomi*), seven sickles (*kama*), and two spades (*suki*). Although these artifacts have iron blades and retain fragments of wood handles, mimicking the overall designs of their functional counterparts, each has been constructed in miniature, too small to be effectively utilized in their respective practical applications. ²⁵² Instead, these works are thought to have had symbolic significance, and likely were utilized for rituals related to the construction of the tumulus and burial of the deceased. ²⁵³

Beads

(Appendix C7)

A total of 204 small talc beads (D: 4-6.8 mm) were recovered behind the sarcophagus (fig. 112). Although each shares a cylindrical design, thirty-eight are slightly larger and swell outwards along the sides (abacus-shaped bead, *sorobandama*), while the remaining 166 have flat edges (mortar-shaped, *usudama*). ²⁵⁴

Wooden plank

A large rectangular wooden plank (58.8 x 12.2 x 4.2 cm) was found intact behind the sarcophagus (fig. 113). Holes had been drilled through the work at either end, one of which, through the weathering of the wood over time, has deteriorated into a rectangular furrow stretching from the plank's edge. The purpose of this artifact is unknown, but given its remarkable preservation compared to the other wood remains in the burial chamber, it seems likely that this work was not interred alongside the original grave-good assemblage and instead was added after the tomb had been reopened by Hōshakuji.

Miscellaneous metal artifacts (Appendix C8)

A small gilt-bronze cone-shaped work (1.8 x 4.6 cm) was recovered but has yet to be identified (fig. 114). This object is hollow and has a flattened top with a small hole at the center. Given its materials and location at the rear of the burial chamber, it likely served as a fitting for one of the three sets of horse tack.

In addition to the six hooks that had once been embedded in the chamber walls, a number of other mundane iron nails, rivets, and fittings also were recovered. These included two double-

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²⁵¹ Matsuda Shinichi, "Tettō," in *IFK 1*, 41.

²⁵² Matsuda Shinichi and Sugiyama Hidehiro, "Minichua nōkōgu," in *IFK 1*, 185-188.

²⁵³ Tools, both functional and imitation works, are commonly included within *kofun* grave-good assemblages from the Early Kofun period (250-400) through the beginning of the Late period. I discuss the ritual significance of these works in greater detail in the following chapter.

²⁵⁴ Shimizu Kazuaki, "Tama: kassekisei usudama," in *IFK 1*, 192.

²⁵⁵ Matsuda Shinichi, "Mokuseihin," in *IFK 1*, 210.

headed rivets from behind the sarcophagus, seventeen pins that were originally wrapped in cloth, eleven short wood nails, and six unidentified curved rods (fig. 115). 256

Teeth

The final group of objects recovered from the burial chamber comprised seven tooth fragments. None of the remains are fully intact, and each has been stained green, likely due to their proximity to bronze artifacts stored behind the sarcophagus. Analysis of the teeth indicates that they belonged to a single person, who is theorized to have been a girl around ten years old. There are no other human remains outside of the sarcophagus, and archaeologists assume that the teeth were a later addition to the tomb assemblage, postdating the Kofun period.²⁵⁷

Sarcophagus artifact arrangement

The Fujinoki sarcophagus contained the remains of two bodies, which were accompanied by an extensive assemblage of personal ornaments and other grave-goods (figs. 116-117). Unlike the burial chamber, there is no evidence of human interaction with these artifacts following their Kofun period interment. When archaeologists first removed the coffin lid, the interior was partially inundated by 7-14 cm of accumulated precipitation (fig. 118). Heavier artifacts remained in their proximate sixth-century arrangements and were covered by a layer of sediment. Lighter grave-goods, consisting of fabric remains, bone fragments, wood from the handles of knives and swords, and several small circular and petal-shaped gilt ornaments, were found floating on top of the water in clumps, as well as adhered to the sides and lid of the sarcophagus. The same property of the sarcophagus.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., "Sonota no kinzokuseihin," 189-190.

²⁵⁷ The remains were identified as one baby tooth and six adult teeth. Since modern populations tend to lose their final baby teeth at around ten to twelve years of age, archaeologists have estimated a similar age range for the Fujinoki remains. Although it is theorized that the teeth belonged to a girl, their deteriorated state make this distinction uncertain. Miyagawa, "Sekkan gai shutsudo no shiga," 320-322.

²⁵⁸ Likely this water was the result of rain dripping from the burial chamber ceiling and slowly entering through the top of the coffin, as evidenced by the tracks of water droplets visible on both the exterior and painted underside of the sarcophagus lid. Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa," 28-29. This rainwater carried with it particles of soil from the tumulus' surface, leading to an accumulation of sediment within the sarcophagus. It was initially theorized that water began to infiltrate the burial chamber beginning in the later Heian period, accompanying the natural erosion of the tumulus. However, later analysis by Fujii suggests that the standing water in the sarcophagus is a recent phenomenon, caused in part by the post-WWII cultivation of the mound and its surrounding land, combined with the historic flooding of the region from typhoon Dinah in 1952 and from further torrential rains the following year. Fujii Toshiaki, "Fujinoki Kofun sekkan suiisen no gimon," *Shinjo dai shigaku* 14 (1997): 125-130.

This is not to say, however, that these artifacts have been completely undisturbed. Sekigawa remarks that the gradual decomposition of the bodies and other organic materials, the ebb and flow of accumulated water, and, more recently, archaeologists' insertion of a fiberscope into the coffin prior to the removal of the lid, all likely led to minor alterations in the original positioning of the objects. Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Kan nai no ibutsu haichi jōkyō," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:90.

²⁶⁰ Around 370 of these floating clumps, ranging from about 10-25 cm in diameter, were recorded. It is thought that the various organic materials within the sarcophagus deteriorated initially and then became mixed together as water later began to seep inside. The fragments found clinging to the sides and lid of the sarcophagus indicate that the water levels inside changed over time, and perhaps at one point completely filled the coffin. Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Fuyūbutsu," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:86.

Portions of decomposed fabric discovered along the coffin floor indicate that the sarcophagus had originally been lined with silk floss, covered by a layer of rough silk and a redpigmented woven mat.²⁶¹ On top, the partial skeletal remains of the two inhabitants of the tomb were found placed parallel to one another on the north and south sides of the coffin, their heads oriented toward the east. The northern body was positioned on his back, while the southern had been propped onto his side in order to fit within the narrow confines of the sarcophagus. ²⁶²

Both corpses had been adorned with decorative accessories created from a variety of precious materials. Around the neck bones of the northern body were silver, gilt-bronze, and organic-material beads, which once had been strung together to form multiple necklaces. On either side of the head were a pair of circular gilt-bronze earrings, as well as numerous decorations from a headband and the gathered sidelocks of the deceased. The hair ornaments included twin silver hanging chain pendants, gilt-bronze and silver sword-tip motif decorations, round glass and silver hemispherical beads, and gilt magatama. Thousands of blue, orange, and yellow glass beads originally formed a headdress would have draped the head and lower back. These were accompanied by a larger string of blue beads that had once wrapped around the forehead.²⁶³ Near the feet of the corpse was a gilt-bronze crown, consisting of a folded circular band found leaning against the coffin's northern wall and two tree-shaped uprights which had fallen off and lay just south of the diadem. On top of the northern body's foot bones, along the western edge of the sarcophagus, were a pair of gilt-bronze shoes (pair A), with the right shoe propped upright over the left. A gilt floral ornament was positioned at the knees of the corpse, and a pair of unidentified half-cylindrical gilt-bronze works were arranged parallel to each other in the space between the remains of the shin bones and the coffin's northwest corner. ²⁶⁴

A smaller and less elaborate assemblage of personal ornaments accompanied the southern corpse. Adorning the upper body were several round silver beads from a necklace, a pair of giltbronze earrings, and several hundred small yellow and green glass beads from an ornament that would have adorned the back of the head. 265 Eighteen large blue glass beads near the feet would have comprised two ankle bracelets, and along the southern portion of the western wall were another stacked pair of gilt-bronze shoes (pair B). ²⁶⁶

Bronze mirrors had been arranged underneath the heads of the two bodies, with three clustered around the northern skull and one under the southern. Between the heads, archaeologists recovered an unidentified cylindrical object adorned with small pendants. At the

²⁶⁶ Matsuda Shinichi, "Nanseibu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:94.

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²⁶¹ The analyses of the materials lining the floor of the coffin published within the 1995 volumes of the IFK report indicate that the sarcophagus was lined with two layers of fabric and topped by a red-dyed leather mat. Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Sekkan nai nantōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," in IFK 2-3, 1:92; Tsunoyama Yukihiro, "Sen'i: orimono • kumihimo," in IFK 2-3, 2:187. Sawada Mutsuyo notes, however, that more recent examinations have detected no evidence of leather remains and that likely the leather mat was, in fact, a misidentified woven textile. Sawada Mutsuyo, "Fujinoki Kofun no hisōsha ni mirareru igai no maisō hōhō ni kansuru ichi shiken," in Fujinoki Kofun kara mita kodai sen'i seihin no kenkyū, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Kashihara: Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 2006), 105.

²⁶² Sekigawa, "Sekkan nai nantōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:92; Ikeda Jirō and Katayama Kazumichi, "Jinkotsu," in IFK 2-3, 2:113.

²⁶³ Urabe Yukihiro, "Hokutōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:96-102; idem., "Sōshingu ni tsuite," 1:267-269.

²⁶⁴ Miyahara Shinichi, "Hokuseibu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:95-96.

²⁶⁵ Sekigawa, "Sekkan nai nantōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:90.

western side of the coffin, a gilt-bronze belt also was found between the two sets of skeletal remains. The work had been folded around five small silver knives, three of which had fallen out and lay just east of the belt. Swords with decorated scabbards and hilts had been stacked in the gaps between the bodies and the northern and southern walls of the sarcophagus, their handles aligned alongside the heads of the two corpses. On the south were four overlapping long swords and a small knife, while the north wall had a single sword placed over a shorter bladed weapon. Finally, scattered throughout the entirety of the coffin were hundreds of small circular and petal-shaped gilt-bronze pendants. The majority of the circular works consist of ornaments that had become detached from the interred burial goods, while others are spangles from a funerary textile that had once been draped over the bodies and has since decomposed. Most of the petal-shaped ornaments belong to the pinwheel crupper ornaments from the burial chamber's set A horse tack. A horse tack.

Skeletal remains

Both of the bodies discovered within the sarcophagus were heavily decomposed. Only the partial skeletal remains of the inhabitants were preserved, the surviving bones brittle and fragmented (fig. 119). The northern body is the more intact of the two, with primary areas of loss occurring along the left arm and torso, the lower pelvis, and the upper sections of both femurs. Remains of the head consist primarily of the lower mandible and teeth, as well as several fragments from the cranium. By contrast, few sections of the southern body were preserved. Other than the feet, which survived largely intact, only small fragments from the legs, sternum, left hand, right shoulder, and a single tooth were recovered. Despite the disparity in the condition of the two bodies, they are believed to have been interred at the same time, based on the similar deterioration patterns identified among the surviving bones. ²⁶⁹ It is theorized that the greater concentration of copper ions in the water surrounding the northern body, resulting from the decomposition of accompanying grave-goods, helped to better preserve the remains. ²⁷⁰

Examinations of the structuring of the pelvis fragments, as well as the relatively well-preserved tailbone, suggest that the northern body is male. In addition, neither his clavicle nor breastbone was completely fused, indicating that the body had yet to complete its ossification. This process of replacing cartilage with bone typically is completed in males sometime between

²⁶⁷ Sekigawa, "Sekkan nai nantōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:91-92; Matsuda Shinichi, "Nanseibu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:93; Urabe, "Hokutōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:102-103.

²⁶⁸ Miyahara Shinichi, "Kondōsei enkei kazari kanagu • kondōsei kaben gata hoyō (dai • shō) no shutsudo jōtai," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:106-110.

²⁶⁹ Bones recovered from the sarcophagus had lost much of their form and density through deterioration, rendering x-ray investigations inconclusive. Instead, visual examinations of the remains and their locations within the sarcophagus were used to identify specific bones and to determine the chronological process of decomposition. Ikeda and Katayama, 2:110-113. Kidder claims that the northern skeleton had been coated with vermillion. He states that this is an indication that the body was a secondary burial and that the ritualized cleaning and painting of bones before final interment was a practice derived from mainland Asian Daoist traditions. Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 449. However, I have found no record of vermillion-coated bones within any of the Fujinoki archaeological reports, and I suspect Kidder to have been mistaken in his assessment of the remains. Regardless, it is still quite possible that one or both of the bodies were interred as secondary burials. I discuss the ceremonial treatment of the bodies at Fujinoki in greater detail in the following chapter.

²⁷⁰ Mori Kōichi and Ishino Hironobu, "Fujinoki Kofun no kan nai chōsa o oete," in *Fujinoki Kofun to sono bunka*, 275.

the age of eighteen and twenty-five.²⁷¹ Wear patterns along crown enamel of the northern body's teeth also suggest a similar age range for the deceased.²⁷² Sex and age determinations for the southern body are less defined. The surviving metatarsal bones are similar in length to those in the feet of modern men, while wear patterns on the sole surviving tooth suggest that the deceased was an adult aged anywhere between twenty and forty years old.²⁷³

Bronze mirrors (Appendix C9)

Four circular bronze mirrors were recovered from the Fujinoki sarcophagus. One work (mirror 1) had been placed just east of the head of the southern body, its mirror face turned upwards. The three others were arranged under and around the remains of the northern body's skull and had been flipped so that the ornamental reliefs on the reverse of the works were displayed.²⁷⁴ Traces of fabric discovered along the surfaces of the mirrors suggest that each had

²⁷¹ Ikeda and Katayama, 115-116; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 28.

²⁷² No baby teeth were identified among the northern body's remains. Usually all adult teeth have erupted by a person's twelfth birthday. In addition, wear patterns on the crown enamel of the surviving teeth, although an inexact marker for determining age due to unknown differences in the diets and eating habits of sixth-century peoples, are estimated to indicate that the deceased had been using his adult teeth for approximately five to ten years. The lack of baby teeth and the enamel wear patterns have led archaeologists to identify the body as a man aged either in his late teens or early twenties. Miyagawa Susumu, "Sekkan nai shutsudo no shiga," in *IFK 2-3*, 2:140.

²⁷³ Ikeda and Katayama, 113-115; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 28.

²⁷⁴ Urabe, "Hokutōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 102. The overall design of the mirrors excavated from Fujinoki is a familiar one, matching the style of the ubiquitous bronze artifacts produced in East Asia over millennia, starting as early as the seventh century BCE in China. These works are formed from cast bronze, their mirror face consisting of a smooth, often slightly convex, polished surface. The reverse face generally has a knob located at the center, which is surrounded by successive bands of relief and engraved figurative and geometric designs, and, in many instances, inscribed textual cartouches. Mirrors are classified based upon the decorative motifs displayed, and often the same mold was used in the production of numerous works, leading to identical mirror designs. Artifacts imported from mainland Asia began to appear in Japan during the Yayoi period and grew in popularity in the third and fourth centuries, becoming one of the principal types of grave-goods interred within kofun burials. Japanese produced mirrors have also been recovered, identifiable by their generally larger diameter and somewhat crudely cast decorative motifs, which usually imitate Chinese designs. Mirrors became less common in the Middle and Late Kofun periods, their numbers diminishing with the shift toward the inclusion of armor and weaponry within grave-good assemblages. For a concise summary of general trends in kofun grave-good types in the Kinki and Kinai regions, see Hirose Kazuo, "Zenpōkōenfun no Kinai hennen," in Zenpōkōenfun shūsei: Kinki hen, ed. Kondō Yoshirō (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1992), 24-26. Although the exact reason for the inclusion of mirrors within *kofun* is unknown, they are generally interpreted as ritual objects. Their burial within early tumuli may also have served as a reference to the shamanistic abilities associated with the interred deceased. In many cases, identical mirrors cast from the same mold have been excavated from several different tombs. Kobayashi Yukio, in his seminal research of triangular rimmed deity and beast mirrors, first proposed the now widespread, and endlessly debated, hypothesis that mirrors may have been distributed among regional rulers, and eventually buried in their graves, as a means of demonstrating political connections through material signifiers. Kobayashi Yukio,

been placed within a rough silk bag prior to their interment. All four artifacts had suffered severe deterioration within the sarcophagus, the decorative motifs of each obscured by erosion and accumulated rust. Through x-ray examinations and the identification of several duplicate mirrors, however, archaeologists have been able to reconstruct their ornamental detailing.²⁷⁵

Mirror 1 (D. 17.9 cm) is classified as a beast-band mirror (jūtaikvō) that had been imported from the Asian mainland (fig. 120). Identical mirrors have been excavated in Japan from Sasabara Kofun in Aichi Prefecture, Konoshita Kofun in Mie Prefecture, Kunigoshi Kofun in Kumamoto Prefecture, Miyazaki Prefecture's Mochida tomb no. 1 and Yama no Bō Kofun, and from Fukuoka Prefecture's Okinoshima site no. 21. The reverse of the artifact features an outer relief band (gamontai) that seems to depict frolicking animals, which is bordered by the flat, undecorated rim of the work and by a narrow sawtooth patterned interior ring. Continuing inwards is the primary image band, bound on its outer and inner edges by repeated hatched lines. The band's relief consists of a seated winged figure at top, who faces to the right and is perched on top of a sinuous bestial creature. Six nearly identical serpentine beasts are evenly placed throughout the register, the motifs separated by small projecting hemispherical nipples. The innermost band surrounding the mirror's circular handle is studded with nine more nipples, and each is interspersed by inscribed Chinese text. Archaeologists have identified the characters "宜" and "子" on the work, suggesting that this inscription band originally included a supplication for abundant descendants, "vizisun 宜子孫," a phrase which is frequently found engraved on Chinese bronze mirrors.

Mirror 2 (D. 21.6 cm), a deity and beast mirror with ring-shaped nipples and image band (kanjōnyū gamontai shinjūkyō), ²⁷⁶ was located just above the northern body's skull, partially overlapping mirror 4 (fig. 121). This is also an imported work, with identical comparative examples discovered in Tsugemura, Nara Prefecture and Yawatashi, Kyoto. The mirror's relief face has a flat rim and an exterior image band of swirling clouds. Humanoid and animal headed immortals are depicted seated amidst the clouds, accompanied by a turtle, cranes, and dragons. Two immortals each grasp circular objects, serving as representations of the sun and moon. The next section of the mirror is the inscription band, containing fourteen square cartouches, each separated by raised arcs filled with decorative eddies of swirling lines. The cartouches, divided

[&]quot;Treatise on Duplicate Mirrors," 54-76. I discuss the funerary significance of the mirrors at Fujinoki in

greater detail in the following chapter.

275 Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 423-426; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, Kin no kagayaki, 26.

²⁷⁶ The typological classifications used for mirrors are descriptive in nature, identifying the primary relief motifs portrayed on the work, as well as other distinguishing physical aspects. An unfortunate result of this naming convention, however, is that an artifact's specific designation sometimes differs from one report to the next, depending on which identifying characteristics the archaeologist chooses to highlight. The designation for mirror 2 that I have included within my above description, kanjōnyū gamontai shinjūkyō, is derived from the IFK 2-3, vol. 1, excavation report. Kin no kagayaki, on the other hand, identifies the work using the more generic gamontai shinjūkyō, while Kidder refers to the work as a fourdeities four-beasts mirror, gamontai shishin shijūkyō. The IFKG excavation report classifies the mirror using the same terminology as IFK but alters the ordering of terms to gamontai kanjōnyū shinjūkyō. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun gaihō*, 66; Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 426; Shimizu Yasuji, "Kyōkan," in IFK 2-3, 1:189; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, Kin no kagayaki, 48. The lack of a standardized naming convention presents an element of ambiguity to the classification of these artifacts, which is distinctly at odds with the highly detailed typology that has developed surrounding the study of mirrors in Japan.

riyue 天王日月," or "may the ruler be as bright as the sun and moon." The innermost image band depicts four famous Chinese immortals. The King Father of the East, Dongwangfu, is shown wearing a three-peaked crown and is being served by a small attendant kneeling in front. To the left of the deity, a bird perches on a ring-shaped nipple, while on his right is an immortal with a human head and bird's body. Moving clockwise through the register, the next portrait is of the qin playing musician Bo Ya, who is again crowned and shown flanked by his teacher, Cheng Lian, and his fabled companion, Zhong Ziqi. On the opposite side from Dongwangfu is the Queen Mother of the West, Xiwangmu, depicted wearing a headdress, and accompanied by a lion on her right and a winged animal on her left, likely serving as a depiction of a heavenly horse or deer. The final portrait is of the Yellow Emperor. He is attended by another bird bodied immortal, likely the deity Jumang. Placed between each of the four principal deities of the relief is a representation of one of the four Daoist guardian beasts, the Black Tortoise of the North, White Tiger of the West, Red Bird of the South, and Blue Dragon of the East.

Mirrors 3 (D. 16.0 cm) and 4 (D. 16.7 cm) are both Japanese produced artifacts mimicking mainland motifs and were respectively located along the south and north sides of the northern body's head. Mirror 3, an imitation Buddha and beasts mirror with image band (bōsei gamontai butsujūkyō), has a slanted rim and a fairly rudimentary outer image band depicting elliptical tendrils (fig. 122). Following this band is a register of alternating raised rectangles and half-circles, emerging from a field of repeated small dimples. A single circular nipple is placed at the center of each of the six half-circles, while the rectangles have been divided by an etched cross into quadrants, seemingly to prepare the cartouches for an inscription that was never added. The central image band depicts four evenly placed standing Buddhas, identifiable by their monk's robes. Between each Buddha is an indistinct curving bestial creature surrounded by decorative swirling lines. Mirror 4 is an imitation deity and beast mirror (bōsei shinjūkyō) (fig. 123). Its outer image band depicts a repeated cloud design, possibly serving as a simplified version of mirror 2's clouds and immortals motif. An inscription band of alternating cartouches and semi-circles follows, but, similar to mirror 3, no text was included in the design. The principal relief depicts five bestial forms interspersed by deities. The beasts each have four legs and a beaked head, and s-shaped lines, perhaps serving as wings, emerge from their backs. The deities are all identical and face to the right, but the detailing of these figures is masked by corrosion.²⁷⁷

Hair ornaments (Appendices C7, C10)

Prior to their interment in the sarcophagus, both bodies are thought to have had their hair dressed in elaborate coifs, festooned with numerous gilt-bronze, silver, and glass ornaments. Although the exact arrangement of these decorations is unknown, archaeologists have developed theoretical recreations of the complete ensembles based upon the types and locations of recovered artifacts (fig. 124).

The northern body wore an elaborate headdress, called a *tamakatsura* or "bead wig," that was formed from over 10,000 strung glass beads (fig. 125). The top section of the headdress consisted thousands of orange, green, blue, and yellow small beads (D. 2.8-3.8 mm), each shaped

²⁷⁷ Shimizu Yasuji, 1:189-191.

with flat upper and lower edges, and gently rounded sides (fig. 126).²⁷⁸ These were strung to create a semi-circular 20 x 20 cm ring, with the center bisected by an additional vertical band of beads positioned directly behind the head of the wearer.²⁷⁹ Below hung a rectangular curtain of slightly larger beads (D. 6.2 mm) that stretched from the body's neck to the lower back, measuring 61.0 x 25.5 cm (fig. 127). Beads from the upper 2/3 of this section had been preserved in their approximate original arrangement (fig. 128), allowing archaeologists to determine that it was formed from twenty-seven vertically oriented rows of around 150 beads apiece. Each row was a uniform color and alternated across the work between blue and yellow. Traces of cloth and thread accompanying the remains suggest that individual rows were at least partially wrapped in plain silk and that each had been tied together. On the other hand, the disorganized jumble of beads discovered along the lower third of the headdress suggests that strings were uncovered and allowed to hang freely along the bottom of the work.²⁸⁰

Small and large blue round beads (D. 1.02-1.16 cm; 1.65-1.94 cm) were strung together to form a loop, which connected near the top of the headdress along the left and right edges (figs. 125, 127). Initially it was thought that this loop had been used to suspend the work from the head of the wearer. However, in the process of producing a replica of the ornament, archaeologists determined that the complete *tamakatsura* would have weighed as much as 1.8 kg, making it too heavy to be securely worn using only a single forehead binding. Instead, the headdress was likely reinforced by being sewn directly onto the back of the body's funerary wraps. The loop of beads would have served as a means of simply holding the upper semi-circular section of the headdress flat against the wearer's cranium. Recent examinations of the work have also revealed that several additional strings of small beads may have draped the deceased's forehead, the ends of each suspended from the loop of larger blue beads. 282

Matching assemblages of beads and metal ornaments were found on either side of the northern body's head, stretching from his ears to his upper torso. Archaeologists assume that the deceased's hair had been tied into a pair of forelocks, creating the Kofun period *mizura*

²⁷⁸ Excavators recovered 11,058 small glass beads. 6,236 were orange, 3,945 green, 588 blue, and 289 yellow. These beads were used both for the top portion of the headdress, as well as for ornamental bindings that gathered together the sidelocks of the deceased's hair. Likely the original number of these beads was even greater since many appeared to have been completely pulverized prior to their excavation. Urabe Yukihiro, "Garasu tamarui," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:147.

²⁷⁹ The original model proposed in *IFK 2-3* for the upper section of the headdress was a solid arc-shape. A subsequent investigation of the bead locations within the sarcophagus was carried out in preparation for the creation of a replica headdress for Kashikōken museum's 2007 "Kin no kagayaki, garasu no kirameki" exhibition, leading to the current revision of the design. Urabe, "Sōshingu ni tsuite," 1:272; Ōtani Chie, "Tamasudarejō garasu seihin," in *Kin no kagayaki*, 80; Urabe Yukihiro, "Fujinoki Kofun no sōshingu to sono igi," in *Kin no kagayaki*, 95.

²⁸⁰ Urabe, "Garasu tamarui," 1:148; Sawada Mutsuyo, 95-99; Ōtani, 80.

²⁸¹ It has also been proposed that the headdress was simply spread flat along the bottom of the coffin prior to the placement of the body. The primary argument against this interpretation, however, is the disarranged state of the beads along the bottom section of the headdress. Archaeologists point out that this indicates that the strings had become tangled, which one would expect to have occurred when a body wearing the head piece was being lowered into the sarcophagus. Sawada Mutsuyo, 99.

²⁸² Urabe, "Garasu tamarui," 1:148; Sawada Mutsuyo, 100; Ōtani, 80; Oda Kotomi, Yamada Taku, Sumi Ayano, and Murakami Yoshino, "Mizura kazari • tarekazari • tōbu kazari no fukugen kōtei," in *Kin no kagayaki*, 83; Urabe, "Fujinoki Kofun no sōshingu to sono igi," 95.

coiffure. ²⁸³ Small glass beads, identical to those used for the upper ring-shaped section of the headdress, were threaded onto bindings that wrapped and gathered the forelocks. Other strings of beads were simply tied to the tops of the locks and served as hanging decorations (fig. 124). These were again formed primarily of small glass beads, but also were interspersed with a number of hemispherical silver beads (D. 1.00-1.16 cm) and hollow gilt-bronze *magatama* (1.31-1.43 cm) (fig. 129). ²⁸⁴ The latter are comma-shaped beads tipped with blue glass, which would have been strung via a hole punctured at the center of their bulbous bases. ²⁸⁵ At the end of each dangling string of beads was a sword-tip motif pendant (*kenbishigata kazari kanagu*; 4.5 x 1.8 cm) (fig. 130). These ornaments were cut from a thin sheet of silver and consisted of an arrow-shaped pointed tip connected to a rounded body. A short rectangular projection at the base served to attach the works via a centrally oriented hole. ²⁸⁶

The ends of the forelocks were adorned with a pair of silver hanging pendant ornaments (*suishoku kanagu*) (fig. 131). A delicate chain about 30-37 cm long was attached to the hair using a pin. The opposite end culminates in a trilobate pendant (4.4 x 1.0 cm) with petal-shaped projecting fins and a cluster of four small spheres creating a finial cap. Three openwork sphere-shaped dividers, formed from numerous minute interconnected rings, disrupt the central chain at regular intervals. The dividers connect to three shorter 2.4 cm chains, which in turn each support a miniature version of the central pendant (2.4 x 0.66 cm). ²⁸⁷

Several other artifacts recovered near the head of the northern body have also been identified as hair ornaments, although their precise usage is unknown. Fragments from a total of

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²⁸³ Archaeologists have identified this ancient hairstyle, which features hair gathered into side clumps or forelocks, through its frequent sculpted depiction on human-shaped *haniwa*.

²⁸⁴ The hemispherical beads are hollow, dome-shaped works made from thin sheets of silver. Fifty-five or fifty-seven were recovered, located in the sarcophagus alongside *magatama* in two distinct groupings on either side of the northern body's head. Although Urabe identifies the silver beads as being part of the *mizura* bindings in *IFK 2-3*, they are rarely mentioned within later publications and were omitted for unknown reasons from the *Kin no Kagayaki* recreation of the northern headdress and hair ornaments. Urabe, "Hokutōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:96-99; Urabe Yukihiro, "Ginsei hankyūkei utsurodama," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:135; idem., "Sōshingu ni tsuite," 1:268.

²⁸⁵ 127 of these *magatama* were excavated, with only around ten recovered completely intact. Although originally thought to have been created in two halves from connected sheets of gold-plated silver, further analysis has identified the materials as gilt-bronze. The glass tip is formed from a blue glass bead (D. 3 mm) wedged into the *magatama* tip, held in place by surface tension. Urabe Yukihiro, "Ginsei mekki ustsuro magatama," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:136; idem., "Fujinoki Kofun no sōshingu to sono igi," 95.

²⁸⁶ Twenty-two fragments of an estimated original twenty of these pendants were recovered. Urabe Yukihiro, "Kondōsei kenbishigata kazari kanagu • ginsei kenbishigata kazari kanagu," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:130; idem., "Sōshingu ni tsuite," 1:267, 272; idem., "Fujinoki Kofun no sōshingu to sono igi," 95; Oda, Yamada, Sumi, and Murakami, 83.

²⁸⁷ Urabe Yukihiro, "Ginsei suishoku kanagu," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:132-133. Similar chain and pendant personal ornaments have been excavated from a number of tombs throughout Japan, such as at Hyogo Prefecture's mid sixth-century Miyayama Kofun, and were designed based on examples imported from the Korean peninsula. The pair of Fujinoki artifacts is unusual, however, in their function as hair ornaments, which is evidenced both by their position within the sarcophagus, as well as by fragments of hair discovered along the needle-like pins that were used to secure the works to the *mizura* forelocks. Other excavated Japanese examples tended to be worn as earrings. As a result, archaeologists have theorized that the Fujinoki pendants may have been a prototype for a new style of jewelry, although the lack of later discovered examples would suggest that this hairpin design never saw widespread popularity. Ibid., "Fujinoki Kofun no sōshingu to sono igi," 96.

eleven gilt-bronze sword-tip motif ornaments were recovered (fig. 130). The design of these works is nearly identical to the similarly shaped silver pendants that hung from beaded strings along the forelocks. The gilt-bronze works, however, are larger (8 x 3 cm) and are punctured with several holes: one located near the pointed tip and three others in a row on the bottom projection, positioned just below a larger rectangular opening. Remains of cloth, string, and hair found affixed surrounding these holes has led archaeologists to assume that the works were originally attached to a silk funerary kerchief, with some models proposing that the ornaments were sewn projecting upright from a headband worn around the temples. Twenty-five thin trapezoidal and rectangular strips of silver (3.5-4.3 cm) also were found alongside the northern body (fig. 132). These objects are bent into hook-shaped curves along their top and bottom edges, and two were punctured with clusters of seven or eight small holes. Although assumed to have been hair decorations, the lack of accompanying fabric remains renders their function nebulous. ²⁸⁹

The southern body's hair seems to have been less extensively ornamented. Surrounding the skull were 864 green and yellow glass beads, covering an area of about 30 x 20 cm.²⁹⁰ These beads match the style of those found along the back of the northern body and likely similarly constituted a headdress. Given the smaller number of beads, archaeologists suggest that the work was primarily created from cloth, with beads sewn onto the garment as added embellishment.²⁹¹ 103 red-brown tiny tubular glass "millet" beads (*awadama*) (D. 1.16-2.17 mm) and ten brown barrel-shaped beads (*natsumedama*) (D. 1.25 cm) with etched intersecting diagonal lines also were found near the waist area of the southern remains (fig. 133). These may

The original *IFK* model depicting the arrangement of the northern body's hair decorations includes this headband with upward facing sword-tip ornaments. Machida Akira has argued against this interpretation, however, stating that Japanese and Silla kingdom gilt-bronze sword-tip shaped works tended to serve as pendants for personal ornaments or horse-tack, and that they specifically were designed to dangle with the point end facing down. He proposes that that the Fujinoki artifacts functioned similarly, perhaps intended to hang from a cloth cap or from the upper section of the beaded headdress. Urabe, on the other hand, defends the model, arguing that the Fujinoki gilt-bronze crown placed at the feet of the northern body contains sword-tip shaped projections with the tips pointed upwards (see crown description below), providing a precedent for a similar arrangement of hair decorations. Urabe, "Kondōsei kenbishigata kazari kanagu • ginsei kenbishigata kazari kanagu," 1:130; idem., Sōshingu ni tsuite," 1:272; idem., "Fujinoki Kofun no sōshingu to sono igi," 95; Machida Akira, "Kofun jidai no sōshingu," *Nihon no bijutsu*, no. 371 (1997): 74.

²⁸⁹ Urabe Yukihiro, "Ginsei kazari kanagu," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:133; idem., "Fujinoki Kofun no sōshingu to sono igi," 96.

²⁹⁰ A total of 717 green beads and 147 yellow were recovered from around the southern body. Archaeologists have estimated that there may have originally been as many 1,000 yellow works, but that the majority had been crushed or otherwise destroyed prior to excavation. Urabe, "Garasu tamarui," 1:148; idem., "Sōshingu ni tsuite," 1:269.

²⁹¹ It has also been proposed that the beads originally formed a funerary pillow that was placed under the head of the southern body. Ibid., "Sōshingu ni tsuite," 1:269. While examples of such pillows have been excavated from other sites, I find it unlikely that one would have accompanied the southern body but been absent from the north.

have served as lower hem ornaments sewn along the bottom of the headdress, or as a separate decoration adorning the body's midsection.²⁹²

Beaded necklaces (Appendix C7)

Several varieties of gilt-silver beads were found along the necks of the northern and southern bodies. All have a light-weight hollow construction and are fashioned from twin connected hemispheres of gold-plated silver sheets. Three types of metal beads accompanied the northern body, each of which was strung into its own necklace and arranged graduating in size from small to large. Forming the uppermost necklace are forty-eight stepped ovaloid beads (D. 1.2 cm) (fig. 134). Eleven partially decomposed tubular works made from an organic material (2.15-2.7 cm) were found alongside these artifacts and may have also been incorporated into the top necklace (fig. 135).²⁹³ The central string consisted of twenty-four large spherical beads (D. 2.1 cm) (fig. 136), while the lower necklace was created from beads segmented into several rounded lobes, resembling the form of gardenia seeds (kushinashidama) (D. 2.1 cm) (fig. 137). These latter works can be divided into two types, separated between beads with eight lobes (thirty beads) and those with nine (twenty-four). Archaeologists have suggested that the presence of the two types of gardenia beads may be an indication that these works comprised two separate necklaces. Contrasting from the northern assemblage, the southern body was adorned with only a single necklace, created from forty-seven small spherical beads (1.19-1.35 cm) (fig. 138).²⁹⁴

Earrings

(Appendix C10)

Both bodies were accompanied by a pair of simple circular earrings (northern pair: 3.38 x 3.00 cm and 2.87 x 3.41 cm; southern pair: 3.04 x 3.51 cm and 3.16 x 3.52 cm) (fig. 139). These consist of a central metal rod, made of silver for the northern pair and bronze for the southern, that is bent into a ring and wrapped with a veneer of gold leaf. Both sets were found about 10-12 cm below the area where the bodies' ears had been located, leading archaeologists to initially suggest that the works had been affixed to cloth belts that hung from the sides of the head. Later re-examination refuted this theory, however, indicating that it was more likely that the artifacts

²⁹² Ibid., "Garasu tamarui," 1:148-149; idem., "Sōshingu ni tsuite," 1:270; Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus, 446. The term "millet bead" is a classification used for cylindrical or tubular beads generally under 2 mm in size.

²⁹³ Urabe, "Hokutōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:102; Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Kudatamagata sōshokuhin," in IFK 2-3, 1:212.

²⁹⁴ Sekigawa, "Sekkan nai nantōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:90; idem., "Kudatamagata sōshokuhin," 1:212; Urabe, "Hokutōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:102-103; Urabe Yukihiro, "Ginsei mekki kuchinashigata utsurodama," in IFK 2-3, 1:134; Urabe Yukihiro, "Ginsei mekki ōgata utsuro marudama," in IFK 2-3, 1:135; Urabe Yukihiro, "Ginsei mekki yūdan usturodama," in IFK 2-3, 1:135; Urabe Yukihiro, "Ginsei mekki kogata utsuro marudama," in IFK 2-3, 1:135. Note that only the median diameter measurements are listed here. For the full range of measurements and number of beads recovered, see Appendix C7.

had been directly attached to the ear lobes, and later were displaced as the bodies decomposed and water entered into the sarcophagus. ²⁹⁵

Gilt-bronze cylindrical artifact (Appendix C10)

Located between the heads of the two bodies, archaeologists discovered an as of yet unidentified burial good, which has been classified simply a gilt-bronze cylindrical artifact (kondōsei tsutsugata hin) (fig. 140). The work is 39 cm long and widens from 3 cm in diameter at the center to 6 cm at either end, giving the work an elongated hourglass contour. Both sides are created from a sheet of gilt-bronze that has been cut into a fan-like shape and curled to form a cone. These twin cones are riveted to a 2.7 cm wide connecting band of gilt-bronze at the artifact's center. Circular metal caps (D. 6.3 cm)²⁹⁶ wrap over the openings at either end of the work, held in place by wires wound through holes around their edges and along the body of the artifact. Across the surface of both cone-shaped halves are numerous additional projecting lengths of rigid wire. These wires, as well as those securing the two end-caps, hold small pointed petal-shaped gilt-bronze pendants (1.9 x 1.7 cm), which are each attached via a hole at the center of their rounded base. Although many of the wires and their ornaments have broken free from the artifact, archaeologists have identified numerous pairs of small holes where they were once attached, suggesting that as many as 161 pendants originally adorned the work.²⁹⁷ Remains of silk along the surface of the two end-caps and on the central band indicate that areas of the artifact also were originally wrapped in fabric.²⁹⁸

Following its excavation, archaeologists attributed a wide range of potential functions to the cylindrical work. It was proposed that the artifact served as a bell; a container for a Chinesestyle "tomb contract"; ²⁹⁹ a rod or baton signifying elevated political rank; a decorative mallet head symbolizing the creation of the Daoist elixir of immortality; and a funerary pillow that would have been placed under the southern body's head. ³⁰⁰ Each of these theories has more or less been discarded, however, due to a lack of supporting material evidence. ³⁰¹

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²⁹⁵ Urabe Yukihiro, "Ginshin kinbari mimiwa • dōshin kinbari mimiwa," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:134; idem., "Sōshingu ni tsuite," 1:269-270; idem., "Fujinoki Kofun no sōshingu to sono igi," 95; Hisa Yōichirō, "Ginsei kinbari mimiwa," in *Kin no kagayaki*, 85.

²⁹⁶ An erratum in *IFK 1* lists the caps as 3.6 cm in diameter.

²⁹⁷ The placement of these wire hangers appears to have been slightly uneven, with 84 located on the left side and 77 on the right.

²⁹⁸ Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun gaihō*, 65; Maezono Michio, "Kondōsei tsutsugata hin," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:126.

²⁹⁹ Such contracts (*muquan* 冥券) were included in Eastern Han and later Chinese tombs, and were often written on stone slabs or ceramics. They were intended for use by the bureaucracy of the underworld, serving to officially transfer the name of the deceased onto the register of the dead and to legitimize the use of land for the construction of a tomb. For a discussion of these documents, see Terry Kleeman, "Land Contracts and Related Documents," in *Chūgoku no shūkyō • shisō to kagaku: Makio Ryōkai Hakase shōju kinen ronshū*, ed. Makio Ryōkai Hakase Shōjukinen Ronshū Kankōkai (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1984), 4-9.

³⁰⁰ Mori and Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kan nai chōsa o oete," 270; Maezono, "Kondōsei tsutsugata hin ni tsuite," 1:275.

³⁰¹ Wang Wei presents a concise discussion of the criticisms that both he and other archaeologists have compiled against each of these theories. X-ray examinations of the cylindrical artifact revealed the hollow interior to be completely empty, refuting theories that a bell clapper was fused inside. *Muquan*

Currently, the two most commonly accepted interpretations of the cylindrical artifact are that it served as either a hair ornament or a small waist-drum. Both theories propose that the work originally accompanied the southern body and that it had been displaced to the center of the sarcophagus from the rise and fall accumulated rainwater. A large number of the artifact's missing pendants were discovered clustered just above the remains of the southern skull. This has led scholars to suggest that the work had initially been located in the southeast corner of the coffin, adorning the body's head. Maezono proposed that the decoration would have sat on top of a small wooden platform affixed to the hair, which would have protected the wearer's scalp from the work's projecting wires. A small length of cord with attached wood fragments was found still connected to the artifact's central band. 302

Further supporting the interpretation of the Fujinoki artifact as a hair decoration are shield-bearer *haniwa* excavated from Ibaraki prefecture's Funazuka Kofun and Gunma's Tsukamawari tomb group. Several of these figures are depicted with cylindrical ornaments tied perpendicular to the tops of their heads (fig. 141). However, as archaeologist Wang Wei points out, the design of the *haniwa* ornaments differ from the Fujinoki artifact. The sculpted works are proportionately smaller and lack the hourglass shape, instead taking the form of an upward curved cylinder. Wang also states that during the Kofun period shield-bearers likely held relatively low social status. He argues that the cylindrical ornaments worn by these figures would have been inappropriate for inclusion alongside the distinguished personages buried at Fujinoki. I would contend, however, that the existence of the Funazuka and Tsukamawari *haniwa* indicates that hairstyles with tied cylindrical ornaments existed in sixth-century Japan as a form of early ceremonial attire. The Fujinoki work, a larger and more elaborate gilded decoration than the sculpted versions, could certainly have served a similar function, with its extensive material embellishments making it an appropriate accessory for a member of the upper social classes.

Proponents of the waist-drum interpretation of the Fujinoki artifact suggest that instead of being placed on top of the head, the work originally hung at chest or side of the body, attached to a cord looped around the neck. Several depictions of hourglass-shaped hand drums have been found in Chinese and Korean tombs. At the Koguryo kingdom Ohoebun Tomb no. 4, for example, a wall painting depicts a flying *apsara* with the instrument hanging from its neck (fig. 142), while an etching from the interior of the sarcophagus at the Tang Dynasty tomb of Li Shou illustrates an attendant playing a similar drum tied at her waist (fig. 143). Several eighth-century Japanese waist-drums ($kod\bar{o}$) also were preserved at Tōdaiji's Shōsōin storehouse (fig. 144). These works, produced in lacquered wood and ceramic, share the Fujinoki hourglass shape and

excavated in China tend to be etched onto stone and ceramic tiles or vessels, none of which resemble the Fujinoki artifact, nor would they have been able to be placed inside of it. Chinese texts indicate that the Emperor would present rod-like objects to ambassadors as symbols of political status. Although none of these works have been discovered, they have been identified within mainland tomb murals, such as at Koguryo's Anak tomb no. 3. Images of these rods show them to be slender poles, likely at least a meter in length, that bear no similarity to the Japanese work. Similarly, batons in China and Japan had a quite different design, consisting of flat planks of ivory or wood. Finally, there have been no excavated examples of ornamental gilt-bronze hourglass mallet heads or of similarly shaped funerary pillows, rendering both of these interpretations extremely unlikely. Wang Wei, "Tsutsugata kondō seihin no rūtsu oyobi sono igi," in *Yomigaeru kodai!*, 111-113.

³⁰² Maezono, "Kondōsei tsutsugata hin," 1:126; idem., "Kondōsei tsutsugata hin ni tsuite," 1:273-275. ³⁰³ Wang Wei, 213-214.

are the same approximate height. If the tomb's gilt-bronze artifact was indeed intended to be a hand-drum, however, it was almost certainly a non-functional representation. The drum heads at either end of the Fujinoki work are fairly narrow at only six centimeters and would have been ill-suited for percussive playing compared to the Shōsōin works, which are over twice as wide. Also, due to the projecting wires and pendants that covered the surface of the Fujinoki artifact, the only place where the instrument could be held would be along the undecorated central band (2.7 x 3.0 cm), forcing the musician to awkwardly grasp the instrument with only two or three fingers. 304

When considered alongside the other artifacts within the Fujinoki sarcophagus, which, aside from the four bronze mirrors, consist of jewelry and ceremonial accoutrements, it seems more likely that the gilt-bronze cylindrical work was similarly intended as an ornament. Given its formal similarity to the gilt-bronze crown and shoes, which also feature pendants supported by short projecting wires (see below), there is a high likelihood that the works were created as a set and perhaps were intended specifically for use in the funerary ritual. Based on the evidence linking the initial location of the artifact to the southeast section of the coffin and supporting *haniwa* depictions of cylindrical headwear, I would contend that the identification of this decorative work as a hair ornament seems to be the most plausible.

Swords (Appendix C11)

Six swords were discovered along the northern and southern walls of the coffin. The blades of the weapons are forged from iron, although fragmented from long exposure to water, and sheathed in wooden scabbards decorated with a variety of silver, gold, and gilt-bronze fittings, cloth wrappings, lacquer, and inlaid blue glass beads. Their hilts have elaborately shaped pommels, adorned in precious materials and embossed with a range of intricate motifs. Compared to the austere iron sword and scabbard remains recovered from the burial chamber, it is clear that the sarcophagus swords were designed with a separate function in mind, and were not intended as practical weapons. Instead, these highly ornamented works appear to be ceremonial and likely were worn by high-ranking members of Kofun society as part of the ensemble of accessories that constituted the formal ritual costuming of sixth-century Japan.

Swords 1 and 5 had been placed on top of their respective groupings of swords on the southern and northern sides of the sarcophagus (figs. 145-146). Both weapons are similarly sized (sword 1: 136.0 cm; sword 2: 136.5 cm) and share near identical decorative trappings. The handles of the works have a wood core and curve slightly along the front edge. Each is wrapped in gilt-bronze wire, on top of which a thin sheet of silver had been impressed to create a textured grip. The top and bottom sections of the hilts also are adorned with silver, alternating between bands of metal studded with rows of embedded blue glass beads, and embossed strips featuring stippled edges and a central repeated diamond motif punctuated with glass inlay. A flat wedge-shaped pommel is riveted at the bottom of the hilts, extending at a near 90-degree angle from the handle. The pommels again have a wood body with affixed silver plating. The narrow sides (~1.8 cm) are decorated by a band of glass beads at the top and bottom, surrounding a central saw-tooth pattern created from stippled rows enclosed by parallel zig-zagging lines. Along the top face of the pommel is a central lattice of diamond shapes, their intersections accentuated with beads. This motif is surrounded by a row of embossed dots, which in turn is bordered by

³⁰⁴ Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 433-435; Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa," 39-40; Ōbayashi, 109-114; Wang Wei, 114-116.

additional beads and a band of silver at the pommel's edge. As a further embellishment, a length of twisted gilded-iron wire has been bent into a semi-circular ring and emerges vertically from the bottom faces of both pommels, its ends embedded into the middle of the diamond-lattice motif.

A no longer extant arc-shaped handguard, or *magarigane*, originally extended over the handles of swords 1 and 5, attaching at the side of the pommel and top of the hilt. Surviving fragments indicate that the fitting was created from a thin band of gilt-bronze, 3.2 cm wide. Affixed along the exterior face would have been a number of gilt-bronze three-ringed beads (*miwadama*; 3.10-4.01 x 2.91-3.74 cm). A total of seventeen beads were found accompanying the swords, ten belonging to work 1 and seven to work 5, many of which still cling to fragments of the *magarigane* base (fig. 147). The *miwadama* have flat bottoms, while the tops have been molded to form a large central oblong hump connected by narrow bands on either side to smaller bulges. Each is further adorned by eleven inlaid blue glass beads, with five positioned along the central mound and three others on each of the side humps. Remnants of thread suggest that the *miwadama* were connected by strings that wrapped around the narrow sections on either side and which wound through pairs of holes drilled along the edges of the curved base of the handguard. In addition, the handguard was further decorated by a dotted waved line etched bordering the top and bottom faces of the work.

Both swords 1 and 5 had single-edged blades, which are covered by an oblong cylindrical scabbard that gradually widens from its mouth (w: 6 cm) to its tip (w: 8.6-9 cm). The sheaths had been wrapped in cloth, with a sheet of gilt-bronze openwork affixed on top by rivets. Surviving fragments suggest that this openwork consisted of a repeated quatrefoil design. The oblong leaves of the motif each connect to a circular hub with a centrally embedded blue bead. Five rectangular gilt-bronze bands wrap the scabbard, four evenly spaced along the lower half, and the other placed just below the tip of the sheath. These bands are decorated with a central row of beads and likely served as structural reinforcement. The tip of the scabbard is covered by a silver cap. The sides have an embossed band depicting a connected row of diamond shapes, which is bordered by inlaid glass. The flat top of the caps lack beads but are otherwise decorated identical to the base of the pommels, portraying a lattice of repeated lozenges.³⁰⁵

Swords 3 (130 cm) and 4 (122 cm) also closely match one another, although with a few notable differences in their scabbard designs and hilt detailing (figs. 148-149). These works had been placed adjacent to one another, with sword 4 touching the coffin's southern wall. The wooden handles had been wrapped in cloth and covered with a textured sheet of silver, although this metal adornment is no longer extant on sword 3. An egg-shaped cylindrical pommel, made from wood with riveted silver plating, is affixed to the bottom of both hilts, inclining outwards at a 19-degree angle. The sides are decorated with bands of dotted lines bordering interior embossed motifs, comprised of a sawtooth pattern on sword 3 and a tendrilled vine arabesque for

³⁰⁵ Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 428, 430; Urabe, "Hokutōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:103; Sekigawa, "Sekkan nai nantōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:91; Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Tachi," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:193-195, 198-199; idem., "Tōkenrui ni tsuite," 1:262-264; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 49. Fragments of red cloth and fabric cords also were found near the sword 5 scabbard. These have been identified as the remains of a bag that had once been placed over the sword prior to its burial. A similar bag is thought to have covered the short sword found underneath this work. It is unclear, however, whether the weapons placed near the southern body had been similarly covered. Yoshimatsu Shigenobu, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo no tachi 5 ni kansuru sen'i seihin ni tsuite," in *Fujinoki Kofun kara mita kodai sen'i seihin no kenkyū*, 77-78.

sword 4. Remains of four cloth cords also wrap the sword 3 pommel and likely once served as hanging tassels. The top of the sword 3 pommel, although damaged, appears to have depicted a design of connected arcs. Sword 4, on the other hand, had further embellishment in the form of a sheet of embossed gold affixed along pommel's face. Above the handle, the hilts of both swords have additional strips of stippled silver, which is accompanied on sword 4 by a diminutive ringshaped *tsuba* guard. 306

Similar to swords 1 and 5, the oblong scabbard of sword 3 widens along its length, increasing from 6.8 cm at its base to 9.4 cm at the tip. A band of silver, embossed with a motif of connected lozenges girdled by twin rows of stippled lines, wraps the mouth of the work. Six other strips of silver, five encircling the lower half of the sheath and the sixth near the top, provide added structural reinforcement for its wood frame. A cap coated with silver attaches to the top of the work. It is again decorated with a band of lozenges along its sides and a motif of interconnected arcs on its flat top.³⁰⁷

The scabbard of sword 4 is heavily damaged, with some sections lost entirely. It is clear, however, that its design had a uniform width throughout (D. 5.3 x 3 cm). The scabbard mouth is wrapped in a band of silver, and likely several additional strips similarly adorned areas of its body. An undecorated silver round cap topped the work, connected by a rivet affixed at its summit. A small band of silver had also been wrapped around the scabbard, fastening a small knife to the lower half of the work. The blade of the knife is missing, but the hilt (19.2 cm) remains intact, matching the overall design of its host sword. The wood handle is bound in a grid-patterned sheet of silver, and its miniature egg-shaped pommel, coated with gold, is embossed with a vegetative arabesque.³⁰⁸

Sword 2 (92 cm) was also located on the southern side of the coffin, found just north of sword 3 (fig. 150). Its hilt has been wrapped in twisted silver wire and is flanked at either end by bands of gilt-bronze with embossed rings. The sword has a relatively simple rounded pommel, also coated in gilt-bronze. A hole running through the pommel, encircled on either side by low relief six-petaled flowers, would have been used to attach a decorative tassel, the remains of which were found wound around the bottom of the handle. The sheath of the weapon is a uniform width throughout (D. 3.8 x 1.9 cm) and is made from black lacquered wood. It is further embellished by gilt-bronze caps affixed at its mouth and tip. 309

The final sword excavated from the sarcophagus had been placed underneath sword 5, next to the northern body. This work is classified as a short sword and is the only weapon equipped with a double-edged blade (fig. 151). It is also the most elaborately decorated of the recovered swords. Its handle tapers slightly along its length and is wrapped in wire with a sheet of silver affixed on top. An egg-shaped pommel is attached to the handle's bottom, its slanted edges giving it an oblique cylindrical form. The side of the pommel has raised bands of silver at the top and bottom, studded with embedded blue glass beads. Running along the center is a relief gilt-bronze motif of connected arcs and waved lines, its appearance similar to a *chokkomon* pattern. The top face of the pommel has a ground of gilt-bronze decorated with curls of vine-like forms. Bisecting the center are parallel furrows that run the length of its surface and which are

³⁰⁶ Sekigawa, "Sekkan nai nantōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:91; idem., "Tachi," 1:196-198; idem.,

[&]quot;Tōkenrui ni tsuite," 1:265. 307 Ibid., "Tachi," 1:196-197.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 1:198.

³⁰⁹ Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 429; Sekigawa, "Sekkan nai nantōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai,"1:91; idem., "Tachi," 1:195; idem., "Tōkenrui ni tsuite," 1:264.

interrupted by a central relief ring. On top of the gilt-bronze are elevated bands of silver with glass beads, which flank the central furrow and encircle the outer edge of the pommel face. Two tall rectangular silver bars, each with embedded beads along their long vertical faces, project perpendicular along the width of the pommel. X-ray examinations have also indicated that two spherical bells (D. 1.7 cm) are embedded into the center of the pommel's wood core.

The top of the short sword's hilt gradually widens along alternating bands of silver with inlaid beads and strips of gilt-bronze. Along one side an additional handle-like fixture extends perpendicular to the hilt. This cylindrical ornament is wrapped in silver wire at its base. The surface is decorated with gilt-bronze *chokkomon*-like motifs, which are overlaid with straight and curved bead studded silver bands.

The short-sword's scabbard matches the overall design of swords 1 and 5. It widens from base to tip (W. 3.4-7.7 cm) and is decorated by an openwork of gilt-bronze and glass beads riveted over an underlayer of cloth. Surviving fragments of this gilded ornamentation suggest that replacing the quatrefoil motif of swords 1 and 5, this scabbard instead displayed a pattern of curling vines with sprouting spade-shaped buds. Several bands of gilt-bronze also wrapped the sheath and were accompanied by thin strips of silver that ran the length of the work. The mouth and cap are decorated with designs matching the sword's hilt, with raised silver borders encrusted with beads surrounding sheets of gilt-bronze, which are embossed with arcs and undulating lines.³¹⁰

In identifying the cultural origins of each weapon, archaeologists have pointed out that the rounded pommel and straight scabbard of sword 2 are similar to Korean designs. The bulbous egg and wedge-shaped pommels of the other weapons, on the other hand, suggest Japanese manufacturing. In particular, the embedded glass bead ornamentation and *miwadama* decorated handguards of swords 1 and 5 have led several scholars to suggest that these weapons may have served as a precursor to the original design of the *Tamamaki no Tachi* sword held at Ise shrine (fig. 152). Although the Ise work has been periodically remade in conjunction with the regular rebuildings of the shrine, records of the sword within the tenth-century *Engi Shiki* describe a weapon similar to the two Fujinoki artifacts. Ye go contrast, the tomb's sword 4 displays an unprecedented blending of divergent stylistic elements. It combines a Japanese pommel and hilt with the straight scabbard design usually associated with mainland weapons.

Six sheets of gilt-bronze, each shaped into twin fish, served as additional sword ornaments (*gyohai*; 19.5-27.3 x 11.0-12.0 cm) (fig. 153). Matching pairs of these works were found adjacent to the hilts of swords 1, 3, and 5. A semi-circular clamp was attached at the top of each ornament by two rectangular hinges. The clamps are riveted around the remains of a

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³¹⁰ Urabe, "Hokutōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:103; Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Ken," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:206-207; idem., "Tōkenrui ni tsuite," 1:265.

³¹¹ Sekigawa, "Tōkenrui ni tsuite," 1:262-265; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no Kagayaki*, 49-51.

³¹²Mori and Ishino, 257-263; Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 428; Shiraishi Taichirō, "Tamamaki no Tachi kō," *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 50 (1993): 153-157; Shiraishi Taichirō, "Fujinoki Kofun no fukusōhin ga teikisuru mondai," in *Fujinoki Kofun: Ikaruga ni hanahiraku Higashi Ajia no kodai*, 215-219.

³¹³ Sekigawa, "Tōkenrui ni tsuite," 1:265; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 50.

cloth sash, which presumably had been tied to the hilts of their accompanying swords.³¹⁴ Below, a mirrored pair of fish hang by their heads from a trapezoidal section of gilt-bronze. The fish are carved in profile and connect to one another at the tips of their pectoral and tail fins. Details of their anatomy are depicted in minute engraving, with repeated arcs and lines defining the scales and striations of the fins, and curved bands of stippling suggesting stripes of color. The pair of *gyohai* belonging to sword 3 are particularly well-crafted. They further include engraved circular eyes and an undulating line mouth, as well as an ornamental dotted border around the clamp and trapezoidal rack from which the fish hang.³¹⁵

A fragment of an additional sword decoration was recovered from the sarcophagus, but its original design is unknown (fig. 154). The remains consist of a rectangular strip of wood (6.0 x 3.5 cm) lined with silver plating along one face and a thick section of cloth along the reverse. The silver plate is studded with rivets along its exterior, while its inner section depicts a low relief motif of connected lozenges. Similar designs of repeated diamonds are found on swords 1, 2, and 3, suggesting that this decoration originally was affixed to one of these weapons.³¹⁶

Two unidentified small wood artifacts may also have originally been attached to the swords (fig. 155). These works are similar in form to that of a flattened golf tee, with a wide edge at top that curves into a narrow projecting spike. One of the artifacts (8.9 x 1.5 cm) was found intact along the southern side of sword 5's scabbard, while the other was recovered partially fragmented floating in the accumulated water of the sarcophagus (6.6 x 1.7 cm).³¹⁷

Gilt-bronze crown (Appendix C10)

One of the more striking artifacts from the Fujinoki sarcophagus is the crown that was recovered near the feet of the northern body (fig. 156). The diadem base of the work is comprised of a wide rectangular sheet of gilt-bronze (9 x 52 cm), which had been folded in half and placed leaning upright along the northwest corner of the coffin. The thin metal (0.6 mm) and high purity of the copper used in the crown's manufacturing provide malleability, allowing the diadem to be wrapped around a wearer's head and secured in place via small cords that would have been wound through holes found on the left and right ends of the work (fig. 157). At the center of the diadem are two attached bow-shaped ornaments, each created from a wound rectangular sheet of gilt-bronze. The two decorations are affixed parallel to one another, the top partially overlapping the upper edge of the bottom bow. Numerous small dangling pendants adorn the diadem. These ornaments hang from short rigid sections of coiled wire that pierce through both the crown and its bow-shaped decorations to secure along the rear face of the work. Archaeologists estimate that the diadem would have originally supported forty-six pendants, the majority consisting of an oblong petal-like shape. Four others, however, exhibit a more complex design, portraying birds in flight (fig. 158). These bird pendants have curved parrot-like beaks and crescent-shaped wings that extend vertically from along their backs. Minute engraved lines

³¹⁴ On swords 1 and 5 this sash likely would have been tied to the gilt-iron ring projecting from the bottom of the pommel. It is unclear, however, where the fish decorations would have been attached to sword 3.

³¹⁵ Urabe, "Hokutōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:103; Sekigawa, "Sekkan nai nantōbu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:91; idem., "Tachi," 1:199-202; idem., "Tōkenrui ni tsuite," 1:263-264.
³¹⁶ Sekigawa, "Tachi," 1:205-206.

³¹⁷ These works are described as "plectrum-shaped" within the Fujinoki excavation reports. Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Bachigata mokusei hin," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:212-213.

and bands of stippling provide further detailing of the individual feathers and color patterning of the animals. Along the top and bottom of the diadem, as well as around the perimeter of the bow-shaped ornaments, is an incised undulating line punctuated by small dots. Beyond decoration, this band masks pairs of small holes that run at regular 2 cm intervals along the crown's edge. These were used to secure a cloth backing to the inner face of the diadem, as evidenced by fragments of string and fabric identified near the holes and along the rear surface of the work.³¹⁸

The top edge of the diadem swells along the left and right sides to form a symmetrical pair of humps, each of which supported an extensive ornamental upright at their apex. Although both uprights remain largely intact, the deterioration of the rivets that secured them in place led to their breaking free from the diadem prior to excavation. These decorations are cut from a sheet of gilt-bronze to form an elaborate tree-like design. When the crown was worn, these would have sprouted from along the sides of the wearer's temples, together jutting about 35 cm. Each consists of a myriad of interconnected branches capped by vegetative curls and have an overall arced contour that slopes inward toward the center of the work.³¹⁹ Along the inner edge, the branches culminate in boat-shaped motifs, their three-pronged design mimicking the high prow, keel, and central mast of a ship. Perched on each of the five masts, as well as on the tips of branches along the rear edge of each upright, are birds with extended wings, identical in design to the crown's attached pendants. Six sword-tip motif projections are interspersed between the birds, each consisting of a rounded base that curves outward into diamond-shaped protuberance.³²⁰ Matching the diadem, the surface of the twin uprights is studded with sixty petal and bird-shaped pendants, and an engraved band of parallel lines with interior stippling borders the works.³²¹

Gilt-bronze shoes (Appendix C10)

Two pairs of gilt-bronze shoes were recovered from inside of the sarcophagus. Pair A was located in the northwest corner of the coffin, near the feet of the northern body, and is the

³¹⁸ Similar pairs of holes run the perimeter of the two bow-shaped decorations, and fragments of cloth have also been recovered from between and behind these ornaments. It is unclear, however, to what extent this fabric would have originally covered the front of the crown.

³¹⁹ The majority of publications discussing the crown have tended to describe the twin uprights as depicting trees. Given the accompanying bird and vegetative petal motifs that also adorn the crown, I find this descriptor to be fitting. Archaeologists have also proposed that the decorations represent the frothy curls of two colliding waves. This interpretation would explain the presence of the boat-like images found along on the inner slopes of the ornaments. Other accounts have also likened the uprights to deer antlers, which is a common descriptor used to describe the shape of gold crowns used in the Korean peninsula during the Three Kingdoms period. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, ed., *Fujinoki Kofun: Kodai no bunka kōryū o saguru* (Kashihara: Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, 1989), 33; Izumori Kō, "Fujinoki Kofun chōsa sono ato," *Asukakaze* 29 (1989): 16.

³²⁰Although both uprights share the same overall design, minor differences in the size and placement of the branches and other decorative motifs subtly disrupt the symmetry between the two.

³²¹ Miyahara Shinichi, "Kondōsei kanmuri," in *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun gaihō*, 70-71; Miyahara Shinichi, "Kondōsei kanmuri," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:113-115.

smaller of the two sets $(11.6 \times 38.4 \times 12.4 \text{ cm})$ (fig. 159). The right shoe was discovered intact and had been propped vertically against the western wall so that its toe pointed toward the coffin's lid. The accompanying left shoe, on the other hand, was fragmented, its remains discovered under and adjacent to its pair.

Each work shares the same bilaterally symmetrical shape and is made from three thin sheets of gilt-bronze, forming the curved sides and sole of the shoe. Several short gilded wires bind the metal sheets together and are wound at intervals along the center of the toe, heel, and around the base of the work. Directly under their elongated mouth, the sole is flat, and it curves dramatically upward as it progresses toward the toe, culminating in a central point. An embossed tortoise-shell motif decorates the exterior of the shoes, with the sides of each of the pattern's repeated hexagons bordered by a row of small divots bounded by incised parallel lines. Pairs of small holes drilled along the hexagon edges accommodate loops of coiled gilded wire, each serving as a hanger for small pendants. These hangers extend perpendicular from the sides and bottom of the soles but are omitted along medial (inner) arches, providing the only design distinction between the left and right shoes. Most of the pendants are simple circular gilt-bronze spangles. Others have been carved to resemble fish, complete with dorsal, pectoral, and tail fins. Minute engraved lines and stippling along the outward face of each fish detail the eyes, mouth, and scales, while a small hole along the center of the animal's back serves to attach the pendant to its hanger. 323

The second set of shoes (pair B) is slightly larger (13.2 x 41.7 x 15.2 cm) but shares the same overall design as pair A (fig. 160). The two artifacts were discovered stacked on top of one another, parallel to the western edge of the sarcophagus and positioned directly over the remains of the southern body's feet. The right shoe had been placed upside down over the left, and although its shape was slightly deformed, it remains largely intact. The left was heavily damaged. In addition to the difference in artifact size, the tortoise-shell motif adorning the pair B shoes also is less refined. Instead of a uniform repetition of geometric shapes, the hexagons appear warped, their edges curving and sizes fluctuating from one cell to the next. The sides of the shapes are also no longer engraved but are formed instead from a single row of stippled low relief dots, hammered outwards from the shoes' interiors. The pendants of the pair B shoes also have a different design. Instead of circular and fish-shaped ornaments, pair B is adorned with oblong leaf-style pendants, which connect to hangers at their rounded bases and are slightly pointed at the opposite tip. 324

The interior of both pairs of shoes retained a thin layer of coarse fabric pasted along the sides and soles of the works. Fragments of a more finely wrought cloth also were identified and

Bones from the feet of the northern and southern skeletons were recovered from underneath both pairs of shoes. However, because no bone fragments were found inside of the shoes themselves, archaeologists have concluded that the works were not worn by the bodies at the time of interment and instead were simply placed at the feet of each corpse. Miyahara, "Hokuseibu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:95.

³²³ Although many of the hanger wires and their accompanying pendants are no longer intact, archaeologists estimate that each shoe originally supported around 231 hangers, based on the extant pairs of hanger holes identified on the right shoe. Of these hangers, eighty-three would have been located along the shoes' proximal face, twenty-eight at the toe section of the medial edge, and 120 extended from the bottom of the sole.

³²⁴ Although pair B is the larger of the two sets of shoes, it supported fewer pendants. It is estimated that the each of the B shoes had 169 hangers: fifty-nine on the proximal face, twenty-four on the medial, and eighty-six along the sole.

are thought to have originally comprised a brocade that wrapped over the sharp edge along the rim of the shoe's mouth. This brocade would have been attached by strings wound through pairs of small holes that run the perimeter of the opening.³²⁵

It is clear that neither pair of shoes was created with the intention of serving as functional footwear. In addition to their elaborate construction from gilt-bronze, the enormous size of the artifacts and the placement of wire hangers along the bottom of the soles would have prevented the wearer from walking or even comfortably standing in these works (fig. 161). Instead, archaeologists believe that the shoes served as status symbols, perhaps intended to be worn while a ruler or other elite was seated at ceremonial events. Alternatively, they may have been created specifically to serve as a grave-good for inclusion within the Fujinoki sarcophagus. 326

Half-cylindrical artifacts (Appendix C10)

Partially covered by the northern pair of shoes and the fallen uprights of the crown, archaeologists uncovered two identical half-cylindrical artifacts (fig. 162). These works lay next to each other, one near the northern wall of the coffin and the other on top of the right shin bone of the adjacent body. It is likely that the artifacts were originally stacked on top of one another but had been displaced over time.³²⁷ Both are formed from a rectangular sheet of gilt-bronze that is slightly wider at one end (36.0 x 9.4-12.0 cm). The sheet had been bent along its length to form a narrow "U" shaped arc. Along their surface, the artifacts are decorated with a tortoiseshell motif, formed from hammered stippled lines that closely match the design found on the "B" set of gilded shoes. Also familiar are the projecting lengths of short wire, each designed to hold circular, as well as a small number of fish-shaped, pendants. The top and bottom edges of the half-cylindrical artifacts each support two bowtie-shaped gilt-bronze ornaments (8.5 cm), arranged vertically next to one another. The decorations have an engraved border of dots enclosed by etched lines and are studded with additional wires and pendants. Meanwhile, small holes along their contour were used to sew a cloth backing to the ornaments, of which small sections of fabric remain partially intact. Pairs of similar holes are also found along the edges of the bodies of the artifacts. However, there is no trace of fabric remains along the rear of the works, making the exact function of these holes unknown.³²⁸

Given the placement of the half-cylindrical artifacts adjacent to the legs of the northern body, and their similarity in both materials and ornamentation to the pairs of gilt-bronze shoes, it

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³²⁵ Matsuda Shinichi, "Kondōsei kutsu," in *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun gaihō*, 72-75; Matsuda Shinichi, "Kondōsei kutsu A • B," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:115-124; Suzuki Tsutomu and Matsubayashi Masanori, "Sekkan nai shutsudo kondō seihin no kinkō gijutsu," in *IFK 2-3*, 2:66-68.

³²⁶ Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Fujinoki Kofun: Kodai no bunka*, 34; Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 439. Their lack of functionality also is indicated by the absence of bent wires along the soles, which one would expect to find if someone had previously attempted to stand while wearing the shoes.

³²⁷ Miyahara, "Hokuseibu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:95-96.

³²⁸ Kidder notes that the reverse of the half-cylindrical artifacts had been lined in hemp-covered leather. However, within the discussion of these works in the *IFK* report, Miyahara specifically laments the lack of surviving fabric remains. Kidder's analysis, which was based on preliminary research of the sarcophagus artifacts conducted immediately following their excavation, is likely in error. Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 442-444; Miyahara Shinichi, "Kondōsei han tsutsugata hin," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:128.

has been theorized that these objects functioned correspondingly as ornamented shin-guards.³²⁹ However, the opening along the backs of these works is only about 4.5 cm wide, making it unlikely that the works could have fit over and around a man's calves. Instead they were designed either to be tied along the tops of the shins or, more likely, served as decorative coverings for the bones of an already decomposed body.³³⁰

Gilt-bronze floral ornament (Appendix C10)

Just east of the half-cylindrical objects, roughly between the knees of the northern body, was another gilt-bronze artifact. This work has yet to be securely identified and has been simply labeled as a petal-shaped decorative fitting (*kaben gata kazari kanagu*) (fig. 163). It is comprised of around ten individual sheets of gilt bronze (10 cm). The upper half of each sheet has been formed into twin oblong rabbit ear-like projections, which are slightly pointed and curl at the tips. The two "ears" converge to form a rectangular bottom, and midway along the sides are a mirrored pair of inward curling palmette fronds. Although the overall decoration is now fragmented, each individual section of gilt-bronze originally would have attached to one another via holes in their bases, fanning in a circle to create a single flower-like ornament (D. 14-15 cm). Starburst-shaped impressions left on the surface of the metal sheets indicate that the cords that once connected the works had decorative splayed ends, and that similar bindings, perhaps for tassels, had also connected through holes along each of the works' vegetative side curls.³³¹

Kidder has suggested that the floral artifact may have originally served as a crown ornament that had since become detached. He is unsure, however, where on the headpiece this decoration would have been located. Miyahara, on the other hand, interprets the ornament's positioning along the lower portion northern body as indicating that it was a leg decoration. He proposes that it was intended to be worn in conjunction with the half-cylindrical shin-guards, and that it would have been split into two separate ornaments to cover both knees of the wearer.³³²

Gilt-bronze belt and silver-gilded knives (Appendices C10, C11)

Positioned along the central axis of the coffin, near the legs of the two bodies, was a gilt-bronze belt (fig. 164). This work is formed from a rectangular sheet of metal (106.8 x 12.6 cm) that had been folded several times before being placed into the sarcophagus. The exterior of the artifact appears to have been undecorated, while the interior had likely been covered with a cloth lining, affixed by threads woven through the numerous holes drilled along the top and bottom edges of the belt. Cords originally would have been wound through a set of six larger

³²⁹ Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 442-444. Maezono further supports this interpretation with a somewhat similar pair of Chinese shin-guards excavated from Lijiashan tomb M24 in Yunnan. Given that M24 dates to the second century BCE, however, I would argue that this site is too far temporally removed from Fujinoki to supply a useful comparison. Maezono Michio, "Fujinoki Kofun at Ikaruga Town, Nara Prefecture, Western Japan," tans. Kojō Yasushi, in *IFK 2-3*, 1:n.p.

³³⁰ I explore the possibility that the northern body was a secondary burial in the following chapter.

³³¹ Miyahara, "Kondōsei enkei • kaben gata seihin," 1:165.

³³² Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 442; Miyahara, "Hokuseibu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:95.

³³³ This work was located slightly closer to the southern body, leading archaeologists to generally assume that the artifact was included as part of the overall ceremonial attire of the southern remains.

holes located near the left and right ends of the work, allowing the belt to be tied into a loop around the wearer.³³⁴

When it was first excavated, archaeologists discovered that two knives had been wrapped inside of the folds of the belt. Three additional knives also lay just to the east and had presumably fallen out sometime after the artifact had been interred. Each of the works is about 34 cm long and share the same general design (fig. 165). The hilt is made from silver coated wood and has a pommel that curves along the rear edge of the work. The iron blades, now fragmented, had a single cutting edge and had been sheathed in silver covered scabbards. Knives 1 and 2 have additional silver fittings placed around the mouth and center of the scabbard, which have an oblong hole drilled along one side. Remains of cord were found wound through these openings and carefully wrapped around the scabbards. These fittings are thought to have once been used to hang the knives from four large holes found along the lower edge of the gilt-bronze belt.

An additional sixth knife was recovered from under sword 3, near the remains of the southern body's left hand (fig. 166). This work is smaller than the other blades, measuring only 21 cm. The knife has a rectangular pommel that is covered in a silver fitting, which has an attached ring along one of its faces. Other silver fittings from the mouth and tip of the scabbard also were recovered, but, due to extensive deterioration, it is unclear if the rest of the work had also once been covered in silver. Overall, despite the work's small size and material similarity to the blades that accompanied the gilt-bronze belt, it is thought that this knife had been intentionally placed separately, perhaps indicating its special significance in relation to the southern body. 335

Beaded anklets (Appendix C7)

Underneath the set B shoes and alongside the surviving ankle bones of the southern body archaeologists recovered eighteen large spherical blue glass beads (D. 2.32-2.90 cm) (fig. 167). These works were loosely arranged in a loop-like configuration, suggesting that they had been strung as anklets and placed on both legs of the body prior to its burial.³³⁶

Gilt-bronze pendants and spangles (Appendix C10)

Amidst the scattered circular, petal, and fish-shaped pendants that had become detached from the shoes, crown, and the cylindrical and half-cylindrical artifacts of the sarcophagus, archaeologists also recovered almost 1,000 additional small gilt-bronze ornaments. Included among these were 139 circular works (D. 3.3 cm) that had originally served as spangles attached to a funerary draping (fig. 168). Based on an analysis of the numerous clusters of decomposed fabric found floating inside of the sarcophagus, archaeologists assume that two shrouds had been spread on top of the bodies. The smaller of the two works (*kakefu* 1) covered only the southern body and appears to have been created in a checkboard-like arrangement, alternating between

³³⁴ Matsuda Shinichi, "Nanseibu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:93; Matsuda Shinichi, "Kondōsei daitai," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:124-126.

³³⁵ Ibid., "Nanseibu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:93; Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Tōsu," in *IFK 2-3*, 1:207-211. The six knives have been noted as having a similar size and design to small eighth-century knives with attached cords stored at Shōsōin. Mori and Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kan nai chōsa o oete," 254. ³³⁶ Matsuda Shinichi, "Nanseibu no ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 1:94; Urabe, "Garasu tamarui," 1:150.

rectangular sections of brocade and red dyed silk (fig. 169). A particularly well-preserved brocade fragment (no. 355) retains one of the circular spangles, which had been sewn onto the cloth at the top of a dangling string tassel (fig. 170). It is assumed that each of the checkered sections of brocade within the complete funerary draping had similarly been adorned with a single spangle and tassel, and that as many as ninety of the gilt-bronze ornaments had originally been attached along either side of the blanket.³³⁷

The other funerary draping (*kakefu* 2) is thought to have covered the entirety of the coffin interior, overlapping the southern body's shroud. Fragments from this work are extremely degraded, but, based on remains recovered near the right hand of the northern body and along sword 5, it is thought that the fabric had a simplified brocade and silk design that excluded tassels. 340 small petal-shaped gilt-bronze ornaments (2.3 cm) discovered primarily in the center of the coffin had small bits of string found along the holes drilled into their rounded bases (fig. 171). These works may have once been tied as spangles to *kakefu* 2, or alternatively sewn to the cloth wrappings that swathed both bodies.³³⁸

The final group of gilt-bronze decorations comprises 463 larger petal-shaped works (3.6 cm) (fig. 171). These artifacts were originally attached as pendants to the wire arms of the pinwheel crupper ornaments from the set A assemblage of gilded horse tack located in the burial chamber. Before the sarcophagus was sealed, these pendants had been removed from their hangers and scattered across the shrouds that covered the two bodies.³³⁹ It is possible that the pendants replicated flower petals, and that their distribution in the coffin was intended as a funerary ritual similar to the Buddhist *sange* rite, in which flowers are arranged on top of the remains of the deceased.³⁴⁰ Another possibility, which I pursue further in chapter four, is that the scattering of the pendants was intended to materially connect the horse equipment placed outside of the coffin with the bodies of their potential riders interred inside of the sarcophagus.

Conclusion

The primary focus of this chapter has been to provide a comprehensive catalog of the grave-goods recovered from the Fujinoki tomb, presenting together the collections of the burial chamber and sarcophagus that have previously been treated as isolated assemblages. Beyond a simple listing of the artifacts and their locations in the tomb, however, this work has also sought to provide a clearer sense of what each of these objects constitutes. The Fujinoki site reports emphasize an empirical accounting of archaeological materials, providing detailed physical

³³⁷ Miyahara, "Kondōsei enkei kazari kanagu • kondōsei kaben gata hoyō (dai • shō) no shutsudo jōtai," 1:106; idem., "Kondōsei enkei • kaben gata seihin," 1:166; Yoshimatsu Shigenobu, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo sen'ichū no kakefu ni tsuite," in *Fujinoki Kofun kara mita kodai sen'i seihin no kenkyū*, 43-46. 338 Miyahara, "Kondōsei enkei kazari kanagu • kondōsei kaben gata hoyō (dai • shō) no shutsudo jōtai," 1:106; idem., "Kondōsei enkei • kaben gata seihin," 1:165; Katsube, "Monyō no sekai," 96; Yoshimatsu, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo sen'ichū no kakefu ni tsuite," 43-45; Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 59-60.

³³⁹ Miyahara, "Kondōsei enkei kazari kanagu • kondōsei kaben gata hoyō (dai • shō) no shutsudo jōtai,"
1:106; idem., "Kondōsei enkei • kaben gata seihin,"
1:165.

³⁴⁰ Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa," 22; Katsube, "Monyō no sekai," 96. Heightened concentrations of safflower pollen detected within the water of the sarcophagus may be an indication that the gilt-bronze petal-shaped pendants also were accompanied by real flowers scattered over the bodies. Kanehara Masaaki and Kanehara Masako, "Sekkan nai no kafun bunseki oyobi shōkakan naiyōbutsu zansa no kansatsu," in *IFK 2-3*, 2:25-26.

measurements and chemical analyses. As I have argued in chapter one, however, often lost within these dense accounts is a clear understanding of what these artifacts *are*, both in the sense of their overall appearance, as well as the practical nature of how the works were designed to function. Most publications discussing the tomb have also tended to retreat to sets of specialized typological terminology in order to classify grave-goods by general form, rather than provide descriptive explanations of the works. This language barrier extends beyond a fundamental knowledge of Japanese, presenting an impediment to all scholars from outside of the narrow subfield of Late Kofun period archaeology attempting to fully understand the Fujinoki assemblage.

With this exhaustive account of the tomb's collection of grave-goods we have a foundation from which to better examine Fujinoki as a unified site. This catalog makes apparent that beyond the impressive array of gilded artifacts for which the tomb is famous, it also contained a range of more mundane grave-goods, largely unremarkable in design and crafted from materials such as iron, ceramic, and wood. There also seems to be a pattern in how these artifacts were arranged. Objects designed with an apparent practical function, such as the suit of lamellar armor, arrowheads, and ceramic vessels, had been relegated to the burial chamber, while the sarcophagus interior was reserved for highly decorated personal ornaments, created from extravagant materials such as gilt-bronze and glass. Excluded from this emerging pattern, however, are the three sets of gilt-bronze horse tack tucked behind the coffin, and the four bronze mirrors that were placed under the heads of the deceased. It is not coincidental that both of these groups of artifacts occupy a liminal position compared to the other grave-goods: the saddles serving as functional riding equipment made from impractical materials and the mirrors as specialized ritual instruments cast from un-gilded bronze. This overall pattern in the placement of artifacts based on their materials and apparent function, and the areas where the arrangement diverges from this pattern, I believe are key to understanding the funerary practices and belief systems that motivated the production of the tomb and its grave-goods. The themes of materiality and functionally will continue to underpin my discussion in the following chapter, as I compare the Fujinoki assemblage with those of several nearby Late Kofun period tombs and begin to reconstruct the method of burial used for the site's two interred bodies.

<u>Chapter Three</u> Funerary Culture of the Sixth-Century Western Nara Basin

The remarkably well-preserved corpus of grave-goods at Fujinoki Kofun provides a rare glimpse into the funerary culture of sixth-century Japan. In chapter two, I provided a comprehensive examination of the works comprising this assemblage, describing the materials, formal design, and function of each artifact. Continuing this discussion, I move now to consider the assemblage at large, investigating the interconnected ritual significances of the tomb's structural design and the various groups of objects interred at the site.

At the conclusion of the previous chapter, I identified an emerging pattern within the organization of the artifacts at Fujinoki: ornamental grave-goods constructed from precious materials were predominantly interred inside of the sarcophagus, while more mundane iron and ceramic objects were relegated to the burial chamber and tumulus exterior. I contend that the types of grave-goods selected for burial as well as their specific arrangement at the site were dictated by a predefined system of sixth-century mortuary practice that extended across a wider region of the Nara Basin. As a means of testing this hypothesis, and further investigating the social and soteriological associations of the tomb's material culture, this chapter presents a comparative analysis that situates Fujinoki among three contemporaneous sites, Udozuka Kofun, Misato Kofun, and Bakuya Kofun. Each of these tombs is located within the western Nara Basin in areas neighboring Fujinoki's Ikarugachō, and each has tumuli and burial facilitates that are among the largest of those constructed during the mid to late sixth century. Comparing the three sites with Fujinoki reveals that each contained a near analogous assemblage of artifacts, suggesting that shared funerary beliefs and associated rituals directed the creation of the *kofun*.

Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya Kofun further assist in bridging gaps in our understanding of the organizational scheme of the Fujinoki assemblage. Although Hōshakuji was instrumental in preserving many of Fujinoki's grave-goods, the construction of this monastic compound appears to have disrupted the placement of *haniwa* at the site and also may have led to the removal of other artifacts originally located outside of the tumulus. Moreover, following the destruction of the temple in the nineteenth century, evidence suggests that the grave-goods inside of the Fujinoki burial chamber were rearranged prior to the resealing of the site's entrance passage. Although Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya had been looted prior to their excavations, archaeologists were able to recover substantial collections of artifacts from each. Many of these objects were discovered in their original locations, having been buried under rubble or otherwise overlooked by raiders. As a result, the assemblages of these sites provide a comparative model for deciphering the initial placement of grave-goods at Fujinoki, lending further insight into the significance of the distribution of artifacts at the tomb.

I begin this chapter with a descriptive overview of Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya, before transitioning to a discourse that compares these sites with Fujinoki. Through my analysis of the four western basin *kofun*, I arrive at the interpretation that the architecture and grave-goods of each site were designed with the intent of fulfilling three principal requirements: facilitating the performance of funerary rites by mourners at the site; visually distinguishing the deceased interred within the tomb as a member of the preeminent Kofun period ruling class; and providing protection for the dead, whose spirit would continue to occupy an elevated position within a social hierarchy that persisted into the afterlife. I further identify that the ritual function of objects is reflected in their placement at the sites. Ceramic offering vessels were left in situ

³⁴¹ Hōshakuji and the rearrangement of Fujinoki artifacts is discussed in chapter two.

where the funerary rites were performed, near tomb entrances and in the anterior sections of the burial facilities. The arrangement of *haniwa* outside of the tumulus, and placement of collections of iron arms and armor within the burial facilities, were designed to create protective wards surrounding the interred. Finally, decorated objects made from lavish materials were intended for use by the soul of the deceased and were either interred inside of the sarcophagus or, in case of ornamental horse tack, situated adjacent to the coffin.

I contend that the anachronistic inclusion of relatively large groupings of bronze mirrors and miniature tools at Fujinoki, missing from the assemblages of the other three *kofun*, reflect the specific historical circumstances surrounding the tomb's creation. I further posit that the unexpected death of a young nobleman precipitated the construction of Fujinoki. During the interim before the tomb was completed, the nobleman's body was temporarily buried with an assemblage of grave-goods reflecting earlier fifth-century mortuary traditions, which were later incorporated alongside other artifacts when the corpse was ultimately transferred to the Fujinoki sarcophagus.

Udozuka Kofun

(Appendix D)

Around seventy *kofun* have been identified in Heguri Valley, a region located between the Ikoma mountain range and Yata Hill in northwestern Nara Prefecture. This Heguri tomb group is comprised primarily of Late Kofun period tumuli, the largest of which is Udozuka Kofun, dating from the latter half of the sixth century (fig. 172). The tomb is perched atop a natural hill overlooking the western bank of the Tatsuta River and is located about 2.5 km northwest from Fujinoki.³⁴²

Udozuka was excavated by Kashikōken in 1969.³⁴³ Its 60.5 m keyhole-shaped tumulus runs north-south, with the circular burial mound situated on its southern end (D. 35.3 m; h. 8 m). The burial facilities consist of an interior corridor (8.2 x 1.6-1.9 m; h. 2 m) beginning on the southern side of the tumulus and leading to the *ryōsodeshiki*-style stone burial chamber (6 x 2.8m; h. 4.3 m) (fig. 173). All but one of the slabs comprising the roof of the corridor had collapsed some time prior to the excavation of the site, filling the front sections of the tomb with debris and leaving only the large stacked stones of its walls intact (fig. 174). The burial chamber, on the other hand, despite several areas of soil infill, survives with only minor damage.³⁴⁴

The remains of two stone sarcophagi were identified at the site. The larger of the two is located inside of the burial chamber, positioned about 70 cm from the rear wall and running

³⁴² Murakoso Hitoshi, "Udozuka Kofun," in *Yamato zenpōkōenfun shūsei*, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Kashihara: Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 2001), 14. Udozuka's current address is 1 chōme-4, Kasugaoka, Hegurichō, Ikoma-gun, Nara Prefecture.

³⁴³ The excavation of Udozuka was proposed in response to the planned construction of a residential development in the area surrounding the tomb. Examination of the site was conducted under the direction of the Nara Prefectural Board of Education and Kashikōken, with assistance from members of the local community, from 1/17-4/1, 1969. As a result of the excavation, the site became designated as a protected national historic monument in 1971. Date Muneyasu, Oka Kōjiro, and Sugaya Fuminori, "Udozuka Kofun," in *Udozuka Kofun, Tsuboriyama Kofun, Misato-Shimogaitoike Kofun, Tsubai-Tatsutayama shutsudo no tōkan, Heiryūji kyūkeidai nado kinkyūchōsa*, eds. Date Muneyasu and Oka Kōjiro (Nara: Nara Ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1972), 1.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 13; Murakoso, "Udozuka Kofun," 14.

parallel to the room's central axis (fig. 175). The rectangular base of the coffin (285 x 151-165 cm) is formed from two stone slabs placed side-by-side over a layer of clay prepared along a section of chamber's flooring. A groove carved along the perimeter of the base accommodates the side uprights of the sarcophagus (h. 72-92 cm), each created from a single section of stone. Both the southern wall and lid of the coffin are missing, and are thought to have been destroyed by looters. Excavated fragments of sculpted lugs from the lid, however, suggest that the work was originally house-shaped. In addition, traces of cinnabar pigment preserved in the seams between the stone uprights indicate that the interior had likely been painted red. The sarcophagus is further embellished with an incised lattice pattern of its eastern side, which archaeologists theorize may have originally covered the entirety of the work's exterior (fig. 176). Along the northwest section of the coffin's floor, a single small yellow glass bead was recovered. 345

The second sarcophagus (188 x 80 cm) was found in the tomb's corridor (fig. 177). The bottom of the work is formed from three adjacently placed stone slabs, but the sides and lid are no longer extant. Two recovered stone fragments, again thought to have belonged to lugs from the lid, suggest that this work may also have been house-shaped.³⁴⁶

Artifacts excavated from the burial chamber primarily were located along the rear and side walls. By the northern wall, behind the stone sarcophagus, was a collection of thirteen Sue and Haji ceramics (fig. 178). These works had been arranged in a row along the middle of the wall and consist of jars, wine servers, and pedestaled dishes. At the center of this assemblage, on top of a fragmented Haji jar, was an iron spearhead (fig. 179). This weapon was originally hafted, as evidenced by wood remains found affixed to the interior of the spearhead's tubular base. Archaeologists assume that the spear had been placed leaning upright against the wall and that it eventually collapsed onto the collection of clay vessels beneath when its handle decomposed.³⁴⁷

Just south of this ceramic assemblage, archaeologists recovered around 100 iron arrowheads. These were found grouped together, their bladed tips each positioned facing east. Preserved wood fragments scattered around the heads are thought to belong to both the shafts of the arrows, as well as to an extensively decomposed iron banded arrowcase that originally bundled the artifacts together. Lying to the south and east of these remains were two bronze coated iron buckles with elaborate starburst bases, which likely served as fittings for the case.³⁴⁸

Scattered along the western half of the burial chamber's rear wall was a collection of horse tack (fig. 180). Among these artifacts was the teardrop-shaped left half of an iso from the cantle of a saddle (fig. 181). This work is made from iron coated with gilt-bronze, and it retains a buckle for attaching crupper straps affixed at its center. Other notable horse equipment included a pair of iron ring-shaped cheekplates and a rein connector for a headstall; mounting chains and bands of iron plating from a pair of wooden cup stirrups; a rectangular leather and wood object thought to be the decomposed remains of an aori mudguard; a domed strap divider made from gilt-bronze coated iron; and eleven gilt-bronze studs that once ornamented leather

³⁴⁵ Date, Oka, and Sugaya, 14-18, 28; Murakoso, 14; Morishita Keisuke, "Nara bonchi hokubu no kofun," in Yamato no Kofun I, ed. Izumori Kō (Osaka: Kinki Nihon Tetsudō, 2003), 42-43.

³⁴⁶ Date, Oka, and Sugaya, 16.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 18, 29, 48.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 18-19, 29, 47.

straps.³⁴⁹ Mixed among the tack archaeologists also recovered the serrated blade of an iron saw, several iron fragments thought to have been a planning tool, and a small knife (fig. 182).³⁵⁰

A second assemblage of Sue ceramics had been gathered along the eastern side of the burial chamber (fig. 183). Although the northern half of this collection was recovered relatively intact, the southern had been heavily fragmented during previous lootings of the tomb. Together, the remains of at least sixteen vessels were identified, consisting of lidded dishes, jars, wine servers, a large jar stand, and various other pedestaled works. Among these ceramics archaeologists found an iron spearhead, which they also assume had originally been propped against the side of the chamber, standing on its wooden haft. 351

Another grouping of arrowheads was located with the Sue ceramics, again surrounded by the decomposed fragments of a wooden arrowcase. A solitary earring, created from a sheet of gold wrapped around an interior bronze bar, was found along the southern side of the assemblage. Several additional pieces of horse-tack also were recovered, which included a domed gilt-bronze and iron *uzu*, and a crupper pendant with palmette motif gilt-bronze openwork. Finally, a second pair of headstall cheekplates and rein connectors were located in the southeast corner of the chamber (fig. 184). More elaborate than the set found along the northern wall, these cheekplates consist of a cartwheel motif made from gilt-bronze riveted to an iron backing. Single Property of the chamber (fig. 184).

To the west of the sarcophagus were several additional Sue sherds and two isolated arrowheads (fig. 185). Running along the edge of the chamber, archaeologists discovered a sword partially obscured by an overhang extending above the wall's foundation (fig. 186). The pommel of the weapon is missing, but the remaining sections of the hilt are decorated with a sheet of patterned silver wrapping the handle, a gilt-bronze oval *tsuba*, and encircling silver and gold fittings. The surviving wood scabbard is similarly embellished with bands of gold, each embossed with a central motif of repeated rings and etched borders of minute hatchings. Near the tip of the sword was another iron spearhead, again fallen from its original upright positioning. Closer to the side of the sarcophagus was a bronze mirror, its primary motif consisting of four beasts seated on daises, encircling the work's central knob (*shijūkeikyō*) (fig. 187). Vestiges of string and red-colored pigment on top of the artifact are thought to have belonged to a bag that originally enclosed the work, while accompanying wood fragments found on and around the mirror likely are the remains of a bow. 354

Several other burial goods also were discovered among the soil infill of Udozuka Kofun's corridor. These included a small knife fragment near the chamber doorway and, on the northern side of the coffin, Sue sherds and a red-colored glass bead. Several *haniwa* fragments were excavated from along the length of the corridor, which are thought to belong to two figural works, one depicting a shamaness and the other a seated musician (fig. 188). These *haniwa* were

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 19, 31-34.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 19, 30.

³⁵¹ Also along the eastern wall, archaeologists recovered an oddly shaped stone which possibly had been intentionally shaped into a spearhead lithic. Ibid., 21, 29.

³⁵² Ibid., 21-22, 28. Another earring was also found outside of the tumulus, near the entrance to the burial facilities. The gilded exterior has worn away, leaving only the bronze core intact. Likely this work forms a pair with the earring inside of the burial chamber and was removed from its original location by tomb robbers. Idem., 24, 28.

³⁵³ Ibid., 22, 31-33.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 19-20, 29-30, 36.

not originally located in this area, however, and instead likely fell inside along with soil from the tumulus' exterior when the ceiling stones of the passage collapsed. On top of the barricade of stones erected to seal the tomb's entrance, archaeologists also discovered a single gilt-bronze *uzu*, along with a fragmented sword.³⁵⁵

The grave-good assemblage within Udozuka's burial facilities shows evidence of having been significantly disrupted from its original sixth-century arrangement. Of particular note, both of the sarcophagi had been demolished by looters and their contents completely removed. Archaeologists assume, however, that the glass beads found on and around the coffins belonged to artifacts originally stored inside. Similarly, the burial chamber's bronze mirror and decorated sword both likely had been interred in the nearby sarcophagus. While the mirror may have been deliberately discarded by thieves, given the valuable materials adorning the sword, it probably was unintentionally left behind, perhaps having been misplaced beneath the overhang of the chamber's western wall. The tomb's assemblage of horse riding equipment likely originally consisted of two sets of tack, as evidenced by the separate headstall remains recovered from the north wall and southeastern corner of the burial chamber. It is possible that these equestrian artifacts had initially been arranged at the rear of the chamber but became later dispersed throughout, some displaced to the eastern wall and a single gilded *uzu* dropped among the rubble at the front of the tomb by looters as they exited the site.

Beyond the disruption of the site by thieves, it is thought that Udozuka, similar to the Fujinoki tomb, had at one point been unsealed and utilized for religious ceremonies. Ga-ware bowls, Haji lamp dishes, a ceramic kettle (*hagama*), and a large earthen pot dating from after the Kamakura period were found in the burial chamber doorway and in its southwest corner. Also, a square stone platform located adjacent to the corridor's sarcophagus is thought to have been a later addition to the site, possibly constructed for ritual use. Burnt soil near this dais, and soot stains along the ceiling stones and upper sections of the walls of the burial facilities, have led archaeologists to suggest that the tomb had served as a gomadō, used for conducting Esoteric Buddhist burnt offering *goma* ceremonies. They also theorize that the collections of Kofun period Sue and Haji ceramics had been adapted for use in these rites, leading to the reorganization of these works into separate groups along the chamber's rear and eastern walls. 359

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 23-24, 28-30, 44-45.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 28. The inventory of artifacts listed within the Udozuka excavation report indicates that sixty-six glass beads were recovered. However, the locations of only two beads are described: one on top of the burial chamber sarcophagus and the other just north of the corridor coffin. Presumably the other excavated beads were dispersed among the soil infill of the tomb, and either similarly were once attached to personal ornaments interred within the sarcophagi or were later additions brought into the tomb after the sixth century.

³⁵⁷ A coin was also found along the western side of the sarcophagus. Although the artifact is too corroded to precisely date, it certainly was created after the Kofun period, and it likely was dropped in the burial chamber by tomb robbers in the process of breaking into the sarcophagus. Ibid., 49-50.

³⁵⁸ The layer of ash found in the corridor contained no charcoal remains, indicating the combustion of highly flammable objects. This evidence could denote the burning of the *gomagi* firewood typically used for *goma* rituals. A similar layer of ash, accompanied by medieval Ga-ware and celadon ceramics, was excavated in front of the tomb's entrance. Archaeologists have also identified an area east of Udozuka's front ritual space where a small shrine or other building connected with these religious practices was once constructed.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 26, 47-48.

Unlike the grave-goods stored within the Udozuka burial facilities, artifacts recovered from outside of the tumulus are thought to be situated in their proximate original locations. Trenches excavated along the top and perimeter of the tomb indicate that the foundation of the keyhole tumulus was surrounded by cylindrical *haniwa*, with further works adorning areas along the sides of the circular burial mound and the top of the tomb's rectangular platform. In a 2.5 m area in front of the entrance into the burial facilities, archaeologists recovered additional cylindrical, human, armor, and house-shaped *haniwa* (fig. 189). Several Sue ceramics also were found, notable among them a *komochidoki*, a vessel featuring numerous small bowls mounted on a pedestaled base (fig. 190). ³⁶⁰

Misato Kofun

(Appendix E)

Located roughly 1.5 km northeast of Udozuka, and 3.15 km from Fujinoki, is another large-scale tumulus of the Heguri tomb group, Misato Kofun (fig. 191). This site was constructed on the eastern bank of the Tatsuta river, along a mountainous ridge that extends southwest from Yata Hill. The tomb is thought to date to the second half of the sixth century, shortly after the establishment of Udozuka Kofun. 362

Initially the Misato tumulus was assumed to consist of only its circular burial mound (D. 22 m; h. 6 m). During its excavation in 1975, however, archaeologists identified a rectangular earthen platform extending northeast beyond the rear of the burial chamber, suggesting that the site originally was constructed as a keyhole-shaped tomb measuring 35 m long. The burial facilities consist of a stone corridor (7 x 1.3-1.4 m) opening on the southwest side of the tumulus, leading to a *ryōsodeshiki* burial chamber (4.9 x 2.4 m; h. 3 m) (fig. 192). The remains of the burial mound and its interior facilities, however, have been extensively damaged. Shortly after World War II, Hegurichō's municipal government approved dismantling Misato for use as stone building materials. As a result, much of the soil of the original tumulus, along with the ceiling slabs and upper sections of the corridor and burial chamber side walls, are no longer extant. In addition, no remains of *haniwa* or other ceramics were discovered around the tumulus. This

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 10-12, 24-26, 44-46; Murakoso, "Udozuka Kofun," 14.

³⁶¹ Misato Kofun's current address is Misato 958, Hegurichō, Ikoma-gun, Nara Prefecture.

³⁶² Murakoso Hitoshi, "Misato Kofun," in *Yamato zenpōkōenfun shūsei*, 16.

³⁶³ The area surrounding the surviving burial mound is now occupied by rice paddies. Likely the rectangular section of the tumulus had been demolished to make room for agricultural cultivation. Saitō Kiyohide, "Ricchi to genjō to gaikei," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Kashihara: Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 1977), 17, 20.

³⁶⁴ Unlike the pebbles lining the floor of Udozuka and Fujinoki Kofun, the Misato burial facilities were paved with fairly large flat stones about 20-30 cm in diameter. Migishima Kazuo, "Yokoanashiki sekishitsu," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, 21.

³⁶⁵ Although Misato Kofun had long been recognized by local residents as a tomb site, its archeological significance was not officially documented until its inclusion in the 1972 project mapping *kofun* within Nara Prefecture. The initial push for the preservation of Misato was instigated by the Heguri shiseki o mamorukai, a group of Hegurichō townspeople formed following the 1969 excavation of Udozuka, dedicated toward the protection of local historical sites. In 1975, Kashikōken, in cooperation with the Hegurichō Board of Education and members of the mamorukai, conducted an excavation of the site from 1/16-2/7. As a result of this investigation, Misato Kofun became designated as a protected Prefectural Historic Site later that year. Kawakami Kunihiko, "Chōsa no tenmatsu," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, 12-15.

has been interpreted to not be the result of the tomb's destruction, however, but instead an indication that the site was early to adopt funerary rites foregoing *haniwa* arrangements, a trend which developed among *kofun* of the late sixth and seventh centuries.³⁶⁶

Similar to Udozuka Kofun, the remains of two stone sarcophagi, one located in the burial chamber and the other in the corridor, were discovered during the Misato excavation. Only the base of the burial chamber coffin is intact, consisting of three tuff stone slabs placed side-by-side parallel to the western wall, leaving a gap of 80-100 cm (fig. 193). The complete sarcophagus is assumed to have measured about 200 x 75 cm, with sides made from three stone uprights each. Based on a recovered lug fragment, the work had been topped with a carved house-shaped lid. The second stone coffin (175 x 45-50 cm) is located just outside of the chamber doorway, about 50 cm from the corridor's east wall (fig. 194). The bottom of the work is somewhat crudely constructed from large rough stones, with smaller rocks placed in the gaps in-between. Upright sections of granite were used for the side walls, and two larger slabs formed the lid, giving the work a simple rectangular shape.³⁶⁷ In addition, Misato Kofun has a 1.45 m deep stone shelf constructed along the rear wall of the burial chamber, raised about 40 cm from the floor (fig. 195). It is thought that this feature served as a funerary platform intended for the committal of additional bodies.³⁶⁸

A large collection of ceramics had been interred within Misato Kofun, consisting of 122 Sue and twenty-three Haji vessels. Over a third of these works were recovered near the burial chamber sarcophagus, with forty ceramics piled along the southwestern corner of the room and an additional ten near the western wall (fig. 196). The vessels included dishes with and without pedestals, jar stands, jars, short-necked jars, pots, wine servers and various types of lids. Just north of the coffin, underneath the chamber's funerary shelf, fragments of two Sue dishes were found, which are thought to remain in their original sixth-century arrangements. The rest of the recovered ceramics, on the other hand, were scattered throughout the burial chamber and corridor, and reflect the disturbance of the site by tomb robbers. A number of Ga-ware vessels, flanged kettles, a Song Dynasty lidded *gōshi* ceramic, a modern clay bell, and two copper coins minted between 998-1038 CE also attest to later intrusions into the site's burial facilities. 369

In addition to ceramics, other grave-goods were recovered from the gap between the stone sarcophagus and western wall of the burial chamber (fig. 197). The majority of these artifacts belong to sets of decorative horse tack, central among them the *iso* sections of a saddlebow and cantle (fig. 198). Like Udozuka, these saddles are iron with a gilt-bronze veneer and are formed from separate teardrop-shaped sides linked by a central *suhama* arch. The remains of two headstalls were discovered, one featuring bell-shaped cheekplates with an

³⁶⁶ Small stones detected along the western slope of the Misato tumulus indicate that the mound may have been covered in *fukiishi*. Saitō, "Ricchi to genjō to gaikei," 19; Murakoso, "Misato Kofun," 16.

³⁶⁷ Kawakami Kunihiko, "Sekkan," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, 23-26.

³⁶⁸ Migishima, "Yokoana sekishitsu," 22.

³⁶⁹ Kawakami Kunihiko, "Ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," in *Heguri* • *Misato Kofun*, 27, 29; Izumi Takeshi, "Doki," in *Heguri* • *Misato Kofun*, 49-53. It should also be noted that not all of the alterations to the original Misato grave-good assemblage were necessarily the result of lootings of the site. When talking with archaeologists, the previous landowner of Misato, Mr. Toyama, stated that thirty years prior to the excavation children would regularly enter and play in the tomb via a hole dug by early tomb robbers. Toyama himself had independently removed several shards of Sue pottery from the site, and presumably other portions of the assemblage were lost when the tomb was partially dismantled after WWII. Kawakami, "Chōsa no tenmatsu," 12.

attached gilt-bronze honeysuckle lattice openwork (fig. 199) and the other with heart-shaped plates, its gilt-bronze façade forming a cross (fig. 200). The discovery of separate headstalls implies that at least two sets of decorative tack had originally been interred within the tomb. Nine bell-shaped crupper pendants within the assemblage, each with a gilt-bronze honeysuckle openwork, presumably were intended to complement the similarly designed headstall (fig. 201). Two *uzu* and seventeen strap dividers also were recovered, each created from gilt-bronze over an iron base (fig. 202). One of the *uzu* and four of the strap dividers are further embellished by relief floral ornaments affixed by a central rivet at their apex, suggesting that these works belong to a separate set of tack from the other crupper ornaments (fig. 203). Fragments of a number of decorative and functional fittings also were found along the western wall, while sections of iron banding and a chain from a pair of triangular cup stirrups were spread both around the sarcophagus and throughout the rest of the burial chamber.³⁷⁰

Sixty-seven small glass beads in shades of blue and yellow were found along the floor of the burial chamber sarcophagus, as well as on top of the adjacent horse tack assemblage. These works likely once formed beaded personal ornaments interred within the coffin, with many of the beads becoming displaced when the sarcophagus was opened and looted.³⁷¹ Along the northwestern side of the coffin archaeologists recovered the remains of a sword. The blade is fragmented and the scabbard missing, but surviving bands of gilt-bronze from the weapon's hilt, engraved with a motif of alternating rings and lozenges, suggest that the work had been elaborately decorated (fig. 204). Given its proximity, it is possible that the sword was also once held inside of the sarcophagus. Other artifacts mixed among the assemblage along the western wall consisted of two knives and several arrowheads, in addition to a solitary iron axe head.³⁷²

In and around the remains of the rectangular stone sarcophagus in the corridor were found fragments of several Sue and Haji vessels. It is uncertain, however, if the location of these works reflects their original intended arrangement. No other grave-goods that would have accompanied the coffin survive.³⁷³

Archaeologists have suggested that following the initial placement of the two stone sarcophagi, deceased members of the familial clan continued to be interred at Misato, placed within wood coffins that have since decomposed. Kawakami argues that as many as four bodies had been later added to the tomb, and he links their locations to conspicuously arranged artifacts at the site (fig. 205). He states that the rear stone shelf likely accommodated two coffins, one placed on top, as evidenced by the remains of two iron knife blades, and the other below, leaving behind two barrel-shaped agate beads. Kawakami states that the eastern side of the burial chamber held another coffin, which had been accompanied by an iron knife found near the center of the room. Finally, at the front of the corridor were a pair of gold earrings. These were found spaced about 10 cm from one another, suggesting that they had been placed on the ears of a body and were left behind as the corpse deteriorated. 374

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³⁷⁰ Kawakami, "Ibutsu no shutsudo jōtai," 28-29; Migishima Kazuo, "Bagu," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, 36-48.

³⁷¹ Kawakami, "Ibutsu no shutsudo jōtai," 29; Kawakami Kunihiko, "Misato Kofun no matome," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, 83-84; Saitō Kiyohide, "Sōshingu," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, 32.

³⁷² Kawakami, "Ibutsu no shutsudo jōtai," 29; idem., "Misato Kofun no matome," 83; Saitō Kiyohide, "Buki," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, 34; Saitō Kiyohide, "Kōgu," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, 34.

³⁷³ Kawakami, "Ibutsu no shutsudo jōtai," 27.

³⁷⁴ Kawakami Kunihiko, "Mokkan to sono kanōsei," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, 30; Kawakami Kunihiko, "Kan no maisō junjo to ibutsu," in *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, 31; Saitō, "Sōshingu," 32; idem., "Buki," 34.

Overall, I am somewhat hesitant to agree with Kawakami's assessment. Not only are there no surviving fragments or metal fittings from the proposed wood coffins, but also, from a spatial standpoint, it seems unlikely that four additional bodies would have easily fit within the confines of the burial facilities. In particular, I do not believe it possible that a casket could have been wedged into the 40 cm space below the funerary shelf.³⁷⁵ The agate beads excavated from under the shelf may instead have been artifacts displaced from inside of the nearby house-shaped stone sarcophagus. Additionally, the knife found at the center of the burial chamber, instead of evidencing a coffin on the eastern side of the room, could just as likely have been a grave-good disturbed by looters from the assemblage along the western wall. On the other hand, it does seem plausible that a coffin may have been located in the corridor, as supported by the compelling arrangement of the two earrings. I also find it likely that another body was placed on top of the funerary shelf, given the presence of similar shelves used as coffin platforms at tombs within the Iwasesenzuka Kofun group in Wakayama Prefecture.³⁷⁶

Bakuya Kofun

(Appendix F)

Bakuya Kofun is further removed from Fujinoki, located almost 6.5 km to the southwest in Nara Prefecture's Kōryōchō (fig. 206). The tomb is situated near the western edge of a cluster of tumuli at the center of the Umami Kofun group, itself an expansive collection of fourth through seventh-century burial mounds spanning a region over 7 km long. Bakuya is a circular tumulus, 60 m in diameter and 13 m tall, built along the southeastern face of a small hill. A *ryōsodeshiki* burial chamber (6.7 x 3.2 m; h. 4.4 m) and corridor (10.6 x 1.8 m; h. 2.0 m) open along the southern side of the tomb and together form one of largest burial facilities to have been discovered within Nara Prefecture (figs. 207-208). The design of the tomb has frequently been compared with the famous seventh-century Ishibutai Kofun in Nara's Asuka-mura, which has led to the nearly contemporaneous dating of Bakuya near the end of the sixth century.

Note that Saitō misidentifies the earrings as consisting of a central bronze bar wrapped in silver, as opposed to gold sheeting.

³⁷⁵ Kawakami acknowledges that the area between the floor and shelf is quite narrow but seems to dismiss these concerns. However, even if a coffin could theoretically be placed underneath the shelf, there are additional logistical difficulties to consider. The coffin would presumably have been carried into the tumulus already laden with a body and grave-goods inside, and the pallbearers would have additionally needed to navigate around the existing two stone sarcophagi and their artifact assemblages. Then, within claustrophobic confines of the chamber, the coffin would have had to be angled so that it could be slid behind the house-shaped sarcophagus, which stands in front of the western half of the shelf. Such a feat seems unnecessarily obtuse, if not outright impossible to accomplish, given the tomb's dimensions.

³⁷⁶ Kawakami, "Misato Kofun no matome," 81; Murakoso, "Misato Kofun," 16.

³⁷⁷ The current address for Bakuya Kofun is 8 chōme Umamikita, Kōryōchō, Kitakatsuragi-gun, Nara Prefecture.

³⁷⁸The Umami Kofun group is alternatively referred to as the Umamikyūryō Kofun group. It is subdivided into three clusters of tombs, with the southern group having developed surrounding Shinyama Kofun, the middle group around the Nikiyama tomb, and Kawai-Ōtsukayama Kofun forming the center of the northern cluster. Inoue Yoshimitsu, "Katsuragi hokubu chiiki," in *Yamato zenpōkōenfun shūsei*, 251-252; Yoshimura Kimio, "Umamikyūryō no Kofun," in *Yamato no Kofun I*, 65-68, 72-80.

³⁷⁹ Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Bakuya Kofun* (Kōryōchō: Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, 1987), 16-18. ³⁸⁰ Ibid., 131-132. This dating of Bakuya Kofun based on the design of its funerary chamber has been fairly problematic, with scholars arguing that the tomb was constructed anywhere from later sixth century

Traces of soil identified along the tomb's stacked stone walls possibly indicate that the burial chamber had also once been coated with a red-colored mud plaster.³⁸¹

Despite having been previously looted, archaeologists excavating Bakuya Kofun in 1983 discovered an extensive collection of grave-goods, most of which had been concealed beneath layers of soil that had fallen into the tomb's funerary facilities. At the rear of the burial chamber are the remains of a house-shaped sarcophagus (fig. 209). The work runs parallel to the northern wall, leaving an approximately 90 cm gap. The body and lid of the coffin are each formed from a carved block of blue-hued tuff, with original dimensions around 222 cm long, 131 cm wide, and 100 cm tall. Early tomb robbers, in their efforts to loot the interior of the sarcophagus, completely destroyed the side walls of the coffin's body and sheared off sections along its bottom edge. The trapezoidal lid, found lying askew on top of the remaining base of the coffin, is slightly more intact, missing two of its corners and most of its rectangular lugs.

Another stone coffin had originally been placed in the front section of the burial chamber, arranged perpendicular to the northern sarcophagus. This work, unfortunately, has been completely demolished, reducing it to a collection of small whitish tuff fragments. It is thought that the coffin body was assembled from several joined slabs, its dimensions around 260 x 140 cm, and that it had been accompanied by a carved house-shaped lid. Near the doorway of the burial chamber archaeologists also discovered an accumulation of cinnabar. It is assumed that this material had once been located inside of the coffin and that it had either spilled out or was scrapped from the sides of the sarcophagus by looters during their destruction of the work. 383

A diverse assemblage of grave-goods was located between the northern sarcophagus and rear wall of the burial chamber (fig. 210). Along the eastern side were several heart-shaped crupper pendants (fig. 211). The iron base of these works is coated with gilt-bronze and riveted to a gilded openwork façade depicting a palmette motif. Several of the pendants were excavated from within the lowest soil strata of the burial chamber, suggesting that these artifacts were

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through the first half of the seventh century. A recent study by Osaka City University using 3-D imaging to more accurately measure the scale of the facilities and the layout of the stacked stone walls, however, suggests the design of Bakuya to be more closely related to Sakurai City's Akasaka-Tennōzan Kofun. As a result, this study dates the tomb slightly earlier to the mid 580's. Ōsaka Shiritsu Daigaku Nihonshi Kenkyūshitsu, *Naraken Kōryōchō Bakuya Kofun no sekishitsu* (Osaka: Ōsaka Shiritsu Daigaku, 2010), 1-2.

³⁸¹ It is possible that the reddish mud did not cover the entirety of the walls and instead had been used to smooth undulations along the stone slabs and fill the gaps in-between. Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, 22. ³⁸² A portion of the burial chamber had been unofficially excavated following WWII. In 1968, preceding the construction of a planned residential development in the area, a survey of the tomb was conducted by the Kōryōchō Board of Education and Nara Ken Bunkazai Hozonka. Bakuya was subsequently designated a National Historic Site, and the land surrounding the tomb preserved as a public park. The 1983 excavation of the site was approved by the Board of Education and carried out by Kashikōken with cooperation from a local group of volunteers from the Kōryōchō Kobunkakai. Given that the site had been previously excavated, and the apparent evidence of prior looting, archaeologists did not expect to find many surviving burial goods. They planned for only a month-long investigation to clear debris from the burial facilities and to dig trenches to examine *haniwa* remains along the exterior of the tumulus. As the full scope of tomb's extensive assemblage became clear, however, the excavation was extended, lasting from November 24, 1983 through February 8, 1984. During the course of the excavation over 20,000 individual artifacts were recovered. Ibid., 8-14, 39.

³⁸³ Ibid., 27-31, 33-34.

undisturbed from their original sixth-century placements.³⁸⁴ Surrounding the pendants were artifacts from the works' accompanying set of horse tack, which included a gilded heart-shaped cheekplate with palmette openwork, seven strap-dividers with faceted central domes, numerous gilt-bronze coated iron hexagonal studs, and the remains of various other mundane fittings in gilt-bronze or iron. A separate grouping of crupper strap dividers also was found along the western side of the burial chamber's rear wall. These works are likewise gilded but have a slightly different design from the other recovered dividers, substituting the faceted central domes with rounded hemispheres. Archaeologists suggest that this western group of artifacts are part of a separate assemblage of horse tack, collectively labeled set B. The set B dividers were accompanied by several gilt-bronze belt fittings and petal-shaped mudguard decorations.³⁸⁵

Around 180 iron arrowheads also were found behind the rear sarcophagus, mixed among the eastern assemblage of horse tack. Several of these remains were found bunched together, indicating that they had originally been placed in arrowcases that are no longer intact. Near the center of the northern wall were the partial remains of a decorated sword (fig. 212). Bands of silver wrap the surviving upper section of the weapon's handle, and the work's ovoid iron *tsuba* is similarly coated with a silver veneer. Small and millet-sized glass beads were scattered near the sword and would have originally been strung into necklaces or other personal ornaments. The sword and beads both were found in the upper soil strata of the burial chamber, suggesting that these works had fallen out of the sarcophagus when it was damaged by tomb robbers.

On the western side of the burial chamber, adjacent to the stone fragments of the southern sarcophagus, archaeologists found an additional collection of over 200 iron arrowheads (fig. 213). The works were divided into four groups and surrounded by traces of lacquered wood from the cases that once enclosed the artifacts. 390 Also along the chamber's western wall was an

³⁸⁴ An additional pendant of the same design (referred to as type A within the site's excavation report) was found directly in front of the northern sarcophagus, next to the remains of a buckle, presumably from the same set of tack. Likely this pendant and buckle had been displaced by tomb robbers from their original location behind the sarcophagus. Ibid., 32-33, 51-53.

³⁸⁵ Along the rear of the gilt-bronze petal-shaped ornaments archaeologists identified the decomposed remains of successive layers of silk, hemp cloth, and wood, suggesting that the works had once been affixed to the body of no longer extant *aori* mudguards. Ibid., 32-33, 51-70.

³⁸⁶ The Bakuya archaeological report states that fragments from eight small iron knives were recovered from the tomb, but it does not indicate where these works were located. Given the density of artifacts along the rear wall of the burial chamber, I assume that the knives also were excavated from this area. Ibid., 32, 45, 47-50, 140.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 32, 40, 140.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 32, 41-44, 134. The Bakuya report does not specify how many beads were excavated from behind the sarcophagus. However, it does state that over 13,000 glass beads were recovered in total, with around 11,000 found near the front of the chamber. We can assume, then, that the remaining 2,000 were divided between the rear of the burial chamber and the separate collections of beads discovered near the rubble barrier at the tomb's entrance and just outside of the Bakuya tumulus.

³⁸⁹ Upper layers of the burial chamber strata also included Ga and Haji-ware sherds, flanged kettles, and other ceramic remains post-dating the Kofun period, that likely were introduced into the tomb by looters. Ibid., 32, 88.

³⁹⁰ Archaeologists assume that the arrowcases, which likely held around forty to fifty arrows each, originally were positioned leaning upright against the side of the southern sarcophagus. Wood remains could also have belonged to a bow located in this area. Ibid., 33, 39, 140. In addition to iron arrowheads, the Bakuya excavation report indicates that seven stone arrowheads were scattered throughout the burial

intact pedestaled dish and a fragment of a Sue jar. Several other jar lid fragments were found in areas throughout the chamber, which are thought to have formed five lidded vessels originally arranged near the doorway.³⁹¹

A number of artifacts that had been stored inside the southern sarcophagus were found in the upper soil strata surrounding its remains. Above the assemblage of arrowheads on the coffin's western side was a necklace of gilt-bronze lobbed beads, nearly identical in design to the silver gardenia seed beads excavated from the Fujinoki coffin (fig. 214). The work was found in two halves, its remains consisting of eleven beads strung onto a fine silver wire.³⁹² Mixed within the cinnabar pigmented soil in front of the coffin were around 11,000 dark blue small and millet-sized glass beads, which likely once comprised a *tamakatsura* headdress or a beaded funerary pillow.³⁹³ Just east of the assortment of beads was a single gold earring, along with the remains of a sword, its surviving blade deformed into a curved bracket-like shape (fig. 215). The weapon seems to have not been tempered during its manufacture, leaving the blade malleable and unsuited for use in combat. Archaeologists instead assume that work had ritual significance and that it had been deliberately bent prior to its placement in the coffin.³⁹⁴

Along the chamber's eastern wall, the sole artifact recovered was an iron spearhead. Another spear, the surviving blade excavated from in front of the tumulus, may also have once been placed along the right wall before it was moved by looters. The only other functional weapon from the tomb are the fragments of a sword, its handle formed from carved deer antler. The only other functional weapon from the tomb are the fragments of a sword, its handle formed from carved deer antler.

Unlike the burial chamber, where the remains of only a few ceramics were discovered, a large collection of Sue vessels had been arranged along the walls of Bakuya's corridor (fig. 216). The assemblage, primarily consisting of pedestalled jars, dishes, and wine servers, was found clustered near the center of the hallway. Other artifacts within the corridor are grave-goods originally from the burial chamber that had been presumably moved by tomb robbers. Many of these disturbed artifacts comprise decorative works from the tomb's two sets of horse tack. Strips of gilt-bronze and iron from the frame of a pair of *aori* mudguards were found scattered along the length of the corridor (fig. 217). These were accompanied by three surviving buckles with hemispherical domed bases, which would have been used to hang the mudguards along the sides of a horse's flanks.³⁹⁷ Several other tack remains were found near the mound of stones erected to seal the entrance into the tumulus. These artifacts included four crupper pendants and an *uzu* made from gilt-bronze and iron, gilt-bronze bands that originally lined a pair of lacquered triangular cup-stirrups, and various buckles.³⁹⁸ The *iso* sections from two largely identical

chamber, and an additional work located outside of the tumulus. However, it is possible that these artifacts were simply irregularly shaped flooring stones. Ibid., 90.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 32-33, 38.

³⁹² Ibid., 33, 41, 135.

³⁹³ Ibid., 34, 41, 134-135.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 34, 41, 44-45, 140.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 38, 46, 141. Other artifacts left by looters outside of the tumulus included small glass beads, several talc mortar-shaped beads with an incised sawtooth motif, and fragmentary remains from horse tack strap dividers and a cup stirrup.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 45. The location of this sword is not recorded within the excavation report.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 37-38, 75-76.

³⁹⁸ The pendants excavated from the corridor share the same heart-shape with palmette motif openwork as those recovered from the rear of the burial chamber. However, archaeologists note that these works have

saddlebows also were recovered (fig. 218). These works share the same three-partite design as the saddle remains from the Udozuka and Misato tombs, and similarly are formed from iron coated with gilt-bronze. Surrounding the artifacts, archaeologists found traces of lacquer, which they assume to be remnants of the decayed wooden bodies of the two saddles.³⁹⁹ In addition to equestrian gear, a number of scattered glass millet beads, and the surviving rim of a wood bowl covered with riveted sheets of gilt-bronze, also were recovered near the corridor's entrance. 400

Outside of the Bakuya tumulus, in the area surrounding the entrance into the tomb, archaeologists excavated the remains of a number of Sue vessels and cylindrical haniwa (fig. 219). No other *haniwa* remains associated with Bakuya were found outside of the tumulus.⁴⁰¹ However, lining the floor of the tomb's corridor and burial chamber were ceramic fragments from several hundred figural and cylindrical works. These haniwa sherds date from a range of time periods throughout the Kofun period and, as a result, are thought to have been taken from the slopes of the numerous nearby *kofun* of the Umami tomb group. 402

Situating Fujinoki within Western Nara Basin Funerary Culture

The summary of the Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya tombs presented above provides a broader framework for understanding the structural designs of western Nara kofun from the mid to late sixth century, as well as the range of grave-goods typically incorporated into these burials. In the following section I present a comparative examination that situates Fujinoki among these sites. Throughout this discussion I rely on an agentive approach to analyzing the significance of objects, interpreting tomb architecture and excavated grave-goods as the material remains of past mortuary rites, the performance of which were based on distinct cosmological/soteriological beliefs. 403 I infer the co-appearance of specific types of material culture at each of the western Basin tombs to be representative of shared funerary traditions. However, I also acknowledge that the artifact assemblages recovered from these sites are not completely intact. As such, deviations in the types, quantity, and arrangement of grave-goods do not necessarily reflect a concomitant divergence in the burial practices once conducted at these tombs. I refrain from developing interpretative suppositions based on the dissimilarity of the Fujinoki assemblage from individual sites and highlight only the instances in which the tomb is a distinct outlier from all three of the other kofun.

fewer rivets lining their edges and thus likely belong to a separate set of tack from the other pendants. Ibid., 37-38, 54-57, 71-74.

³⁹⁹ Iso sections from a saddle's cantle normally have attached buckles, which function to secure the saddle to the crupper straps positioned around the horse's rump. Since neither of the iso from Bakuya have buckles, it is assumed that the artifacts belong to the saddlebows of two separate saddles. Ibid., 37, 60-62.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 37-38, 76-78.

⁴⁰¹ Additional *haniwa* were found further to the east, however, and accompanied a long haji pot, which appears to have been used as a ceramic coffin for a later burial at the site. Fragmentary sheets of silver had been interred as grave-goods accompanying the body inside of the pot. Ibid., 38, 44, 88.

⁴⁰² Archaeologists note that although a layer of small stones normally covers the floor of kofun burial facilities, the region of Köryöchö surrounding Bakuya lacks areas where pebble-sized stone materials could be easily obtained. They theorize that haniwa instead were gathered from other tombs and fragmented to create a substitute flooring. Ibid., 90-98, 130, 134.

⁴⁰³ The theoretical basis for this approach is derived from the work of Alfred Gell, introduced in chapter one.

I recognize also that there are inherent limitations to the material/visual methods of interpretative analysis that I adopt within this discussion. Many of the funerary rituals conducted at Fujinoki may not have produced lasting physical traces, and, as a result, the content of these rites is indiscernible from within the archaeological record. Furthermore, extant artifactual remains alone can provide only an oblique view of past agency, requiring us to deduce the historical contexts and symbolic meanings that precipitated their production and adornment. Despite these restrictions, however, the interpretation of material/visual evidence provides a means of moving beyond conventional approaches that prioritize the collection and reporting of empirical archaeological data, allowing us to instead situate materials excavated from *kofun* within a meaningful narrative that aligns these objects with the specific thoughts, beliefs, and actions of long-past peoples.

Tumulus and burial chamber

The tumuli of Fujinoki, Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya are among the largest burial mounds to have been constructed within their respective regions during the later sixth century. By extension, archaeologists have posited that these four *kofun* served as funerary sites for members of the upper echelons of Japan's ruling elite. Such interpretations of the relative political standing of the individuals interred at *kofun* based on the size and shape of the burial mound are fairly common. In general, this analytical focus arises from the tendency of archaeological scholarship to frame Kofun period tombs within a Marxist structuring of Japan's historical development, in which the initial appearance of large-scale tumuli in the mid-third century is conflated with the transition from the previous communal agrarian system of the Yayoi period toward an increasingly stratified society governed by a developing central political authority. At a fundamental level, our understanding of *kofun* as political monuments is based on an acknowledgment that these tombs required a substantial investment of manpower for the construction of their tumulus and burial facilities, and, as such, served as material signifiers of a ruler's capacity both to gather workers from disparate communities and to compel them to labor

⁴⁰⁴ The Udozuka and Misato tombs are thought to belong to members of the region's powerful Heguri clan, perhaps representing a subdivision in the familial group, with the graves respectively belonging to rulers of the west and east banks of the Tatsuta River. Date, Oka, and Sugaya, 57; Kawakami, "Misato Kofun no matome," 86. Bakuya and Fujinoki, on the other hand, have been linked to specific personages, the former attributed to Emperor Bitatsu's son Prince Oshisakahikohitonoōe, and Fujinoki generally to Emperor Sushun. Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, 150-152. As I have argued in chapter one, attributions of *kofun* to historic figures tend to rely on speculative interpretations of genealogies, which in turn are of dubious accuracy since they were compiled to lend political authority to the eighth-century imperial line. ⁴⁰⁵ E.g. Tsude Hiroshi, "The Kofun Period and State Formation," *Acta Asiatica*, no. 63 (1992): 71-74; Kawakami Kunihiko, "Yamato no zenpōkōenfun," in *Yamato zenpōkōenfun shūsei*, 1; Izumori Kō, "Sōron: Yamato no kofun," in *Yamato no kofun I*, 13-14.

⁴⁰⁶ Imamura, *Prehistoric Japan*, 15; Tsude, "Early State Formation in Japan," 17-24, 29-33; Mizoguchi, *Archaeology, Society and Identity in Modern Japan*, 73-79; Barnes, *State Formation in Japan*, 7-9, 173-177; Mizoguchi Koji, "Nodes and Edges: A Network Approach to Hierarchisation and State Formation in Japan," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, no. 28 (2009): 15. This is, admittedly, a reductionist characterization of research analyzing the transition to the Kofun period, with most scholarship currently acknowledging that degrees of social stratification existed even within the prehistoric Jōmon communities. Despite the general move away from a Marxist-structuralist model of Japan's development, however, research of *kofun* remains focused on understanding the sites primarily as political monuments and frames their importance in terms of the development of the centralized Yamato state.

in the creation of the monument. 407 The tumuli also represent, however, the development of a formalized inter-regional system for displaying membership among Japan's elite. In this system, the largest keyhole-shaped tombs are thought to have been reserved for the preeminent ruling class, with a hierarchy of smaller keyhole, square-shaped, and circular mounds generally designated for lower-ranking leaders (fig. 220). 408

In addition to the scale of their tumuli, the burial facilities of Udozuka, Misato, Bakuya, and Fujinoki also are quite large. Each has a ryōsodeshiki layout and, except for Misato Kofun, have funerary chambers with exceptionally high ceilings, a feature that archaeologists note characterizes many of the tombs in the Heguri Valley and its surrounding environs. Kawakami proposes that this similarity in burial chambers is an indication that each was constructed by the same group of craftsmen, who in turn would have designed the facilities working from a shared schema of the specific ritual requirements for funerary sites in the area. 409 Subtle differences in the stone masonry of each tomb also allow for an approximate chronological ordering. The burial chambers of Udozuka, Misato, and Fujinoki have only a slight incline along their side walls, suggesting that each date near the middle of the sixth century. Burial chamber development generally follows a gradual transition from walls constructed with multiple stacked levels of small natural stones toward a structure utilizing large masoned slabs. Within this framework, the smaller stones used for Udozuka indicate the tomb to be the earliest of the three sites, while the single slab comprising the rear wall of Misato Kofun places it after Fujinoki. Bakuya, on the other hand, has noticeable corbelling along all four walls of its funerary chamber, a feature that separates it from the other sites, dating it near the end of the sixth century. 410

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⁴⁰⁷ The larger stone slabs used in the construction of the Fujinoki burial chamber are estimated to weigh 14-17 t. Based on Edo period historical records indicating that 600 people were needed for the transport 24 t of stone building materials, Okuda extrapolates that the Fujinoki tomb would have required between 350-570 laborers for its construction. Okuda Hisashi, "Sekizaki," in *IFK 1*, 285-286.

⁴⁰⁸ Tsude, "The Kofun Period and State Formation," 71-74. The hierarchal ranking of tomb mounds vanished by the end of the sixth century, as keyhole tumuli production ceased in favor of large circular, square-shaped, and, eventually, octagonal *kofun*. Following the excavation of Fujinoki, archaeologists debated the relative social standing reflected by the tomb's circular mound, particularly in comparison with Udozuka's keyhole-shaped tumulus. It was argued that if Fujinoki was found to be contemporaneous to Udozuka, then it was likely the grave of a lesser noble. However, if Fujinoki post-dated Udozuka, it would signify the transition away from the construction of keyhole tumuli in the region, which would indicate that Fujinoki could be classified as the burial site for a top-ranking Yamato official. Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun: kaikan chōsa no igi," 6-7; Toyoda et al., "Fujinoki Kofun no nendai," 138-140; Kawakami, "Fujinoki Kofun no hisōshazō," 99-101; Maezono and Shiraishi, 171-181, 192-193. Such debates have receded in recent scholarship, however, with researchers focusing instead on Fujinoki's elaborate grave-good assemblage as evidence of the tomb's elite standing.

⁴⁰⁹ Kawakami, "Fujinoki Kofun no hisōshazō," 107; Idem., "Yokoanashiki sekishitsu," 348.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., "Yokoanashiki sekishitsu," 348. Inward slanting walls were a technological development that allowed for the creation of larger burial chambers by alleviating the need for enormous stone ceiling slabs that could span the full width of the room. Corbelled side walls began to appear in the second half of the sixth century, with the front and rear walls becoming similarly slanted near the end of the Late Kofun period. Idem., "Fujinoki Kofun no hisōshazō," 101. A chronology of side-entrance stone burial facilities was developed by Kawakami Kunihiko, which identifies eight distinct periods of construction from the middle of the fifth century through the early eighth century. Based on the design of Fujinoki, it is thought to belong to either period III or IV, dating it slightly after 650 CE. Kitagaki, 294-295. Kawakami's chronology can be found in Kawakami Kunihiko, "Yamato no ōgata yokoanashiki sekishitsu no keifu," in *Kashihara kōkogaku kenkyūjo ronshū* 4, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Tokyo:

Side-entrance burial chambers primarily began to be used in Nara during the latter half of the fifth century. This development enabled the interment of several bodies at the same site, presumably derived from successive generations of a single elite familial line.⁴¹¹ The multiple sarcophagi in the chambers and corridors of Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya attest to the practice of multiple burials, with the numerous wooden coffins of Misato Kofun in particular suggesting that bodies had continued to be added to the tomb over time, packed into remaining available spaces within the facilities.⁴¹² The fifth-century transition to side-entrance chambers also necessitated a change in the how funerary rituals were performed at tombs. Previously, rites would have been held primarily on top of the tumulus, surrounding the rectangular burial pit, while the new arrangement of funerary facilities led to rituals being conducted both inside of the chamber as well as directly in front of the tomb's entrance.⁴¹³ Likely the rituals at Fujinoki were similarly were conducted both inside and in front of the tomb. The nature of these rites will become more clear as we continue to explore the significance of the site's various artifact assemblages.

Sarcophagi

Archaeologists discovered the remains of two bodies at Fujinoki, suggesting that the tomb, following Late Kofun period traditions, had similarly functioned as a familial mortuary site. Unlike Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya, however, where the deceased were placed in multiple coffins, both bodies at Fujinoki had been interred within a single sarcophagus. Further diverging from the other *kofun*, the two individuals at Fujinoki appear to have been buried simultaneously, a conclusion established from the similar levels of deterioration displayed by the two sets of surviving bones and from the interior arrangement of burial goods, which showed no evidence of having been significantly disturbed by the later inhumation of an additional body. 414

Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979), 187-214; Kawakami Kunihiko, "Yamato no yokoanashiki sekishitsu no gaikan to ni, san no mondai," in *Kashihara kōkogaku kenkyūjo ronshū* 9, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1985), 139-164.

⁴¹¹ Kawakami Kunihiko, "Yokoanashiki sekishitsu to iegata sekkan," in *Yamato no Kofun II*, ed. Kawakami Kunihiko (Osaka: Jimbun Shoin, 2006), 35-40; Barnes, *State Formation in Japan*, 15, 168. The transition to corridor-style burial chambers is generally thought to have been a technological innovation adopted from tombs in the Korean peninsula. These new facilities have also been linked with a substantial shift in the socio-political structuring of Japan, in which regional authority and elite status were held by powerful familial clans and were hereditarily conferred from one generation to the next. For further discussion of the connection between the emergence of burial chambers and rise of clan-based power structures, see in particular Mizoguchi, *An Archaeological History of Japan*, 217-221; Idem., *The Archaeology of Japan*, 297-300, 304-305.

⁴¹² Given its location outside of the tumulus and dramatically divergent style of burial from the tomb's stone sarcophagi, I would argue that the Haji ceramic coffin excavated adjacent to the entrance to Bakuya Kofun likely represents a later, unrelated inhumation.

⁴¹³ Tsude, "The Kofun Period and State Formation," 70; Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 309. ⁴¹⁴ Toyoda, et al., "Seijōna maisō ka, ijōna maisō ka," in *Fujinoki Kofun to sono bunka*, 166-167; Maezono, "Kondōsei tsutsugata hin ni tsuite," 1:274-275. I find it possible that the talc beads and teeth excavated from behind the Fujinoki sarcophagus derive from a wood coffin that was once located in the burial chamber. The chamber is certainly large enough to have accommodated another body, and the placement of the site's stone sarcophagus parallel to the rear wall may indicate that it was arranged with the intention of providing space for later coffins to be added in front. Further supporting this theory, other tombs with perpendicularly arranged stone sarcophagi, such as Bakuya Kofun and Mise-Maruyama

Archaeologists initially assumed that the Fujinoki skeletal remains belonged to a sixth-century noble and his consort. The northern body, adorned with a greater number of personal ornaments, is thought to be the higher ranking of the two. These remains, in turn, whave been interpreted as belonging to a male. The southern corpse, on the other hand, had been partially propped on its side as if wedged into the remaining space of the coffin. Given its subordinate treatment, it was generally considered to be female. Further supporting this sexual distinction, Izumori argued that large beaded anklets, similar to those recovered alongside the southern body, are depicted on shamaness *haniwa* and should be regarded as a style of jewelry typically worn by women. Scholars also theorized that the inhumation of two men in the same coffin may have been considered *taboo* during the Kofun period, based on a passage from the *Nihon Shoki* which seems to proscribe such burial practices. Unsurprisingly, these arguments quickly faded following the osteological analysis performed by Ikeda and Katayama, which fairly conclusively identified both bodies as male.

Without delving into suppositions regarding the specific identities of the two individuals at Fujinoki, there are a number of inferences we can propose regarding how they were buried and their possible affiliation to one another. Kanehara Masaki and Kanehara Masako, in their analysis of the water and human remains inside of the sarcophagus, noted that no traces were discovered of the parasite eggs that one normally finds accompanying early interred corpses. This evidence suggests that both bodies had likely decomposed prior to their placement within the sarcophagus. In addition, given that the northern individual was fairly young, between the age of eighteen and twenty-five according to Ikeda and Katayama (see chapter two), it seems likely that his death had been unanticipated. Still assuming that the preferential treatment of this body also identifies it as the higher ranking of the two interred corpses in the sarcophagi, we can posit that, first, Fujinoki was designed primarily with the intent that it would serve as the

Kofun, have had one or two additional coffins located in the anterior sections of their chambers. Maezono and Shiraishi, 167. On the other hand, archaeologists examining the Fujinoki tooth fragments have tended to date the remains to the Edo period, seeing them as contemporaneous to the Haji lamp dishes later introduced by the Hōshakuji clergy. See endnote, Miyagawa, "Sekkan gai shutsudo no shiga," 322. I provide further discussion of the teeth and skeletal remains in chapter two.

415 Adhering to the attribution of Fujinoki as the tomb of Emperor Sushun, Kidder suggests that the female body belonged to his consort, Ōtomo no Koteko. Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 457.

416 Izumori Kō, "Fujinoki Kofun: fukusōhin haichi no shomondai," *Asukakaze* 31 (1989): 12-16.

kaikan isshūnen ni yosete," *Higashi Ajia no kodai bunka*, no. 62 (1990): 188-190; Mori Kōichi, "Kōkogaku no tachiba kara (1)," 61. This proscription is contained within the *Nihon Shoki's* account of an incident during the reign of Empress Jingū, in which a perpetual darkness over the course of several days was attributed to the burial of two male priests in the same coffin. Aston, *Nihongi*, 1:238.

418 Ikeda and Katayama, 2:110-116. Kawakami, in an ambiguous statement, posits the possibility that the

southern body was biologically male but may have had taken on duties typically reserved for women. Kawakami Kunihiko, "Sōron: Yamato no kofun gaiyō," in *Yamato no Kofun II*, 19. It is unclear if Kawakami is suggesting a homosexual relationship between the two individuals in the coffin or is simply alluding to a general adoption of a social position typically inhabited by Kofun period women.

⁴¹⁹ Kanehara Masaki and Kanehara Masako, 2:26.

⁴²⁰ Although I think it likely that there was a temporal gap between the death of the two individuals and their burial at Fujinoki Kofun, it has alternatively been suggested that the lack of parasites was caused by the removal of internal organs prior to corpses' interment. Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 28.

northern individual's funerary sepulture, and, second, given his early death, that the tomb had not been completed in time for the immediate interment of his body. While Fujinoki hastily was being constructed, I posit that the corpse had been temporarily buried elsewhere, and then later exhumed to be placed within the newly sculpted Fujinoki sarcophagus. The southern body, whose remains are thought to be of a considerably older man, may have belonged to a lower ranking family member who may also have happened to die during the course of the tomb's construction and, for expediency's sake, had his body added to the coffin during the mortuary rites held for his younger relative. 421

Regarding the Fujinoki sarcophagus itself, the work has nearly identical dimensions to the northernmost coffin at Bakuya Kofun and shares the same carved house-shaped design. House-shaped coffins derive their name from their pitched stone lids with projecting rectangular lugs, which bear a visual similarity to the hipped roofs and perpendicular ridge billets sometimes associated with early thatched-roof structures. This style of sarcophagus is generally divided into two types, consisting of works with bodies carved from a single stone block, seen at Fujinoki and Bakuya, and those with bodies assembled from several smaller slabs, exemplified by coffins from Misato and Udozuka Kofun. Variations in the sizes and lid designs of house-shaped coffins have been used to form the basis of a detailed typological chronology for these works, which stretches from the late fifth through seventh centuries. Using this typology, Sekigawa places the Fujinoki sarcophagus alongside the Bakuya coffin in the latter half of the sixth century, although he notes that the lack of lugs along the Fujinoki lid's shorter ends is an anachronistic characteristic usually associated with earlier coffins (fig. 221).

Similar to studies of tumuli and burial chambers, analyses of house-shaped coffins have tended to focus on the significance of these works as symbols of political authority. By the middle of the sixth century, carved house-shaped sarcophagi, such as those from Fujinoki and Bakuya, are thought to have been used primarily for the burials of the highest ranking members of the Yamato polity, while works assembled from multiple slabs were designated for a lower stratum of social elite. 424 It is tempting to ascribe a more profound funerary significance to the shape of these coffins as well, the house-like design suggesting a compelling corollary as a posthumous dwelling for the soul of the deceased. However, I contend that this formal resemblance is coincidental. Rope marks found worn along the underside of the Fujinoki sarcophagus' lugs indicate that these projections were not decorative or symbolic

⁴²¹ Mori has also noted that the interior of the Fujinoki sarcophagus is exceptionally large and could have been carved in anticipation of needing space for more than one body to be interred. Mori Kōichi, "Kōkogaku no tachiba kara (1)," 61.

⁴²² This typology of house-shaped coffins was first developed by Kobayashi Yukio in 1951. See Kobayashi Yukio, "Iegata sekkan (jō)," *Kodaigaku kenkyū*, no. 4 (1951): 2-15; Kobayashi Yukio, "Iegata sekkan (ge)," *Kodaigaku kenkyū*, no. 5 (1951): 9-17.

⁴²³ Sekigawa, "Kofun no katachi to sekishitsu • sekkan (ni)," 51; idem., "Yamato no kurinukishiki iegata sekkan," 350-352, 359.

⁴²⁴ House-shaped coffins are thought to have initially been used by lower-ranking familial lines and, in the sixth century, were adopted by the upper ruling classes. Sekigawa, "Kofun no katachi to sekishitsu • sekkan (ni)," 51; Sekigawa Hisayoshi, "Fujinoki Kofun no sekkan," in *Fujinoki Kofun no zenbō*, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1993), 208-209; idem., "Yamato no kurinukishiki iegata sekkan," 360; Kawakami, "Yokoanashiki sekishitsu to iegata sekkan," 42. For a broader analysis in English of the significance of house-shaped coffins both in and outside of the Kinai region, see Wada Seigo, "Political Interpretations of Stone Coffin Production in Protohistoric Japan," trans. Kazue Pearson and Gina Barnes, in *Windows on the Japanese Past*, 349-374.

embellishments, but instead had a practical functional application, serving as mooring points for laborers when they needed to move or lift the lid. Furthermore, house-shaped *haniwa*, which serve as our primary reference to the architecture of the Kofun period, include finial ridge billets only on dwellings with gable or hip-and-gable roofs (fig. 222). The combination of a hip roof with billets, as seemingly depicted by the trapezoidal lids and projecting lugs of house-shaped coffins, either did not exist or were uncommon to the extent that they were not replicated as *haniwa* sculptures. By extension, I find it unlikely that such an edifice would have been chosen as a model for the design of sarcophagi.

On the other hand, unlike its house-like design, the cinnabar pigment that coated the Fujinoki sarcophagus seems more likely to have been of particular ritual importance. Traces of vermillion also were identified on the coffin at Udozuka Kofun and in front of the remains of the southern Bakuya sarcophagus, indicating that both had similarly been adorned with the material. 427 Cinnabar was frequently integrated into the mortuary rituals of the Japanese archipelago and has been identified within graves dating as early as the Jomon period. 428 At kofun tumuli, the material often was used as a pigment painted on coffins, grave-goods, and chamber walls, and occasionally has been discovered stockpiled in large quantitates, such as at the late third to fourth-century Yamato-Tenjin'yama Kofun, where excavators recovered 41 kg of cinnabar from among a trove of artifacts in one of the site's pit-shaft burial chambers. 429 Mercuric sulfide similarly was incorporated into mainland Asian funerary sites, appearing early within Shang Dynasty tombs, and later becoming associated with medicines for immortality within Daoist conceptions of the afterlife. 430 Regardless of this connection to Chinese graves, however, the sustained use of cinnabar over the course of centuries in the archipelago suggests that its application on the Fujinoki sarcophagus represents the continuation of earlier Japanese mortuary practices, rather than simply an incorporation of mainland derived symbolic associations. And while the specific meaning tied to the vermillion pigment remains elusive, I find it likely to have been apotropaic, possibly intended as a protective barrier encasing the two deceased interred within the sarcophagus, ensuring their unmolested transference into the afterlife. 431

⁴²⁵ Maezono and Shiraishi, 32. Based on a tuff replica of the Fujinoki sarcophagus, which archaeologists created in order to practice methods for opening the coffin prior to the site's third excavation, it is estimated that the lid alone weighs around four metric tons. Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa," 23. While excavators relied on a crane constructed within the burial chamber to remove the lid, during the sixth century sealing the coffin would have necessitated numerous laborers manning ropes attached to the work's four lugs.

⁴²⁶ For discussions of house-shaped *haniwa* roof designs, see Miki Fumio, *Haniwa: The Clay Sculpture of Proto-Historic Japan*, trans. Roy Andrew Miller (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1960), 32-34; Miki Fumio, *Haniwa*, trans. Gina Barnes (New York: Weatherhill, 1974), 58-64.

⁴²⁷ Archaeologists note that likely other house-shaped coffins within Nara also had once been painted with vermillion pigment but, due to the deterioration of sarcophagi, it is often difficult to identify remaining traces of cinnabar. Sekigawa, "Yamato no kurinukishiki iegata sekkan," 356.

⁴²⁸ Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and Its Grave-Goods," 67.

⁴²⁹ The Yamato-Tenjin'yama tomb is located near the center of the Nara Basin. Terasawa, 70; Okabayashi Kōsaku, "Tenjin'yama Kofun," in *Yamato zenpōkōenfun shūsei*, 143-144.

⁴³⁰ Robert Thorp, "The Mortuary Art and Architecture of Early Imperial China," (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1980), 25; Tsude, "The Kofun Period and State Formation," 69.

⁴³¹ Similarly, the red-colored mud plaster found along the walls of the Bakuya burial chamber may also have been intended to carry out a symbolic protective function.

Sarcophagus grave-goods

The collections of grave-goods once stored inside of the stone sarcophagi of Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya Kofun had been ransacked by tomb robbers, impeding an assessment of the full range of works originally included within these assemblages. However, based on the limited remains discovered by excavators, it seems that many of the same types of artifacts accompanied the interred bodies at these sites as those recovered from the Fujinoki coffin. The gilded earrings found at Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya are indistinguishable from the pairs of gilt-bronze and silver artifacts from Fujinoki, and each of the sites contained quantities of small glass beads that likely had once been sewn onto headdresses or funerary pillows intended to accompany the corpses. At Bakuya, the remains of a necklace of gilt-bronze gardenia seedshaped beads were recovered, matching the lobbed silver works that adorned the neck of Fujinoki's northern body, while Misato Kofun contained a pair of agate barrel-shaped beads, possibly originating from a waist ornament, similar to the string of barrel and millet beads from the southern side of the Fujinoki sarcophagus. In addition to containing analogous personal ornaments, archaeologists also recovered ornate swords from each tomb. Although the Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya works do not share the wedge-shaped pommels and distinctive beaded inlay of the Fujinoki coffin's swords, surviving remains from the hilts and scabbards of the weapons indicate that they were decorated similarly with bands of silver or gilt-bronze, and that they depict near identical patterns of embossed rings, engraved waved lines, and staccato stippling.

The overall impression supplied by the artifacts from Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya is that the bodies at Fujinoki had been prepared for burial in much the same way as those interred in the stone sarcophagi of other high-ranking west Basin tombs: individuals were lavishly adorned with jewelry, possibly designed to reflect regional stylistic sensibilities, and were accompanied by swords ornamented with extravagant materials. Archaeologists generally interpret this practice of arranging personal ornaments within burial chamber coffins as having been intended to display the social status of the deceased. Niiro, in his examination of the circulation of various types of decorated swords throughout the archipelago, similarly construes these artifacts as prestige objects, arguing that they served as ceremonial works distributed by the Yamato polity to symbolize a person's ranking within the pre-ritsuryō hierarchal governing system of the sixth century. Mizoguchi further interprets the presence of various symbols of elite status as integral elements for preparing the deceased for their existence in the afterlife:

In the Late Kofun period, the grave goods were chosen to indicate the *status* of the dead chief and were therefore beautifully and spectacularly wrought items; various status items, including many imported from the peninsula or made by emulating Korean originals...were either draped on the body or placed around it. This suggests that the chiefs were buried in the status they had occupied when they were alive, or at least the status they

⁴³² Kawakami Kunihiko, "Sōron: fukusōhin gairon," in *Kofun jidai no kenkyū*, vol. 8, *Kofun II fukusōhin*, eds. Ishino Hironobu, Iwasaki Takuya, Kawakami Kunihiko, and Shiraishi Taichirō (Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1991), 5; Mochizuki Mikio, "Sosei to sono hensen," in *Kofun II fukusōhin*, 253; Matsumoto Yuriko, "Sōshingu," in *Yamato no kofun II*, 155, 160.

⁴³³ Niiro Izumi, "Sōshokutsuki tachi to kofun jidai kōki no heisei," *Kōkogaku kenkyū* 30, no. 3 (1983): 65-68.

had hoped to occupy... [and] that the dead chiefs would have been perceived to act as they did when they were alive to fulfil the obligation required by their status... 434

With regard to the personal ornaments and swords inside of the Fujinoki sarcophagus, there is little doubt that these works likewise were intended as signifiers of elite status. The extravagant materials of the works would have highlighted the wealth of the deceased, while particular items, such as the gilt-bronze crown and shoes, match designs of similar artifacts excavated from the Korean peninsula, emphasizing the interred ruler's affiliations with powerful continental allies through his differential access to high-value resources and/or skilled craftsmen from the mainland (fig. 223). 435 As discussed in the previous chapter, recovered textile remains and the preserved arrangements of artifacts in the coffin suggest that both bodies had been wrapped in fabric and were placed into the sarcophagus while already adorned with beaded headdresses, necklaces, earrings, and various other ornaments. 436 Given that the corpses had likely decomposed prior to their interment, the funerary wraps would have served to maintain the fundamental shape of the bodies, while also making it possible for such objects as earrings and headdresses to be sewn into their correct alignments on top of the otherwise skeletal remains. I contend that the attention given to ensuring that the deceased were buried while properly physically attired with objects displaying their status provides a further indication of the perceived ritual necessity of these artifacts. It suggests a preoccupation with ensuring that the festooned dead would be visually recognizable as members of the social elite as they transitioned into the afterlife and that they be immediately equipped with the symbols of rulership needed for fulfilling their posthumous chiefly duties.

Many archaeologists, in addition to interpreting personal ornaments and swords as symbols of social power, often construe these works as possessions previously owned by the deceased, placed in the sarcophagus for their continued usage in the afterlife. ⁴³⁷ For Mizoguchi, Late period burials incorporated such lived artifacts as a means of materially representing the specific biography of the dead, extolling deeds accomplished in service of the Yamato court. He states that the inclusion of former personal possessions followed the development of new beliefs

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⁴³⁴ Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 309.

⁴³⁵ Following Barnes and Mizoguchi, the objects within the sarcophagus can be understood as functioning as prestige goods within a wealth finance based political economy, as defined by Timothy Earle. In such finance systems, Earle states that prestige goods are items with a socially derived value, whose ownership is dictated by elite rulers who have control over aspects of these works' means of production and distribution. Timothy Earle *How Chiefs Come to Power: The Political Economy in Prehistory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 70-74; Barnes, *State Formation in Japan*, 37-38; Mizoguchi Koji, "The Yayoi and Kofun Periods of Japan," in *Handbook of East and Southeast Asian Archaeology*, 590. Concerning the continental design of the Fujinoki artifacts, Matsuda states that the shoes from the sarcophagus, based on their construction from three separate gilt-bronze sheets, use of attached pendants, embossed tortoise-shell motif, and lack of sole spikes, belong to a linage of decorated shoes derived from Korea's Paekche kingdom. The design of gilded crowns with attached uprights, as represented at Fujinoki, also are generally regarded as originating from Korea, based on examples excavated primarily from Silla and Kaya tombs. Matsuda Shinichi, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo no kondōsei kazari kutsu no ichi," 1:233-237; Azuma, "Fujinoki kofun shutsudo ibutsu no keifu o megutte," 79-83.

⁴³⁶ Sawada Mutsuyo, 99.

⁴³⁷ Kawakami, "Sōron: fukusōhin gairon," 5.

regarding the afterlife, in which death was understood as a liminal process, and the individualized self was conceived as persisting in the ensuing transcendental realm. 438

Recovered from Eta-Funayama Kofun in Kumamoto Prefecture and Sakitama-Inariyama Kofun in Saitama, two Late period swords with silver inlay inscriptions provide fairly conclusive evidence that decorated weapons indeed were personalized to their owners (fig. 224). In both instances, the texts provide the name of the deceased, indicate his political rank, and identify the ruler that he had previously served under. 439 Although the swords in the sarcophagi at Fujinoki and the other west Basin tombs lack similar inscriptions, it is plausible that these works also would have been made specifically for the deceased, possibly with differences in their ornamentation and the total numbers of weapons interred supplying an indication of relative political standing. On the other hand, we have no way of determining if these swords were actual personal possessions, as surmised by Niiro and Mizoguchi, or if they were manufactured following the individual's death. In support of the latter scenario, accompanying the inscription on the Eta-Funayama sword is an inlaid depiction of a winged horse. Such imagery has particular associations with sixth-century funerary beliefs and strongly implies that the decorated weapon was created as a posthumous epitaph. 440 It should also be noted that both the Inariyama and Funayama sword inscriptions omit details regarding the specific accomplishments of the dead, which I posit is an indication that these works were intended not as records of the overall lives of individual elites, but instead served solely to denote political ranking.

Regarding personal ornaments, if we consider the close resemblance between the surviving artifacts of the sarcophagi assemblages at Udozuka, Misato, Bakuya, and Fujinoki, it would seem that these works were not tailored to the deceased and instead represent the generalized types of jewelry that were deemed suitable for inclusion in high-ranking burials. ⁴⁴¹ Furthermore, at Fujinoki, the designs of several artifacts intimate that they were not objects previously owned by the coffin's inhabitants. The two pairs of gilt-bronze shoes are oversized and have projecting wires along their soles, preventing their functional usage as footwear. The cylindrical gilt-bronze hair ornament is similarly bulky and bristled with rigid pendant hangers,

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⁴³⁸ Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 298-300; 304-309; 329.

⁴³⁹ Inscription from the Eta-Funayama sword: 治天下獲□□□鹵大王世奉□典曹人名无□弖八月中用大錡釜併四尺廷刀八十練六十捃三寸上好和刀服此刀者長寿子孫注々得三恩也不失其所統作刀者名伊太□書者張安也. Kamei Masamichi, "Funayama Kofun to gin zōgan tachi," in *Eta-Funayama Kofun*, ed. Eta-Funayama Kofun Henshū Iinkai (Kikusuimachi, Kumamoto: Kumamoto Nichi Nichi Shimbun, 1980), 134-140; Anazawa Wakou and Manome Junichi, "Two Inscribed Swords from Japanese Tumuli: Discoveries and Research on Finds from the Sakitama-Inariyama and Eta-Funayama Tumuli," in *Windows on the Japanese Past*, 392-393. Sakitama-Inariyama sword inscription: (obverse) 辛亥年七月中記乎獲居臣上祖名意富比垝其児多加利足尼其児名弖已加利獲居其児名多加披次獲居其児名多沙鬼獲居其児名半弖比; (reverse)其児名加差披余其児名乎獲居臣世々為杖刀人首奉事来至今獲加多支鹵大王寺在斯鬼宮時吾左治天下令作此百練利刀記吾奉事根原也. Murayama Shichirō and Roy Andrew Miller, "The Inariyama Tumulus Sword Inscription," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 5, no. 2 (1979): 421-422.

⁴⁴⁰ I discuss the significance of heavenly horse imagery in greater detail in the following chapter.

⁴⁴¹ It is possible that the overall abundance of personal ornaments placed within the Fujinoki sarcophagus was intended to quantitatively express the elevated social importance of the site's two interred individuals. Without complete comparative assemblages from Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya, however, it is impossible to determine if the number of Fujinoki ornaments necessarily was much greater than those seen at other tombs.

and would have made for an ungainly headpiece. Other artifacts such as the gilded belt and crown also appear to be abnormally large, while the pair of ornamental shin guards are too narrow to have been worn and likely were designed instead to fit around the leg bones of an already decomposed body. Kawakami suggests that the exaggerated size of many of the artifacts at Fujinoki indicates that they were manufactured specifically with the intent of being interred as grave-goods. He compares the works to *mingqi* included in early Chinese tombs, which replicate the appearance of everyday items but were created in miniature, precluding their practical usage except by the soul of the interred deceased.⁴⁴²

Particular decorative motifs displayed by artifacts in the Fujinoki sarcophagus also evince their funerary import. Along the twin tree-like uprights of the gilt-bronze crown, branches culminate in bird and boat shapes, with several additional fowl depicted among the work's attached pendants (fig. 225). Bird and ship imagery are often associated with *kofun* burials, most frequently sculpted as *haniwa* arranged on or around the tumuli, and have been interpreted as symbolizing the passage of the soul into the afterlife. Izumori further suggests that the crown's vegetative design held an *axis mundi* like symbolic meaning, intended to connect the watery underworld at the tree's roots to the heavenly realm above and providing a conduit for the transference of the deceased. Fish-shaped pendants hanging from the gilt-bronze shoes and attached as paired ornaments from the hilts of several of the sarcophagi swords may have served as further references to the waters of the land of the dead, while the embossed patterns of recurrent hexagons on the shin-guards and shoes have been linked with representations of posthumous immortality within mainland Asian tombs. Here

My distinction that the Fujinoki sarcophagus artifacts were not prestige objects previously owned by the deceased, but rather social symbols manufactured specifically as funerary works, alters our interpretation of the ritual significance of these grave-goods. In Mizoguchi's reading, the presence of the elite's possessions interred in *kofun* implies, first, that the role of the deceased as a chieftain was an integral part of his identity that persisted after death and, second, that the spirit of the interred was also regarded as a distinct individual who

⁴⁴² Kawakami, "Sōron: fukusōhin gairon," 6-7. For an expanded discussion of the symbolic function of *mingqi* in Chinese tombs, see Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs* (Hawaii: University of Hawaiii Press, 2010), 83-90.

⁴⁴³ Wakamatsu Ryōichi, "Jinbutsu • dōbutsu haniwa," in *Kofun III Haniwa*, 134; Saitō, "Ki no haniwa," 62.

⁴⁴⁴ Izumori and Yaoshi Bunkazai Chōsa Kenkyūkai, 18-22; Uehara Kazu, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo no fukusōhin ni tsuite: monyō ishō kara mita chōsen sangoku to no kankei," *Bukkyō Geijutsu*, no. 184 (1989): 83-84. Gilt-bronze shoes excavated from other *kofun* and from Korean peninsula tombs are often adorned with similar hexagon motifs. A pair from the Silla kingdom Singni-chong tomb includes with the motif inscribed depictions of ogres, firebirds, and other auspicious mythological beasts, further emphasizing the funerary associations of gilded shoes within Japan and Korea. Umehara Sueji, *Keishū Kinreizuka Shokurizuka hakkutsu chōsa hōkoku* (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1932), 221-224; Manome Junichi, "Keishū Shokurizuka ko Shiragibo no kenkyū: hishiragikei ibutsu no keitō to nendai," in *Kodai tansō: Takiguchi Hiroshi sensei koki kinen kōkogaku ronshū*, ed. Takiguchi Hiroshi sensei koki kinen kōkogaku ronshū henshū iinkai (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1980), 646-659. In my analysis of Fujinoki's gilt-bronze saddle in the following chapter, I further argue that repeated hexagon motifs served as abstract depictions of the celestial realm and perhaps functioned as a map intended to guide the deceased into the afterlife.

possessed a specific lived history. 445 My contention lies with Mizoguchi's latter assessment. By removing the particular personal associations that the grave-goods would have derived through their prior ownership, the sarcophagus assemblage no longer seems dedicated to memorializing the deceased's individuality, but rather toward explicitly emphasizing their specified roles as elite governmental rulers. The implication, then, is that the burial at Fujinoki was motivated predominantly by a desire to ensure that the social positions themselves would continue to endure in the afterlife, thus guaranteeing that the same hierarchical order that existed in life would be maintained in the next world. While the interred would have presumably continued to act in their former governing roles after death, without the presence of artifacts referencing aspects of their extended personhood, there is no indication that a specific identity was attributed to them outside of their social position. For the participants conducting the funerary rituals, which presumably comprised relatives from the deceased's kin-group, we can imagine that the rites eased a shared anxiety regarding death, promising the persistence of a world in the afterlife that continued to be structured into familiar tiers of elite stratification and in which the family maintained their current positions of elevated status. However, if indeed the deceased's identity beyond their political rank was considered to also endure, the lack of lived possessions or artifacts otherwise representing the idiosyncratic biography of the dead would suggest that the material representation of such a belief was of limited importance to those preparing grave-goods for inclusion within the Fujinoki sarcophagus. 446

In addition to the personal ornaments and swords, four mirrors also were arranged in the Fujinoki coffin alongside the heads of the two interred bodies. Unlike the gilding and inlaid glass that adorn the other grave-goods, and reflect their importance as symbols of elite status, the

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⁴⁴⁵ Mizoguchi uses this interpretation in support of an overarching argument regarding the development of Japanese systems of governance. He states that the appearance of personal possessions reflects a shift toward the aggrandizement of the individual, indicating a transition from earlier social systems in which chieftains strove for the overall welfare of the community, to one in which civic production was directed in service of elevating the elite individuals themselves. His argument relies on a bottom-up methodology, which focuses on an analysis of changes in the grave-good assemblages of lower-ranking cluster tombs and extrapolates the data to apply also to the *kofun* of the ruling elite. Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 300-313, 318, 331. My contention here is not with Mizoguchi's conclusions regarding cluster tombs, or even necessarily with his overall model of the development of the Yamato state, but specifically with his interpretations regarding the ritual significance of sixth-century large-scale *kofun* artifact assemblages for memorializing the biography of the dead, which I argue is not supported by the material evidence recovered from Fujinoki and the other west Basin tombs.

⁴⁴⁶ It is worth noting that during the Final Kofun period (600-710) there is a shift in tomb assemblage composition, consisting of a dramatic reduction in the overall number of grave-goods and the inclusion in sarcophagi of unique artifacts that seem more closely affiliated with the individual identity of the deceased. As referenced in chapter one, Tatsuta-Gobōyama Tomb no. 3 was constructed in the midseventh century and was located in close proximity to Fujinoki. Archaeologists recovered from the remains of the site's lacquered coffin a *sansei* ceramic inkstone container and a glass tube-shaped brush case, both of which likely were used by the deceased during his lifetime. Morishita, 40-41. It is possible that these changes in Final period grave-good assemblages are related to the adoption of Buddhism by Japan's ruling clans, the religion's wide-spread popularity evidenced by the proliferation of imperial sponsored monasteries constructed throughout the seventh century. With the new belief that one could be reborn into the paradisiacal Buddhist Pure Land, the role of *kofun* as sites to ritually maintain the social structuring of the afterlife became redundant. Freed of this soteriological burden, we may think of tombs becoming focused instead on the concept that, beyond social position, individualized personhood also endured after death.

comparatively austere bronze materials of the mirrors attest to a divergent funerary function. In Chinese mortuary contexts, mirrors are thought to have been placed within tombs as a means of providing light for the soul of the deceased, guiding the dead in their journey to the next world and dispelling malicious spirits along the way. In addition, the works frequently are adorned with images of Daoist deities and mythological beasts, and are inscribed with wishes for longevity, distinguishing the artifacts as talismans promoting posthumous immortality. ⁴⁴⁷ Archaeologists have suggested that the inclusion of Chinese mirrors in Japanese graves was similarly intended as a means of safeguarding the dead in their transition to the afterlife. These works possibly maintained their mainland associations to Daoist conceptions of immortality, or alternatively served broadly as magical wards that assisted in protecting the tomb from malevolent forces. ⁴⁴⁸

The inclusion of mirrors within the Fujinoki sarcophagus also represents a divergence from contemporaneous burial practices. Among the comparative sample of western Basin tombs, only a single mirror was recovered, excavated from alongside the stone coffin remains in the burial chamber of Udozuka Kofun. Furthermore, compared to Nara tombs in general, the presence of multiple mirrors at Fujinoki is notably anachronistic. Early period kofun often included dozens of mirrors, typically arranged near the head or around the body of the deceased, while Middle period sites generally incorporated only two or three works. During the sixth century, the practice of burying multiple mirrors rapidly died out, and only rarely are solitary works excavated from among Late period assemblages. 449 The unusual discovery of four mirrors at Fujinoki, alongside the outdated four-lug design of the site's house-shaped coffin, has led archaeologists to suggest that the design of the tomb was partially guided by an adherence to older burial traditions that were more closely associated with the fifth century. These antiquated aspects of Fujinoki may serve as additional evidence of my proposed time gap between the death of the tomb's northern body and the completed construction of the site. 450 It is possible that the formal design of the Fujinoki coffin and a portion of its accompanying grave-good assemblage had been determined immediately following the unexpected passing of the high-ranking elite, later interred along the northern side of the sarcophagus. The coffin and artifact designs were dictated by burial customs that were contemporaneous with the death of this nobleman, but which had become archaic by the time the remainder of the tomb was completed near the middle of the sixth century.

Haniwa and ritual ceramics

In order to best contextualize my discussion of the other artifacts interred within Fujinoki's burial chamber, I wish to return first to the exterior of the tumulus, to consider the arrangement of *haniwa* present at the site. Archaeologists recovered sherds belonging to a least seven separate *haniwa*, consisting of four cylindrical works, an *asagao* ceramic, and two sculpted remains, which likely once depicted shield and horse-shaped designs. These artifacts were found primarily surrounding the tomb's entrance, with fragments along the eastern edge of

⁴⁴⁷ Suzanne Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 28-30.

⁴⁴⁸ Izumori and Yaoshi Bunkazai Chōsa Kenkyūkai, 5; Kawakami, "Sōron: fukusōhin gairon," 8-9; idem., "Sōron: Yamato no kofun gaiyō," 13; Barnes, *State Formation in Japan*, 181.

⁴⁴⁹ Terasawa, 77-78; Higuchi Takayasu, "Nara ken no kokyō," in *Yamato no Kofun II*, 162-167.

⁴⁵⁰ Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun: kaikan chōsa no igi," 5; Kidder, "The Fujinoki Sarcophagus," 425; Izumori and Yaoshi Bunkazai Chōsa Kenkyūkai, 40; Higuchi, "Nara ken no kokyō," 167.

the tumulus also intimating that a row of these works once encircled the site. A much larger assemblage of *haniwa* was excavated from Udozuka Kofun, which also features a greater range of sculpted forms, including multiple human, armor, and house-shaped works. Similar to Fujinoki, *haniwa* had been placed in front tomb's entrance and in a row encompassing the base of the tumulus, with further artifacts also positioned along the slopes of the Udozuka mound. The *haniwa* arrangement at Bakuya Kofun, on the other hand, consisted solely of cylindrical works, which were only arranged near the entrance passage. 451

The use of *haniwa* at these three sites is consistent with the overall placement patterns found in the Nara Basin during the Late Kofun period. During the first half of the sixth century, assemblages often consisted of both cylindrical and figural works, placed in rows along the slopes and bases of tumuli, and clustered in front of the tomb. Later in the century, the use of *haniwa* began to decline in the Kinai region, leading to smaller collections of predominantly cylindrical works arranged near the tomb's entrance. Within this chronology, Udozuka seems to represent earlier sixth-century placement patterns, with Bakuya at the opposite end of the temporal range and Fujinoki positioned between these two poles.

Archaeologists have developed a number of theories regarding the significance of *haniwa*. Early scholarship tended to accept the interpretation of these works provided within the *Nihon Shoki*, which asserted that *haniwa* were developed in the third century as symbolic substitutes replacing a tradition of immolating the deceased's servants during the funerary rituals performed at *kofun*. However, the lack of archaeological materials evidencing the practice of human sacrifice in the Japanese archipelago has led to this theory becoming near universally disregarded. Another early interpretation proposed that *haniwa* had served a practical function, their arrangement in rows with their cylindrical bases buried in the piled soil of the tumulus helping to curtail erosion. Although most Japanese archaeologists now agree that simply embedding these ceramics on the tomb mound would have had little impact in preserving *kofun*, this theory persists, resurfacing on occasion primarily within Western publications.

The current scholarly consensus holds that, at a fundamental level, *haniwa* acted as demarcations that were intended to define the sacred space of the tomb, segregating it from the profane world surrounding it. For Miki Fumio, the boundaries formed by rows of cylindrical and figural ceramics further served as visual embellishments, designed to impress onlookers gazing at the funerary mound from a distance.⁴⁵⁵ Mizoguchi, on the other hand, argues that the works

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⁴⁵¹ I am disregarding the several thousand *haniwa* sherds that were recovered from inside of the Bakuya burial chamber and corridor. Considering that these works had been purloined from other *kofun* and were intentionally fragmented to create the flooring of the tomb, it is unlikely that they maintained the same symbolic function as the *haniwa* arranged outside of the tumulus. Similarly, the cylindrical works found accompanying the ceramic coffin to east of the site likely represent a separate assemblage, disconnected from the funerary rituals of Bakuya Kofun.

⁴⁵² Chiga Hisashi, "Haniwa: kofun no naka no haniwa hairetsu no hensen," in *Yamato no Kofun II*, 49-53. ⁴⁵³ From the reign of Emperor Suinin. Aston, *Nihongi*, 1:178-180. Miki, *Haniwa: The Clay Sculpture of Proto-Historic Japan*, 23-24.

⁴⁵⁴ Asada Yoshirō, "Haniwa honshitsuron oboegaki," *Kodaigaku kenkyū* 19 (1958): 5; Miki, *Haniwa*, 36. ⁴⁵⁵ Miki, *Haniwa: The Clay Sculpture of Proto-Historic Japan*, 25-32, 41-42; idem., *Haniwa*, 36, 38-44. Miki, while reluctant to assign specific ritual meaning to *haniwa*, acknowledges that Early period works may have had distinct symbolic funerary associations. Her interpretation of the function of these works as decorative objects applies more to Middle and Late period tombs, particularly in the Kanto region, which included a proliferation of elaborate sculptural works arranged to encompass large areas of the tumulus.

were a barrier intended to prevent the spirit of the dead from wandering away from his grave. 456 I find most compelling, however, the interpretation that *haniwa* created a different type of ward, instead protecting the deceased's soul from outside malevolent influence. In support of this argument, scholars note that shield-shaped works were among the first sculpted haniwa to appear, emerging in the mid-fourth century. These artifacts tended to be placed on top of the circular portion of keyhole tombs, arranged in a seeming defensive formation around the perimeter of the pit-shaft burial chamber, which itself was topped by house and sunshade-shaped ceramics, together serving as symbolic representations of the deceased's spiritual abode. In addition, rows of cylindrical and asagao haniwa delineated a rectangular precinct encompassing the peak of the burial mound, providing a further protective barrier around the pit-chamber. The shield-shaped *haniwa* would later become supplemented by additional defensive works mimicking the forms of suits of armor, quivers of arrows, archer wrist guards, and other military equipment. 457 That we continue to find armor-shaped works at Udozuka and the remains of a shield haniwa among the limited sculpted artifacts represented at Fujinoki I believe is telling of the enduring mortuary function of haniwa, even in the sixth century, as wards intended to safeguard the spirit of the deceased.

In addition to their symbolic significance, *haniwa* also demarcate locations where funerary rituals were previously conducted at tumuli. Initially, ceremonies appear to have been primarily performed within the precinct bounded by ceramics at the summit of the circular burial mound. During the Middle Kofun period, additional clusters of *haniwa* were arranged on the front rectangular section of keyhole tumuli, along their narrow midpoint, and on projecting earthen platforms situated at the base of the mound. The added ritual spaces provided by these new arrangements of *haniwa* suggest that by the fifth century a greater range of rites had begun to be conducted at *kofun*. In particular, several scholars have proposed that tombs had become sites for the performance of enthronement ceremonies serving to confer chiefly status to the successor of the deceased.⁴⁵⁸ The transition to side-entrance burial chambers at the end of the fifth century again altered how rituals were conducted. Rows of *haniwa* positioned near the doorway leading into Nara Basin tombs indicate that the performance of rites had moved and

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⁴⁵⁷ Miki, *Haniwa*, 37; Yamauchi, 193; Chiga, "Haniwa: kofun no naka no haniwa hairetsu no hensen," 47-

⁴⁵⁶ Mizoguchi contends that at the beginning of the Kofun period inhabitants of the archipelago believed that the souls of deceased chieftains were transformed into natural spirits that controlled the germination of rice grains. *Haniwa* served a communal function in ensuring that the ruler/rice spirit would remain at the tomb to promote agricultural fecundity within the region. Similar to Miki, he states that this function may have changed by the end of the Late period, with figural works becoming focused less on promoting communal prosperity and instead directed toward visually displaying the elite status of the interred deceased. Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 212, 263, 308-309.

^{49;} Barnes, *State Formation in Japan*, 13-14; Tenri Daigaku Fuzoku Tenri Sankōkan, *Dai 72 kai kikakuten zuroku: haniwa dai shūgō!* (Tenri: Tenri Daigaku Fuzoku Tenri Sankōkan, 2014), 4.

458 It has also been argued that human-shaped *haniwa*, which similarly began to appear during the Middle Kofun period, may have been intended as representations of the various rituals conducted at tumuli, funerary processions, and/or symbolic assistants helping in the performance of ceremonies. Wakamori Tarō, "Taikazendai no sōsō ni tsuite," in *Kofun to sono jidai*, ed. Kodaishi Danwakai (Tokyo: Asakura Shoten, 1958), 61-62; Mizuno Masayoshi, "Ōken keishō no kōkogakuteki koto hajime," *Dorumen* 4 (1990): 29-35; Tanaka Migaku, *Wajin sōran* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1991), 270-271; Yamauchi, 192; Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 269-270; Tenri Daigaku Fuzoku Tenri Sankōkan, 4. The lack of human-shaped works at Fujinoki, however, leaves me hesitant to prescribe such meaning to the site's *haniwa* assemblage.

were now located in front of the tumulus, as well as in the burial chamber itself. The reduction in overall ritual space at these Late period sites may also indicate the marginalization of *kofun* as centers for ceremonial performance. Yamauchi proposes that starting in the late fifth century, many of the rituals that were once associated with tumuli had begun to be performed instead at emerging Shinto shrines. The tombs themselves continued to serve in a diminished social role, now functioning exclusively as sites for the performance of final funerary rites and the inhumation of remains. 459

The principal ritual implements utilized in these Late period mortuary services consisted of Sue and Haji-ware vessels, foremost among which were works composed in specialized ornamental formats, such as bowls and dishes with attached pedestals, wine-servers, and jar stands. At Udozuka and Bakuya Kofun, numerous Sue ceramics were interspersed alongside the haniwa arranged near the tombs' entrances. Likely a similar assemblage of vessels had once been located in front Fujinoki as well, but was removed during the construction of the adjacent Hōshakuji monastic compound. Inside of their burial chambers, each of the four west Basin tombs also contained collections of Sue and Haji works. Although the assemblages at Udozuka and Fujinoki show evidence of having been rearranged sometime after the sixth century, partially intact groupings at Misato and Bakuya suggest that ritual practices were conducted generally at the front of the chamber, and that, following the service, the ceramics were left arranged near the doorway and adjacent to the stone sarcophagi. In addition, further collections of Sue and Hajiware found in the corridors of Misato and Bakuya intimate that funerary rites had also been performed in the anterior passages of these Late period tombs. Overall, given the confined space available within the burial chambers, it seems plausible that during the performance of rituals there was a hierarchical division among the attendees, with ranking members of the familial group granted access to the interior sections of the tomb, while those of lower status observed rites in an area just outside of the mound.

The ritual ceramic types found at Fujinoki and other Kofun period tombs originally derive from the pedestaled dishes and ceramic jars that had previously been arranged on the tops of Yayoi precinct graves. The designs of these earlier works were replicated at *kofun* first as low-fired Haji earthenware, with the more finely-wrought Sue stoneware later added to the assemblage in the fifth century. During the Yayoi period, ritual vessels likely had been used to present food and drink to the dead, and it is believed that the same overall ceremonial significance persisted in the use of Haji and Sue ceramics throughout the Kofun period. Mizoguchi has argued that as Yayoi pottery designs became more sophisticated, the ritual necessity for them to contain actual foodstuffs diminished, with the ceramics themselves coming to symbolically represent the offering. Regardless, the excavation of a peach pit at Bakuya Kofun, preserved beneath the saddle remains located near the burial chamber's northern

⁴⁵⁹ Yamauchi, 194-197. Mizoguchi similarly suggests a change in the character of the Late period rituals held at tombs, claiming that with the loss of their role as communal ceremonial sites, *kofun* came to serve primarily as monuments emphasizing elite status. Mizoguchi, *The Archaeology of Japan*, 309. ⁴⁶⁰ Based on the jar-like designs of early *haniwa*, and their arrangements alongside pedestaled pottery on the tops of third-century *kofun*, it has been argued that these works may also have evolved from Yayoi ceramics and perhaps were similarly intended as offering vessels. Kondō Yoshirō, "The Keyhole Tumulus and Its Relationship to Earlier Forms of Burial," trans. Gina Barnes and Kondō Yoshirō, in *Windows on the Japanese Past*, 345; Yamauchi, 192-193; Kometa Toshiyuki, "Hajiki," in *Yamato no kofun II*, 80-81, 86-87; Kinoshita Wataru, "Sueki," in *Yamato no kofun II*, 92.

sarcophagus, indicates that a presentation of real food continued to play an important role in at least some of the Late period funerary rites. 462

Armor and weapons

Beyond ritual ceramics, Fujinoki's burial chamber assemblage can be divided into three principal categories of grave-goods: functional military equipment, horse tack, and miniature tools. Artifacts of the former group, comprising the remains of a suit of lamellar armor, a sword, a bow, and an extensive collection of arrowheads, were found surrounding the stone sarcophagus. Although the positions of most of these works likely represent a later reorganization of the assemblage following the destruction of Hōshakuji in the mid-nineteenth century, the preserved groupings of arrows into five distinct bunches along the eastern side of the coffin may be an indication that these works, at least, retain their original arrangements. H63

Fragmentary metal bands accompanying these arrowheads also suggest that the groupings were the result of the works originally being stored in one or more wooden arrowcases.

Although no armor remains were found within the other west Basin tombs, functional weaponry, particularly arrows, were clearly a central component of each site's burial chamber assemblage. At Udozuka, cases containing numerous iron-headed arrows had been placed behind the northern sarcophagus and along the eastern side of the chamber, and a bow with additional arrowheads was found to the west of the coffin. Spears also had been propped upright against the chamber's rear and side walls, and a sword was recovered from the rubble near the front of tomb's corridor, where likely it had been dropped by tomb robbers. Similarly at Bakuya, extensive collections of arrows, again in wooden containers, had been arranged adjacent to the two sarcophagi along the western and northern sides of the chamber, and a single spearhead was found near the eastern wall. Misato Kofun contained a comparatively smaller collection of functional weaponry, consisting of arrowheads scattered along the western edge of the chamber's stone coffin.

Generally, the presence of functional arms and armor at *kofun* has been interpreted as a reflection of the warrior identity of the deceased or an indication of his elevated social position as a ruler in charge of military activity. Shinnō states that, as objects created to be instruments of warfare, weapons by their very nature symbolize a threat of violence and, by extension, represent the ability of the deceased to enforce his political authority through his possession of these martial artifacts. Based on these interpretations, the funerary significance of the collections of functional weapons and armor at Fujinoki, Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya appear little different from the works stored within the sites' stone sarcophagi, primarily serving as

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⁴⁶² Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, 147-149.

⁴⁶³ Shiraishi Taichirō, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo nōkōgu no teikisuru mondai," *Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 70 (1997): 269.

⁴⁶⁴ As previously noted, many artifacts in the Udozuka burial chamber are assumed to have been moved from the original positions, either during the re-purposing of the chamber for Buddhist ritual activities or by later tomb robbers. However, arrowheads at the site were recovered in bunches, surrounded by the fragmentary remains of arrowcases, and the standing spears seem to have fallen over as a result of the deterioration of their wooden hafts. These works clearly had been situated undisturbed for a long enough period that their wood remains were allowed to naturally decompose, which suggests the possibility that they had continued to remain in their original sixth-century arrangements up to the time of their excavation.

⁴⁶⁵ Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, 141; Kawakami, "Sōron: fukusōhin gairon," 11.

⁴⁶⁶ Niiro Izumi, "Buki," in Kofun II fukusōhin, 25.

material signs distinguishing the dead as an elite member of Kofun period society. However, I contend that this overlooks the fundamental distinction between these assemblages that exists both in their respective material compositions and in their positioning within the burial chambers. The artifacts interred within the stone coffins of the west Basin *kofun* are each elaborate works manufactured from gilded metal, glass, and silk, and were, as I have argued earlier, intended to be worn by the deceased as he reassumed his responsibilities as a ruler in the afterlife. On the other hand, the pieces of functional weaponry and armor are conventionally manufactured in iron and wood, and had been placed purposefully removed from physical contact with the interred remains of the dead. The implication seems to be that these practical works were not intended for use by the souls of the deceased and carried a symbolic importance that was distinct from the materially extravagant artifacts held within the sarcophagus.

The martial strength that Shinnō states is suggested by assemblages of functional arms and armor, instead of necessarily referencing a capacity to incite violence, may instead have represented the reverse, suggesting a facility to defend oneself against outside aggression. Functioning in much the same way as the rows *haniwa* arranged exterior to tumuli, I posit that the assortment of military equipment within western Basin burial chambers perhaps had been intended to provide additional protection for the soul of the deceased. In this light, it seems more than coincidence that suits of armor and arrowcases, like those found within Fujinoki, previously had been chosen for representation among the *haniwa* that guarded the pit-shaft graves of Early and Middle period tombs, and continued to be frequently depicted among the sculpted ceramics that surrounded Late period sites. The particular arrangement of weaponry at the four west Basin tombs also is conspicuous, the works placed adjacent to the stone sarcophagi and, at Udozuka and Bakuya, positioned along the perimeter of the burial chamber. The organization of these works, I would argue, suggests a defensive barrier designed to encompass the interred bodies, in this case one crafted predominantly from iron to complement the protective bulwark of earthenware *haniwa* positioned outside of the tomb.

Horse tack

Similar to military equipment, the presence of horse tack at Late period tombs has generally been interpreted as representing the elevated status of the deceased. 467 At Fujinoki, archaeologists recovered artifacts belonging to three separate sets of riding equipment, while Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya Kofun each contained the looted remnants of two sets of tack. Of particular significance, artifacts from each of these assemblages had been crafted from giltbronze and included among them ornamental trappings, such as hanging strap pendants, crupper bosses, and openwork cheekplates. Although none of the artifacts excavated from the other Basin tombs reflect the same level of craftsmanship displayed in the elaborate design of Fujinoki's set A saddle, the lavish materials and decorative flourishes embodied by each set of tack are still a distinct divergence from the more mundane assemblages of weaponry also found arranged in the burial chambers. Despite their exclusion from the sarcophagi, the horse-riding equipment at each site seems more characteristic of the types of artifacts we would expect to find interred alongside the bodies of the deceased. In the following chapter I examine at length the Fujinoki set A saddle, discussing the mainland origins and possible meanings of its design and myriad iconographic motifs, proposing that such works served to assist the souls of the deceased in their journey to the land of the dead. In regard to the comparative discussion currently at issue, however, I contend simply that the materiality and location of these sets of horse-riding

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⁴⁶⁷ Mochizuki, 253.

equipment imply a connection to funerary beliefs distinct from those of the other assemblages of artifacts, and that the symbolic meaning associated with these works appears to have been shared at each of the west Basin tombs.

Miniature tools

The final group of artifacts recovered from the Fujinoki burial chamber consists of a collection of ninety-six iron tools, comprised of a range of manufacturing and agricultural implements. By comparison, only a small number of functional tools were excavated from Udozuka (a saw blade, a planning tool, and two knives) and Misato Kofun (an axe and five knives), while none at all were found at Bakuya. 468 Also, unlike the artifacts stored in Udozuka and Misato, the works recovered from Fujinoki are classified as miniature tools, with a diminished size that precludes their practical usage. 469 The Fujinoki tool assemblage, beyond representing a divergence from the funerary culture of other western Basin tombs, is further anachronistic within the overall archaeological record of the Kofun period. Extensive collections of tools were commonly buried as grave-goods at tombs throughout the Early and Middle periods but had begun to dwindle in popularity by the sixth century, with only small numbers of functional works appearing in select burial chambers. 470 The closest comparable examples to the Fujinoki works were found at Ōtani Kofun in Kumamoto Prefecture, which consists of an assemblage of over fifty miniature tools that had been arranged next to the tomb's house-shaped sarcophagus. However, this site is thought to have been constructed near the beginning of the Late period, in the second half of the fifth century, predating Fujinoki by almost 100 years.⁴⁷¹

There are a number of theories regarding the significance of tools buried at *kofun*. Shiraishi suggests that these artifacts are representative of the types of tools that would have been utilized in the performance of rituals dedicated to agricultural spirits. The burial of these works at tumuli were intended as a reference to the social position of the shaman-elite interred at the site, whose duties revolved around the use of such implements to conduct rites and to maintain the spaces where they were to be performed. Shiraishi believes that these works

⁴⁶⁸ Despite the differences in the contents of the assemblages, the excavated locations of tools at each site were fairly similar, with artifacts positioned adjacent to stone sarcophagi and, at Misato Kofun, on the funerary shelf where a wood coffin is thought to have once been located. This follows the general placement patterns for tool assemblages found at Middle and Late period sites, which similarly saw these artifacts arranged along one side of a coffin's exterior. However, it should be noted that since all of the artifacts along the northern side of the Fujinoki sarcophagus show evidence of having been previously disturbed, it is possible that these works originally were located elsewhere within the burial chamber. Shiraishi, "Fujinoki Kofun no fukusōhin ga teikisuru mondai," 227; idem., "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo nōkōgu no teikisuru mondai," 269, 272-275. Fragments from as many as eight knives also were recovered from Bakuya Kofun. However, these works are in poor condition and have been identified within the site's excavation report as weapons instead of tools. Given the overall lack of information provided for these remains, I have disregarded the knives from my comparative analysis of tool assemblages.

⁴⁶⁹ The classification "miniature tool" is somewhat misleading. These artifacts are only somewhat diminished in scale from functional works, rendering their usage not impossible, but impractical. Shiraishi notes that while the Fujinoki tools may not seem at first glance to be "miniature," he claims that if they had retained their original wood hafts the works' size disparity from normal tools would be more readily apparent. Ibid., "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo nōkōgu no teikisuru mondai," 272.

⁴⁷⁰ Mochizuki, 252; Urabe Yukihiro, "Nōkōgu," in *Yamato no Kofun II*, 121-125.

⁴⁷¹ Shiraishi, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo nōkōgu no teikisuru mondai," 272-275.

preserved the same overall significance throughout the Kofun period, and he argues that their appearance at Fujinoki is an indication of the enduring social importance ascribed to certain members of the sixth-century elite as intermediaries to the divine. ⁴⁷² Urabe, on the other hand, states that the meaning of tools may have changed as the power basis in the archipelago shifted from religious leaders to marital warlords during the Middle period. He sees assemblages of tools buried alongside collections of arms and armor as perhaps referencing their use in the manufacture of garrisons and temporary structures associated with the mobilization of troops. ⁴⁷³

Tanaka Shinshi, on the other hand, argues that the tools placed within *kofun* were linked with the creation of the tumulus itself. These works, he states, became sanctified through their usage in the various stages of the construction of the mortuary site and subsequently were enshrined in the burial chamber during the funerary rites. ⁴⁷⁴ Based on my above assessments of other artifacts in the Fujinoki assemblage, in which objects representing the social position of the deceased were relegated to the sarcophagus interior, while those associated with the burial rituals were located in chamber, I find Tanaka's interpretation of the tools to be more plausible than Shiraishi and Urabe's linking of these works to the identity of the dead. Although the Fujinoki works, as miniature tools, could not have been used in the construction of the site, it is likely that they instead functioned as symbolic substitutes for the actual implements. Indeed, within Middle period assemblages, functional tools often were found mixed with miniature versions or accompanied by imitation works produced in stone. ⁴⁷⁵ This would seem to indicate that there was no conceptual differentiation between buried practical tools and those that merely mimicked these implements.

Even accepting Tanaka's theory in our interpretation of the Fujinoki tool assemblage, however, we are still left with the question of the artifacts' anachronistic presence in a late sixth-century burial chamber. It is possible that, similar to Fujinoki's antiquated coffin design and four interred bronze mirrors, that the inclusion of the set of miniature tools is representative of funerary beliefs that were contemporaneous to the death of the interred elite, instead of those from later in the period when the construction of the tomb had finally been completed. However, even if we assume a significant temporal gap between these events, and place the demise of Fujinoki's primary inhabitant in the first half of the century, the use of tools as grave-goods would still seem to be an archaic practice, postdating the analogous assemblage at Ōtani Kofun by at least fifty years.

Conclusion

This comparison of Fujinoki with nearby Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya Kofun shows that each of the four sites fairly closely correspond to one another in their tomb designs, the contents of their artifact assemblages, and in the overall arrangement of grave-goods. It should be noted that the sample size used in this examination is fairly limited, and, given a larger number of comparative Late period sites, we might expect to encounter a greater range of divergent mortuary practices. Based on the preceding analysis, however, we can infer that the funerary ideologies exemplified at Fujinoki were not limited to that site alone, and that the

⁴⁷² Ibid., "Fujinoki Kofun no fukusōhin ga teikisuru mondai," 227; idem., "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo nōkōgu no teikisuru mondai," 286-289.

⁴⁷³ Urabe, "Nōkōgu," 120.

⁴⁷⁴ Tanaka Shinshi, "Shiyōgu no kofun mainō (jō)," *Kodai*, no.98 (1994): 152-153; Tanaka Shinshi, "Shiyōgu no kofun mainō (ge)," *Kodai*, no. 100 (1995): 64-69.

⁴⁷⁵ Shiraishi, "Fujinoki Kofun no fukusōhin ga teikisuru mondai," 225; Urabe, "Nōkōgu," 124-125.

commonalities among the four west Basin tombs represent, at the least, a subset of a regional system of sixth-century beliefs regarding the afterlife and proper treatment of the dead.

We can summarize Fujinoki as having been designed to fulfill three fundamental needs: to denote the elevated social position of the deceased; to provide a ritual space for the performance of funerary rites; and to protect the elite's spirit in its transition to the afterlife. Fujinoki's large-scale tumulus and similarly impressive burial chamber served as imposing monuments emphasizing the political influence of the dead. They also provided areas for mourners to conduct rites both in front of the site's entrance and inside of its facilities, the rituals themselves incorporating numerous Sue and Haji offering vessels and an assortment of miniature tools. The house-shaped stone sarcophagus further symbolized the hierarchical ranking of the individuals interred within, while the bodies themselves had been adorned with regalia commensurate to their role as ruling members of Japanese society, ensuring both that their status was recognized in the afterlife and that they were equipped to resume their former duties. In order to safeguard the passage of the spirits of the two elite, and by doing so guarantee that the current system of social stratification would continue to govern the afterlife, the tomb was insulated by multiple protective wards. These barriers consisted of haniwa arranged exterior to the tumulus, an assortment of weaponry and armor placed around the sarcophagus, and finally the walls of the coffin itself, coated inside and out with apotropaic cinnabar.

The notable exceptions where Fujinoki diverges from the assemblage patterns of Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya are its four bronze mirrors and extensive collection of miniature iron tools. The inclusion of such artifacts is characteristic of *kofun* constructed in the late fifth century and suggests the practice at Fujinoki of two temporally distinct burial traditions. Osteological and microbial analyses indicate that the two deceased at the tomb had likely been interred as secondary burials, leading to the possibility that the mirrors and tools derive from initial funerary rites held immediately following the death of the northern elite, while the rest of the tomb, constructed later, represents traditions contemporaneous to the latter half of the sixth century.

Based on the preceding examination of the funerary significance of Fujinoki's material culture, alongside the descriptive accounts of the tomb's architecture and artifact assemblage provided in chapter two, I propose the following hypothetical timeline for the production of Fujinoki and the performance of rites at the site. The *kofun* had presumably been created to house the remains of a young elite male, who had died unexpectedly sometime during the first half of the sixth century. Given his sudden death, a proper tumulus denoting his rank had not yet been prepared. While construction of Fujinoki commenced, the body of the elite was temporarily interred elsewhere, his remains wrapped in layers of cloth and accompanied by protective bronze mirrors and miniature tools.

Archaeologists have noted that the dimensions of the Fujinoki sarcophagus, its arrangement parallel to the rear wall of the tomb, and its extreme weight, would have made it impossible for sixth-century laborers to have carried and positioned the work within the narrow confines of the already completed burial chamber. Instead, the tomb would have needed to be constructed around the coffin. We can assume, then, that the first steps in the production of Fujinoki involved the packing of earth and clay to create a foundation for the burial chamber, the carving of the stone sarcophagus, and the commissioning of the burial goods that would be interred inside. Once these preparations were completed, the body of the elite, along with the remains of a relative who had also died during in the interim, were exhumed and transported to

⁴⁷⁶ Mori Kōichi, "Kōkogaku no tachiba kara (1)," 61, 68.

the *kofun* construction site. The bodies, adorned with jewelry and headdresses sewn to their funerary wraps, were positioned on top of woven mats and arranged alongside the bronze mirrors from the previous burial. Other grave-goods, such as the gilded shoes, crown, and belt were added adjacent to the remains, and each body was then draped with a shroud. Finally, ornamental swords were wedged along the northern and southern walls of the coffin, and leaf-shaped pendants from the gilded crupper ornaments of the set A horse tack were spread on top. Based on pollen residue detected within the sarcophagus, safflowers may also have been arranged alongside the deceased. 477

After the sarcophagus had been closed, construction on the surrounding stone chamber and earthen tumulus began. The tomb was completed during the third quarter of the sixth century, dating shortly after the construction of the nearby Udozuka Kofun. In preparation for the final rites for the deceased, haniwa were arranged around the Fujinoki mound and along a designated ritual space directly in front of the entrance. Swaths of cloth likely also were draped along the interior walls of the burial chamber, suspended by iron hooks embedded into gaps in the stone masonry. 478 During the rites, high-ranking family members and officials were granted access to the interior of the tomb, while other mourners performed obsequies in the space directly outside of the mound. The ritual itself involved the positioning of horse-tack, martial equipment, and miniature tools around the coffin, as well as the presentation of both real and symbolic libations, contained within Sue and Haji ceramics. Following the completion of the ceremony, both grave-goods and clay vessels were left in situ, the latter of which presumably were reused for periodic memorial services conducted over the following years. Finally, the entrance to the tomb was eventually sealed with a barrier of piled rubble, probably occurring sometime during the seventh century as *kofun* mortuary traditions began to wane within the Japanese archipelago.

⁴⁷⁷ Kanehara Masaki and Kanehara Masako, 2:25-26.

⁴⁷⁸ These hooks are described in the previous chapter.

<u>Chapter Four</u> Harnessing the Afterlife: Fujinoki's Gilt-Bronze Saddle

In the previous chapter, my discussion of Fujinoki focused on the overall positional relationship between the tomb's architecture and grave-goods, and compared these remains with assemblages excavated from nearby kofun. This examination served to situate the material culture of Fujinoki within a wider regional system of sixth-century funerary practice, considering also the specific historical circumstances surrounding the site's production as a burial site for the concurrent interment of two elites. In this final chapter I narrow my investigation of Fujinoki's mortuary rites to the study of a single artifact, the set A gilt-bronze saddle. As before, I adopt an agentive approach to the investigation of funerary significance, interpreting artifactual remains as extant material signifiers of the actions and behaviors associated with the past performance of rituals at the site. The set A saddle is perhaps the most visually complex grave-good to have been discovered at the tomb. Its design combines advanced metalworking techniques and an array of interconnected iconographic motifs, the origins of which can be traced to areas throughout the Korean peninsula and Asian mainland. This investigation considers the material and symbolic significance of the saddle, exploring to what extent continental meanings associated with the work may have been recontextualized to represent funerary beliefs specific to sixth-century Japan.

My investigation is based upon the framework of inter-regional interaction proposed by Barnes. Her "Yellow-Sea Interaction Sphere" model, introduced in chapter one, emphasizes the fluid exchange of people, materials, and ideas between regions of the Japanese archipelago, Korean peninsula, and Chinese mainland. She further characterizes the protohistoric polities of Japan and Korea as closely associated with one another, together forming a culturally intermeshed "Pen/Insular" region. 479 Placing the production of the gilt-bronze saddle within this background of interchange, the work can be understood as a convergence of intersecting material and mortuary traditions, rather than a representation of any single geographic location. Building from Feldman's contention that social memory is embedded within the formal appearance of artifacts, the saddle's design represents not only an amalgamation of stylistic elements but additionally the entrenched meanings that have developed surrounding these visual cues. 480 The inclusion of the artifact within the grave-good assemblage at Fujinoki indicates the incorporation of these meanings within the burial traditions of the Nara Basin. Furthermore, it also suggests a further layering of the saddle's significance, the meaningful associations of the work's formal design and iconographic motifs realigned to fit within the social systems of kofun production and usage.481

Rather than prioritizing provenance or singular iconographic interpretations, therefore, my analysis of the saddle considers together the work's formal design, ornamentation, and burial contexts. These factors suggest that the saddle's "meaning" derived from an amalgamation of

⁴⁷⁹ Barnes, State Formation in Japan, 1-4, 33-37; idem., Archaeology of East Asia, 1-3, 6.

⁴⁸⁰ Feldman, 50-51, 64-67.

⁴⁸¹ In her examination of the reuse of Levantine artworks, Feldman similarly acknowledges the ability of artifacts to at once retain their original meanings while also drawing upon these associations to generate significance within new social contexts. Ibid., 140, 172. Further discussions of the theoretical basis for objects and visual motifs to derive new meanings through recontextualization, as well as the layering of social significance, can be found in Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 15-22, 28-29; Gell, 215-220, 251-258

material and social traditions, coalescing into a representation of the soteriological beliefs held by those participating in the construction and performance of mortuary rites at Fujinoki. I begin my examination by comparing the Fujinoki saddle with other examples of gilded tack, leading into a discussion of the origins of the artifact's design and of the scholarship tracing its provenance. In the following section, I present an analysis of the work's various decorative motifs, identifying its composition as a depiction of the cosmos, populated with apotropaic bestial imagery derived from mainland funerary sites. I conclude the chapter by discussing the saddle within the larger artifact assemblage at Fujinoki, interpreting the work's material design and placement outside of the sarcophagus as a reflection of its conceptual function of facilitating the posthumous journey of the deceased into the afterlife.

The Set A Saddle

The set A assemblage of gilt-bronze horse trappings from Fujinoki, described in detail in chapter two, has been a focal point for both scholarly and public interest in the tomb. Among these artifacts, the most widely researched and publicized have been the remains of the saddlebow and cantle (figs. 69-70). These works each have an arc-shaped design formed from several connected gilt-bronze sheets that are adorned with relief, engraved, and openwork motifs, punctuated with glass bead inlay. The lower *iso* arc features twin relief dragons twisting among palmette fronds and attached buckles; the central *umi* register consists of a tortoise shell openwork, with various animals, mythological beasts, and palmettes inscribed within; and the top of the work is bounded by a u-shaped flange, decorated with a relief arabesque of firebirds, dragons, and palmettes. A centrally oriented plate, missing from the saddlebow but intact on the cantle, displays a rampaging ogre. A handle, attached by three supports adorned with relief lotus petals, emerges from the plate and features bulbous glass caps with gold inlay at either end.

Outside of the Fujinoki tomb, gilt-bronze saddles have been excavated from a number of *kofun* dating from the mid-fifth through seventh centuries. As discussed in the previous chapter, Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya Kofun each contained extensive assemblages of ornamental riding equipment (figs. 181, 198, 218). The saddles from these three sites share a similar structural design and are representative of the overall type of gilded tack most frequently found among the grave-goods of Japanese tombs. They consist of unadorned teardrop-shaped gilt-bronze plates with affixed iron backings, which form the left and right sides of the saddlebow and cantle's lower *iso* sections. The two halves of the *iso* are connected to one another by a band of metal, forming the central *suhama* arch. A flange running along the edge of the works, studded with rivets, would have connected the decorative metal plates to the wood body of the artifact. This structuring likewise is reflected in the designs of Fujinoki's set B and C saddlebow and cantle. The set B saddle is somewhat more ornate than other examples, however, with surviving fragments of the work's wood body retaining traces of a carved wavelike *karakusa* design that originally would have been layered with a hammered and riveted sheet of gilt-bronze (fig. 93).⁴⁸³

Despite the presence of gilded tack at other Japanese tombs, Fujinoki's set A saddlebow and cantle are distinct in both the amount of gilt-bronze used and in the density of decorative motifs that adorn these works. The closest similar saddle design was excavated in Kyoto Prefecture's Sōraku district. The original sixth-century work is now lost, but surviving rubbings

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⁴⁸² A concise summary of the evolution of horse tack in Japanese tombs since their initial introduction in the later fourth century can be found in Chiga Hisashi, "Bagu," in *Yamato no Kofun II*, 129-138.

⁴⁸³ Kano, "Kura kanagu," 153.

from the cantle record the structure and iconography of the artifact (fig. 226). ⁴⁸⁴ The upper *umi* and lower iso of the work each was formed from a single sheet of metal. The umi featured a central image of an ogre, flanked on either side by dragons expelling puffs of breath from partially opened mouths, their fur tufted bodies snaking along the arms of the saddle. The iso depicted a similar dragon motif and was bounded at top by an ornamental riveted flange. Another particularly ornate saddle was excavated in 1848 from Konda-Maruyama Kofun in Osaka Prefecture and is currently held at Konda Hachiman Shrine (fig. 227). 485 The surviving gilt-bronze cantle displays a continuous openwork dragon motif across its umi and iso. The overall shape of the work differs from the set A saddle, however, having an ovoid contour that curves inward along the bottom tips of its arms. Its bulbous three-part iso and comparatively narrow umi also represent a departure from the Fujinoki design. In Fukuoka Prefecture, the partial remains of a saddlebow and cantle more closely matching the arced shape of the set A saddle were found at Miyajidake Kofun (fig. 228). The mostly intact u-shaped flanges from the exterior rim of the saddlebow and cantle display relief work similar to the Fujinoki fukurin, featuring a motif of clouds and vines. Fragments from the iso and umi suggest that these sections similarly were created from gilt-bronze and that they were adorned with relief imagery that likely matched the floral theme of their accompanying flanges. 486

What finally sets the Fujinoki saddle apart from these other excavated examples, however, is the range of metalworking techniques that were utilized in the manufacture of the artifact. The saddle is adorned with decorative motifs created from a combination of hammered and cast relief, carved openwork, engraving, and glass bead inlay. Together these produce a varied undulating surface that is not seen in prior pieces of Kofun period metalwork. The engraved detailing of the saddle is particularly advanced, combining relief *sukibori* and hairline *keribori* engraving to affect a sense of lively activity within the work's imagery, which diverges from the stiff, formalized motifs found on other fifth and sixth-century Japanese and Korean artifacts. Similarly, the imagery displayed on the Fujinoki saddle ranges from representations

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⁴⁸⁴ Chiga Hisashi, "Kiba no kazari kanagu," in *Yomigaeru kodai!*, 70; Azuma Ushio, "Bagu no keifu: hoyō tsuki uzukei kazari kanagu to basō," in *IFK 1*, 419; Umehara Sueji, 249; Manome, 671-672. Although this rubbing is reproduced within a number of publications and identified as originating from an excavation within Kyoto, I have been unable to ascertain the circumstances that led to the loss of the original saddle.

⁴⁸⁵ Tanaka Shinsaku, *Mozu, Furuichi Kofungun no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 2001), 139; Gotō Shuichi, *Genshi jidai no buki to busō* (Tokyo: Kokushi Kōshūkai, 1928); Umehara Sueji, 249, 260.

⁴⁸⁶ Miyajidake Jinja, *Kokuhō Miyajidake Kofun shutsudohin shūri hōkokusho* (Tsuyazakimachi, Fukuoka: Miyajidake Jinja, 1968), 7-8.

⁴⁸⁷ Suzuki, "Fujinoki bagu kara Asuka e," 89. *Sukibori* uses a chisel to "plow" away sections of metal, leaving a relief image in the un-carved raised sections, while *keribori* involves a fine-headed wedge-shaped burin, producing a seemingly continuous line through consecutive triangular notches. While the combination of these two techniques can be found on other metalwork outside of the Fujinoki set A horse tack, such as on crupper pendants from Miyajidake Kofun and Tamakiyama Tomb no. 3, the Fujinoki saddle displays a higher level of technical sophistication. In their analysis of the saddle's metalwork, for example, Katsube and Suzuki note that the hairline engravings are formed from notches made every 0.5 mm, allowing for a greater fluidly in curving lines than the more widely spaced notched lines found in other works. The creation of such fine lines would have required not only a high level of expertise but also iron engraving tools relatively advanced within the contexts of sixth-century Japan. Suzuki Tsutomu, "Chōkin," in *IFK 1* (1990), 327-337; Katsube Mitsuo and Suzuki Tsutomu, *Kodai no waza: Fujinoki Kofun no bagu wa kataru* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998), 10-14, 162-165; Katsube

of animals and cosmological beasts, floral arabesques, and abstract geometric patterns, which together reflect a level of complex conceptual design not matched in the more symmetrical decorative schemes of the Sōraku district, Konda Maruyama Kofun, and Miyajidake Kofun saddles.

Origins of the Fujinoki saddle design

Given the unique appearance of the Fujinoki saddle, research of the work's formal design has tended to focus on identifying its provenance. Typological studies suggest that the set A saddle is a slightly later design than the those of the accompanying sets B and C. This temporal differentiation between works is based primarily on the construction of the *iso*, which is formed from a unified sheet of metal in set A and is separated into left and right *iso* sections and a central *suhama* in sets B and C. ⁴⁸⁸ The bit plate and crupper pendants that accompany the set A saddle also have been noted to be similar to horse trappings excavated from Miyajidake Kofun and Tamakiyama Tomb no. 3. These factors together suggest a date for set A that sits around the third or fourth quarter of the sixth century, and which corresponds to the overall temporal range archaeologists have generally ascribed to the Fujinoki tumulus. ⁴⁸⁹

Tracing the geographic origin of the set A saddle has proved to be more difficult. In this regard, scientific studies of the horse tack remains have been inconclusive. Compositional analysis of a metal sample from the cantle indicated that the gilt plating consists of an amalgam of gold and mercury that had been fused to copper. The copper's high purity suggests that the saddle was not created through the melting and recasting of pre-existing artifacts, but instead that its materials were refined from raw ore. Despite these conclusions, however, archaeologists have been unable to chemically determine the location of the source mine. Health of the source mine.

Mitsuo and Suzuki Tsutomu, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," in *Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo ronshū* 14, ed. Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Yagishoten, 2003), 374-375.

⁴⁸⁸ Miyashiro's formalized typology of metal saddles within Japan divides works into six periods based on the design of the saddlebow and cantle, and the accompanying buckles used to secure crupper or breaststraps. The Fujinoki set B and C saddles fall within his period IV, dating to the middle of the sixth century (corresponding to the Sue TK10 (new) pottery typology), based on their tri-partite *iso* and hinged crupper buckles. Meanwhile, saddles created with a single section *iso*, like the set A saddle, first begin to appear in Japan in period V, during the second half of the sixth century (TK43). Miyashiro Eiichi, "Kofun jidai no kinzokusō kura no kenkyū: tetsu chi kondōsō kura o chūshin ni," *Nihon kōkogaku* 3, no. 3 (1996): 76-77.

⁴⁸⁹ Chiga and Kano, "Bagu," 386-387.

⁴⁹⁰ The first recorded discovery of copper ore within Japan is found in the *Shoku Nihongi*, in an entry dated to 708 CE. J. B. Snellen, "Shoku Nihongi IV-VI (Chronicles of Japan – Continued)," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan: Second Series* 14 (1937): 216. Although other sources of local copper may have been known prior to 708 and lack surviving documentation, analysis of bronze and copper artifacts dating from the Yayoi and Kofun periods reveal that they were manufactured almost exclusively from either imported ore or from melted and recast Chinese and Korean artifacts. Mabuchi H., Hirao Y., and Nishida M., "Lead Isotope Approach to the Understanding of Early Japanese Bronze Culture," *Archaeometry* 27, no. 2 (1985): 151; J. Edward Kidder, Jr., "The Earliest Societies in Japan," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 1, *Ancient Japan*, ed. Delmer M. Brown (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 94-95.

⁴⁹¹ Compositional analyses were carried out through the use of an electron probe micro-analyzer (EPMA) and plasma luminescence (ICP), determining that the gilded metal of the cantle is composed of 99.5% copper. Kuno Yūichirō, "Dō," in *IFK 1*, 265-67, 274. It should be noted that references to the Fujinoki

analyses of other sections of the set A tack have also provided mixed results. Gilt-bronze buckles belonging to the crupper straps, for instance, show a close compositional affinity to copper sources within the Japanese archipelago, as well as to ore from southern China. Historian Microscopic examinations of wood remains from the set A tack have fared little better, indicating that the works were made from a variety of tree species growing throughout Japan, China, and Korea. A sample from one of the dragon motif breaststrap ornaments is thought to be hinoki cypress, a tree native only to Japan, while a section from the stirrups has been identified as Chinese Sumac, not found in the archipelago but native across regions of the Asian mainland.

The formal design of the Fujinoki saddle displays a similarity to horse tack excavated from sites dated to the Three Kingdoms period (57 BCE-668 CE) of the Korean peninsula. Chiga has argued that the work was derived from a Silla lineage of saddle manufacturing, citing as evidence the artifact's extensive the use of openwork ornamentation, the single-section structuring of its *iso*, and its functional arrangement incorporating two strap buckles on the saddlebow and four on the cantle. He states that these same design sensibilities can be seen in an earlier Silla gilt-bronze saddle recovered from the late fifth-century southern Hwangnam-daechong tomb (fig. 229). Further strengthening the connection between Fujinoki and Silla, he states that the only other known example of a gilded saddle with an attached handle was excavated from Hwangnam-daechong's north mound. The Hwangnam handle originally had been attached via three support prongs and is decorated with an openwork arabesque comparable to the motif found bordering the Fujinoki saddle's *umi* (fig. 230). Other trappings from the set A tack also have been linked with a Silla-style design. In particular, the surviving Fujinoki cheekplate was created so that rein connectors would attach along the exterior face of the work, which is a characteristic of Silla bridles. Chiga and Kano have also pointed to the

saddle in English always identify the work as formed from gilt-bronze. This is in spite of its nearly pure copper composition, which lacks sufficient amounts of such elements as tin, lead, or zinc to classify it as a bronze alloy. Early Japanese gilt-bronze statuary and artifacts tend have a much higher copper content than other contemporaneous bronze artifacts, such as tools and mirrors. In particular, gilded works featuring iron backings often substitute pure copper for bronze. The Japanese term *kondō* 金銅 is used interchangeably to refer these gilded objects without differentiating between gilt-bronze and gilt-copper. The common English parlance has followed suit in similarly referring to these early Japanese gilded works as simply "gilt-bronze." A useful discussion of Japanese gilding processes and the variable copper content of early bronzes can be found in Sherwood F. Moran, "The Gilding of Ancient Bronze Statues in Japan," *Artibus Asiae* 31, no. 1 (1969): 55-65.

⁴⁹² Hirao Yoshimitsu and Enomoto Junko, "Dōseihin no kagakuteki kenkyū," *IFK 2-3*, 2:36.

⁴⁹³ Shimaji Ken and Hayashi Shōzō, "Mokuzai," in *IFK 1*, 276-80.

⁴⁹⁴ Chiga Hisashi, "Nihon shutsudo no 'Shiragikei' basōgu no keifu," in *Higashi Ajia to Nihon no kōkogaku III: kōryū to kōkei*, eds. Gotō Tadashi and Mogi Masahiro (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 2003), 105-106, 116-117; idem., "Bagu," 137; idem., "Fujinoki Kofun no kondōsei bagu," 93. A full excavation report record of the saddle can be found in Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, *Hwangnam Daechong: Gyongju-si Hwangnam-dong che 98-ho kobun nambun palgul chosa pogosŏ* (Seoul: Munhwajae Kwalliguk, 1994), 1:155-156.

⁴⁹⁵ Itō, 210-213; Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa," 20; Chiga and Kano, 377; Chiga, "Fujinoki Kofun no kondōsei bagu," 94. A Japanese translation of the excavation report's description of the handle is found in Kamiya Masahiro, "Keishū Kōnan Ōtsuka hokufun no bagu: hōkokusho shōyaku to jyakkan no kōsatsu," *Chōsen kodai kenkyū*, no. 6 (2005): 43.

⁴⁹⁶ Chiga and Kano, 376; Chiga, "Bagu," 135.

resemblance between the set A mudguard frame and works excavated from Silla's Cheongmachong and Geumreong-chong tombs. 497

Two saddles from China's Liaoning province suggest that the archetype for saddle designs within the Korean peninsula originated from the northern Xianbei culture. Both of these artifacts were recovered from tombs near Chaoyang City and are thought to have belonged to the Former Yan dynasty (337-370 CE). The first of the two saddles was excavated from the 88M1 tomb in 1979, its remains consisting of the intact gilt-bronze saddle covers from a saddlebow and cantle (figs. 231-233). The surfaces of the saddle covers are adorned with an openwork tortoise shell motif inscribed with deer, dragon, and firebird images. This composition is interrupted by a band of floral arabesques, which divides the upper *umi* register from the lower three-part *iso*. Similar to Japanese and Korean works, the left and right sides of the *iso* also feature square holes, two on the saddlebow and four on the cantle, which presumably once held buckles for the breast and crupper straps. The other saddle was excavated in 1995 and is heavily damaged (figs. 234-235). Surviving sections of the right half and lower left tip of a gilt-bronze *umi* indicate that the surface was again decorated with a tortoise shell pattern with interior figural motifs, in this case firebirds, deer, mounted hunters, and dragons. These images lack the openwork of the 88M1 saddle and instead are depicted through engraving.

Based on the formal appearance of the Chinese saddles, Chiga and others have proposed that we trace the lineage of Fujinoki's set A design as originating in the Xianbei culture. They state that this style of gilt-bronze saddle later entered into the Silla kingdom and eventually arrived in Japan during the sixth century through contact either with Silla or the southern peninsular Kaya Confederacy. There are, however, several lines of evidence that complicate this theory. First, while Silla gilt-bronze saddles tend to have flat surfaces adorned primarily with openwork and engraved motifs, the Fujinoki saddle has a more three-dimensional form that is embellished by extensive relief and inlay decoration. Furthermore, the motifs on the set A work seem to reflect imagery associated with both Northern and Southern Chinese Dynasties, as well as the Korean Koguryo kingdom. The mixture of these various visual elements within the Fujinoki saddle has led some to assume that the work was imported to Japan from the Paekche kingdom, which is identified as having a hybrid material culture derived from neighboring Korean kingdoms and Chinese dynasties. The Silla and the Silla and the Silla and the Silla with the Silla gilt-bronze saddle has a more three-dimensional form that is embellished by extensive relief and inlay decoration.

⁴⁹⁷ Chiga and Kano, 378. Excavation report records of the gilt-bronze mudguard frame can be found in Republic of Korea Ministry of Culture and Information Cultural Property Preservation Bureau, *Tenmazuka hakutsuchōsa hōkokusho* (Seoul: Munhwajae Kwalliguk, 1975), 124-25; Umehara Sueji, 150-153. Note that in the Umehara report on the excavation of the Geumreong-chong tomb the function of the gilt-bronze mudguard had yet to be identified, and the work is instead referred to as possible decorative saddle remains. I would also add that very few examples of *aori* mudguards have been excavated in either Japan or Korea, rendering arguments about the provenance of such works tenuous.

⁴⁹⁸ The Archaeology Institute of Liaoning and Museum of Chaoyang City, "Chaoyang shiertaixiang zhuanchang 88M1 fajue jianbao," *Wenwu*, no. 11 (1997): 23.

⁴⁹⁹ Yu Junyu, "Chaoyang Sanhecheng chutude Qian Yan wenwu," *Wenwu*, no. 11 (1997): 42-47. ⁵⁰⁰ Chiga, "Nihon shutsudo no 'Shiragikei' basōgu no keifu," 124-125; James C. Y. Watt, "Saddle Plates," in *China, Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 AD*, ed. James C. Y. Watt (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 125; Rosalind Bradford, "The Guyuan Sarcophagus: Motifs and Explication" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 36.

⁵⁰¹ Chiga, "Kiba no kazari kanagu," 78.

⁵⁰² Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-goods," 82; Ono Shinichi, "Fujinoki Kofun to Kudara no bunka," *Higashi Ajia to kodai bunka*, no. 58 (1989): 131; Azuma, "Bagu no keifu," 422.

Another theory, first proposed by Itō, states that the saddle's cosmopolitan design is the result of secondary alterations made to the artifact. He points particularly to the central cast section of the cantle *umi*, where holes cut into the plate suggest an attempt at remodeling the work. In addition, the three supports of the attached handle obscure sections of the plate's ogre motif, leading Itō to argue that this protruding grip was a later addition to the work. He proposes that the saddle initially was manufactured in China, likely during the Liang Dynasty (502-557 CE). It then made its way into Silla, where craftsmen created additional motifs, and a handle similar to that of the Hwangnam-daechong tomb was added to the work. The piece, now adorned with a culturally diverse array of imagery and design aesthetics, eventually made its way to Japan where it became interred within the Fujinoki tumulus. ⁵⁰³

In contrast, research by Katsube Mitsuo and Suzuki Tsutomu has interpreted the Fujinoki saddle as a Japanese artifact, likely constructed within the archipelago under the guidance of immigrant Korean craftsmen. They argue that instead of being merely a passive recipient of mainland material culture, the saddle provides evidence that Japan was actively developing its own systems of aesthetics and manufacture. Rows of relief bead and minute "fish-egg" motifs adorning the saddle's *umi* register, as well as repeated raised ring-shaped designs on the cantle's handle, set A breaststrap ornaments, and mudguard frame, are visual elements previously found primarily on Korean sword hilts. Katsube and Suzuki state that the application of such motifs to the Fujinoki horse tack represents a Japanese innovation. Furthermore, this same ring pattern is found on the rounded pommel of sword 2, interred within the tomb's sarcophagus. They argue that the recurrence of this design suggests a collaboration between Japanese horse tack and weaponry workshops to develop a unified system of imagery that could be shared across the various Fujinoki grave-goods. They state that it is likely that the same individual artisan was responsible for creating this ring design on both sets of artifacts. Finally, Katsube and Suzuki point out that the arrangement of motifs on the saddlebow and cantle diverge from the compositions of mainland works. Whereas Korean saddles are symmetrical in design, the various bestial images on the Fujinoki saddle's umi differ subtly along the left and right sides. They also note that the tortoise shell pattern containing these animal motifs is unstable, with sizes differing from one cell to the next (fig. 71). This style of slightly disrupted symmetry, they claim, was intentional and was designed to appeal to a unique Japanese sense of aesthetics. Katsube and Suzuki contend that this same visual preference can also be recognized within the chokkomon patterns that frequently decorate Japanese artifacts from the Yayoi and Kofun periods (fig. 236).⁵⁰⁴

On the other hand, Chiga has been notably critical of theories that propose a Japanese origin for the Fujinoki saddle. He states that such arguments rely on interpreting the unique design of the saddle as evidence that a new workshop had been established within the archipelago during the sixth century, formed from a group of culturally diverse skilled craftsmen. Aside from the Fujinoki and Miyajidake saddles, however, there are no later examples of

⁵⁰³ Itō, 213-214. Azuma Ushio also finds a Chinese origin of the Fujinoki saddle to be plausible. He sees a stronger affiliation in the imagery of the saddle to works found within the Paekche tomb of King Muryeong, however, and suggests that if the saddle was indeed reworked, that the alterations were performed in Paekche and not in Silla. Overall he believes that the saddle most likely was the result of a collaboration between immigrant Chinese and native Korean craftsmen working within Paekche. Azuma, "Bagu no keifu," 420-422.

⁵⁰⁴ Suzuki and Matsubayashi, 2:83-89; Katsube and Suzuki, *Kodai no waza*, 1-40; idem., "Fujinoki shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 376, 396; Suzuki, "Fujinoki no bagu kara Asuka e," 89-90.

artifacts that display the same level of metalworking expertise. This would imply that the workshop disbanded shortly after constructing these grave-goods. Chiga finds it more plausible that the Fujinoki saddle simply was imported from an existing Silla workshop. He identifies Korean crupper pendants and cheekplates that display a combination of relief, openwork, and engraved ornamentation as evidence that Silla was creating horse tack in the sixth century that was stylistically analogous to that of Fujinoki. While I find Chiga's criticisms to be valid, the lack of directly comparable Silla saddles from the late sixth century would seem to present a similar obstacle for his interpretation as it does for the Japanese workshop theory, forcing him to attempt to work around a conspicuous gap within the archaeological record.

Ultimately, given the absence of clear sourcing data or extant comparative saddle examples, a definitive provenance for the Fujinoki work may be unattainable. Examinations of the saddle make clear, however, that the overall design is derived from a tradition of Korean gilt saddles and follows the general chronological evolution of the form of these works moving from a three-partite iso to one formed from a single sheet of metal. The set A saddle was created either under the direction of a Korean craftsman or by artisans working from a lineage of horse tack manufacture derived from the peninsula. The decorative engravings and relief work, on the other hand, reflect a varied origination in both execution and content, showing affiliations to several regions of China and Korea, as well as the Japanese archipelago. Given the cosmopolitan design of the work, perhaps tying the manufacture of the saddle to a specific geographic location is less useful than our acknowledgment that the artifact is the result of numerous intersecting cultural traditions. The scholarly fervor to assign a location to the work perhaps is symptomatic of a modern worldview that divides the Japanese archipelago and Korean peninsula into distinct states, and which fails to properly acknowledge the fluid exchange of people and ideas that occurred across the Japan Sea during the Kofun period, as described in Barnes' Interaction Sphere model.

A more pressing question is why such a saddle, representing an unprecedented level of material embellishment, was placed within the tumulus. The general and oft repeated response within publications on Fujinoki is that the work served as a prestige good reflecting the elevated status of the deceased within the Nara Basin's sixth-century social hierarchy. The is little argument that the saddle was associated with an elite personage, who was able to afford the costs of commissioning, importing, or otherwise obtaining an object created from precious materials and advanced craftsmanship. In my following examination of the saddle's iconography and burial contexts, however, I argue that both the motifs and structural design of the work indicate that it was created specifically for use within mortuary contexts. This would suggest that there is more that this saddle can tell us about Japan's early burial practices, particularly regarding the grave-good's significance in its relation to the beliefs about death and the afterlife that underpinned its manufacture and interment at Fujinoki.

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⁵⁰⁵ Chiga, "Nihon shutsudo no 'Shiragikei' basōgu no keifu," 116-123.

⁵⁰⁶ Hayden succinctly defines the purpose of prestige goods as, "…not to perform a practical task, but to display wealth, success, and power. The purpose is to solve a social problem or accomplish a social task such as attracting productive mates, labor, and allies or bonding members of social groups together via displays of success." Brian Hayden, "Practical and Prestige Technologies: The Evolution of Material Systems," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 5, no. 1 (1998): 11.

Decorative Motifs of the Set A Saddle

Tortoise shell pattern

Scholars searching for meaning within the Fujinoki saddle's myriad motifs have focused particularly on the analysis of the tortoise shell pattern found on the left and right sides of the saddlebow and cantle's *umi*. Bands of gilt-bronze, incised into three parallel rows, intersect at circular junctions with inlaid blue glass beads to form a lattice of hexagonal shapes, each serving as a frame for an interior bestial or floral motif (fig. 237). Beyond the Fujinoki saddle, this decorative pattern also has been identified on a range of other Japanese artifacts dating to the Kofun period. Prominent among these works are the remains of a saddle excavated from the Suketo tomb in Ashikaga, Tochigi Prefecture (fig. 238). The extant iron saddlebow is decorated with a silver inlaid row of hexagons that run along the center of the work's umi. Similar to the Fujinoki saddle, the Suketo hexagons have edges that are formed from three parallel lines, which culminate in a circle at each vertex. The cells also are inscribed with animal motifs, although here each is an identical depiction of a bird-like design, lacking the diversity of forms produced within the Fujinoki composition. 507 Aside from the Fujinoki and Suketo saddles, however, the depiction of tortoise shell motifs on horse tack is rare. More frequently the design is found on the pommels of swords, with at least sixteen examples of such fittings having been identified within Japan. The rounded pommel of a blade from Nara Prefecture's Hoshizuka tomb, for example, depicts a series of connected hexagons in silver inlay, each inscribed with twin facing birds (fig. 239). ⁵⁰⁸ Tortoise shell patterns also appear with regularity on Korean-style gilt-bronze shoes, including the artifacts excavated from within the Fujinoki sarcophagus and examples from the Eta-Funayama, Kuwanoyama-Tōnoo, Kamo-Inariyama, and Kazusa-Kinreizuka tombs. 509 The artifacts from each of these sites feature repeated hexagons engraved or hammered into the metal sheeting that forms the sides and soles of the works.

Uehara and Katsube have developed a timeline that traces the origin of the Fujinoki tortoise shell motif as far back as the Egyptian Empire. Uehara attributes the earliest example of the design to wall paintings from the fourteenth-century BCE tomb of Thutmose IV. Along the north wall of the tomb's lower antechamber are two images of the goddess Hathor, one of which is shown wearing a dress decorated with repeated hexagons (fig. 240). The pattern appears again in Assyrian art from the ninth through eighth centuries BCE, depicted, for example, on the robe of the Goddess Ishtar in an engraving on a garnet cylinder seal (fig. 241) and in the clothing of a winged man riding an ox from a wall painting at the palace site in Til Barsip (fig. 242). The same motif has also been identified on images of winged lions and bulls from fifth-century BCE Susa. The fact that the tortoise shell pattern is continuously used in

⁵⁰⁷ J. Edward Kidder, Jr., *Early Japanese Art: The Great Tombs and Treasures* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964), 63-65; idem., "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-Goods," 74; Katsube Mitsuo, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai: Fujinoki Kofun kura kanagu monyō no kōsatsu ni kanrenshite," in *Aboshi Yoshinori sensei kakō kinen: kōkogaku ronshū* (Suita: Aboshi Yoshinori Sensei Kakō Kinenkai, 1988), 560; idem, "Kikkōtsunagimon," 436; Katsube and Suzuki, *Kodai no waza*, 200-201.

⁵⁰⁸ Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai," 559.

⁵⁰⁹ Matsuda Shinichi, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo no kondōsei kazari kutsu no ichi," 1:225-233. A detailed discussion of the two pairs of Fujinoki shoes is provided in chapter two.

This research in turn is expanded from an earlier examination of the origin and symbolic meaning of the tortoise shell motif in East Asia presented in Egami Yasushi, *Nihon monyō no genryū* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1983), 4-18.

⁵¹¹ Uehara Kazu, 83.

conjunction with images of gods and other divine beings is thought to imply that such repeated hexagons represented the spiritual power of the person or beast it adorned. 512 In Syria's ancient city of Palmyra, at the second-century BCE Tomb of the Three Brothers and Temple of Bel sites, repeated hexagons were found painted on chamber ceilings (fig. 243). These compositions lack figural representations and instead use the pattern as a decorative design by itself. Uehara notes that the hexagons along the edges of these works are incomplete, ending abruptly where they intersect with the side walls of rooms. This results in a visual impression that the design continues beyond the spatial limits of the ceilings. He contends that the motif was no longer being solely employed as an iconographic embellishment for images of transcendent beings, but instead had come to represent such abstract concepts as eternity and immortality on their own. 513

Japanese archaeologists have suggested that the tortoise shell motif eventually made its way into East Asia via the Silk Road and began to be prominently utilized within Chinese art during the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589 CE). Several Loulan kingdom artifacts excavated from China's western Xinjian province are adorned with repeated diamonds and hexagons. One such work is a fragment of wool textile dating from between the first and third centuries CE. It depicts several interconnected hexagons with inscribed vegetative motifs and has been put forward as evidence of the eastward transmission of the tortoise shell pattern, theorized to have been conveyed primarily in the form of embroidered trade goods (fig. 244).⁵¹⁴

In Six Dynasties China, the tortoise shell pattern was used frequently within Buddhist grotto sites. An early example is found in Cave 169 of the Bingling Temple, where the motif appears on the inner robe of the Amitāyus Buddha statue, dated to around 420 CE (fig. 245). In the latter half of the fifth and into the sixth century, the tortoise shell pattern was used within caves of the Yungang, Longmen, and Dunhuang grottoes. It appears, for example, as a decorative pattern on the floors of Yungang caves 9 and 10, and Longmen cave 3. In the antechamber of Yungang cave 12, repeated hexagons with inscribed apsarases adorn a pillar on along the eastern side of its southern wall (fig. 246). Katsube claims that the prominence of the tortoise shell pattern at Buddhist sites indicates that the imported motif continued to serve as a symbol of divine or spiritual power, analogous with its antecedents in the West. 515

The tortoise shell motif also appears within a range of Chinese funerary contexts and is found in particular abundance in Northern Wei (386-534 CE) tombs. A row of linked hexagonal frames inhabited with images of celestial beasts and divinities is found engraved along the side of an early sixth-century limestone coffin platform held at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 247). 516 The lacquered remains of the fifth-century Guyuan sarcophagus also are decorated with

⁵¹² Ibid., 82-84; Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai," 555-556; idem., "Kikkōtsunagimon," 432; Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 395. Note that although Katsube states that flying lion and bull images from Susa, held at the Louvre, display a hexagon motif, he fails to identify the exact works he is referencing. I assume he is referring to frieze images in which diamond or hexagon shapes appear as feathers on the wings of flying lions, bulls, and griffins. However, I would contend that there is little resemblance between these feathers and the more abstract repeated tortoise shell pattern.

⁵¹³ Uehara, 83-84.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 85; Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai," 563; Izumori Kō, "Sekkan nai fukusōhin no haichi to tokushoku," in Yomigaeru Kodai!, 129.

⁵¹⁵ Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai," 556-557, 562; idem., "Kikkōtsunagimon," 433, 436; Katsube Mitsuo, "Fujinoki Kofun no kura kanagu monyō no sekai," in Fujinoki Kofun no zenbō, 225.

⁵¹⁶ Uehara, 88-89; Kidder, "Saddle Bows and Rump Plumes," 79-80.

a tortoise shell pattern (fig. 248). Hexagons adorn the sides of the work, interwoven by roundels and populated with animals and *apsarases*.

Continuing his chronology, Katsube states that through the influence of the Northern Wei the tortoise shell pattern spread to the kingdoms of the Korean peninsula. In Koguryo, the motif has been identified in several tomb murals, such as in the fifth to sixth-century Cheonwangiisinchong tomb, which features walls diapered with dotted hexagons inscribed with lotus flowers (fig. 249). ⁵¹⁷ Paekche and Silla kingdom tombs often included interred metalwork and other grave-goods displaying the motif. In the Paekche tomb of King Muryeong (529 CE), for example, the king's interred wooden footrest and queen's headrest both are adorned with a lattice of hexagons formed from lacquered strips of gold leaf (figs. 250-251). ⁵¹⁸ On the headrest, sixpetaled flower-shaped gold ornaments are affixed at the vertices and center of each hexagon, while the geometric forms of the footrest feature various interior painted motifs, such as firebirds, monstrous fish, and flowers.⁵¹⁹ A ring-pommeled sword from the Muryeong tomb also is decorated with the pattern, depicted as twin bands of silver openwork along the top and bottom of the hilt. Each hexagon contains an image of a standing firebird with outstretched wings, and the spaces between cells are occupied by sprouting palmettes (fig. 252). 520 Examples of Silla grave-goods with tortoise shell motifs include gilt-bronze shoes from the Sikri-chong tomb (fig. 253),⁵²¹ a silver cup from the north Hwangnam-daechong tomb (fig. 254), and openwork giltbronze saddle covers from Cheongma-chong and Dalseo tomb no. 55 (fig. 255). 522

The tortoise shell motif arrived in Japan through interaction with the Korean peninsula, appearing again as a decorative design applied to swords, shoes, and horse trappings. Katsube states that, at least initially, artifacts within the archipelago continued to depict the pattern in a manner stylistically similar to their Korean antecedents. However, he argues that the representation of the motif on the Fujinoki saddle represents a moment of departure. Instead of a single row of hexagons, the work displays a lattice of geometric shapes which become fragmented where the cells intersect with the borders of the umi. He further notes that within Korean representations of the pattern, images inscribed within the hexagons comprise either a single repeated motif or a limited range of motifs that are symmetrically mirrored throughout the composition. The Fujinoki saddle lacks this balance, displaying not only a variety of different iconographic subjects but also variation within the execution of each of the inscribed beast and floral motifs. These adaptations to the mainland tortoise shell pattern, he states, represent an appropriation of the motif's symbolic function for representing spiritual power, using it instead as a means of expressing larger shamanistic worldviews that were unique to sixth-century Japan. He interprets the pattern as a representation of the structure of the cosmos, with the upper portion depicting the celestial realm, filled with images of divine creatures, and lower sections

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⁵¹⁷ Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai," 557.

⁵¹⁸ This tomb is dated from an accompanying stone funerary epitaph, which records the king's burial in the tomb in 525 and the subsequent addition of the queen's body in 529. Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, *Bunei Ōryō*, eds. Kim Wonyong and Arimitsu Kyōichi, trans. Nagashima Kimichika (Seoul: Samhwa Ch'ulp'ansa, 1974), 45-46.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 43-44.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 23.

⁵²¹ Umehara Sueji, 221-224.

⁵²² Republic of Korea Ministry of Culture and Information Cultural Property Preservation Bureau, 120-122; Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai," 557-560; idem., "Kikkōtsunagimon," 434-435; Uehara, 85-87.

portraying the earthly world, accompanied by motifs of the protective beasts of land and water. The central ogre plate and attached handle is the connection point between these two realms and serves to bind them together. ⁵²³

Uehara and Katsube's research on the origins of the Fujinoki saddle's tortoise shell motif is useful primarily for its identification of the various Chinese and Korean antecedent examples of the pattern. Their work also presents a departure from the corpus of texts on Fujinoki in its willingness to move beyond formal analysis, to engage the symbolic content and meanings of the pattern. There are, however, significant flaws in the lineage that Uehara and Katsube present. Their claim that the tortoise shell motif transitioned from the Middle East across Central Asia and finally was widely adopted in China during the Six Dynasties period, overlooks earlier representations of the design in East Asia. Both Uehara and Katsube acknowledge that patterns of repeated hexagons show up in funerary settings as early as the Western Han Dynasty (206 BCE-9 CE), adorning the carapace of representations of the Black Tortoise/Warrior of the North (ch: Xuanwu, jp: Genbu) and on the backs of dragon-turtle bixi statues. 524 They claim, however, that these geometric patterns were created solely as representations of the texturing of an actual tortoise's shell and should be considered as an entirely different design from the abstracted and symbolically laden hexagonal lattices imported from the West. 525 Even excluding images of *Xuanwu* and *bixi*, however, there are numerous additional instances of repeated hexagons appearing in pre-Six Dynasties China that they fail to acknowledge. A tortoise shell motif can be seen painted on the door of a side chamber of the Eastern Han (25-220 CE) Dahuting tomb no. 2, for example (fig. 256). 526 Rosalind Bradford also points out that the design can be traced even earlier, to at least the Warring States period (475-221 BCE), where the motif had become an established weaving pattern by the third or fourth century, as evidenced by textiles recovered from Tomb M1 at Mashan, Hubei Province (fig. 257). 527

A more fundamental problem of Uehara and Katsube's proposed lineage, however, is that it fails to acknowledge the creative agency of China and Korea, which serve in their model as merely the conduit for the transmission of the tortoise shell pattern from the West and into the Japanese archipelago. Uehara credits the Egyptian Empire with developing not only the formal design of the tortoise shell motif but also with ascribing it its symbolic power as a signifier of the divine. They claim that the motif continued to evolve over the course of centuries in the West, eventually developing into a discrete geometric pattern which could be used separate from accompanying figural imagery. When the tortoise shell pattern arrives in East Asia, however, Katsube and Uehara state that the motif remained unchanged from its Western origins, both in form and meaning, and simply became applied to local religious and funerary works. According

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⁵²³ Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai," 560-562, 565-568.

⁵²⁴ Han Dynasty examples of depictions of the Black Tortoise of the North include a decorated tile within the Maoling tomb of Emperor Wudi (first century BCE), and the carved stone doorways and various painted murals of Dahuting Tombs no. 1 and 2 (second century CE). Ibid., 556; idem., "Kikkōtsunagimon," 432.

⁵²⁵ Ibid., "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai," 558; Uehara, 81-82. Uehara further suggests that we differentiate our terminology to identify separate uses of the motif. He proposes that "tortoise-shell motif" (*kikkōtsunagimon*) should be reserved for explicit representations of the texturing of a tortoise's carapace and "connected hexagon motif" (*rokkakutsunagimon*) be used for the abstracted symbolic use of the design, such as on the Fujinoki saddle.

⁵²⁶ Henan Province Cultural Relics Research Institute, *Mixian Dahuting Han Mu* (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1993), 272.

⁵²⁷ Bradford, 35-36.

to Katsube, it is only when the pattern arrives in Japan that the motif again began to change, utilized as a means of depicting shamanistic models of the cosmos and modified to appeal to the Japanese aesthetic of non-symmetrical design.

Instead of the grand narrative connecting Fujinoki Kofun to symbolic imagery created in the West over a millennium earlier, a closer examination of tomb art within East Asia may provide a better understanding of the possible significance of the saddle's tortoise shell motif. Uehara has noted that the design of hexagons on the saddle, consisting of bars of three lines intersecting at circles, is reminiscent of the paintings of star maps found on the ceilings of many Koguryo kingdom tombs. These murals portray constellations as sets of circular stars that are connected together by one or more parallel lines. 528 This mode of depicting constellations can be found in earlier Han Dynasty tombs as well, where they are incorporated within murals of cosmological diagrams. An elaborate example is found on the ceiling of a first century BCE painted tomb at Jiaotong University, Xi'an (figs. 258-259). The work is divided into two concentric circles, with the interior ring containing images of the sun and moon discs among eddies of clouds and the exterior depicting the twenty-eight lunar lodge constellations. These constellations are portrayed as dot-shaped stars connected by lines and are incorporated with overlying images of the Four Directional Deities, consisting of the Red Bird in the South, White Tiger in the West, Black Warrior in the North, and Blue Dragon in the East. 529 Star maps spread from China into tomb paintings of the Koguryo kingdom in the northern Korean peninsula. The paintings found on the domed ceiling of the fifth-century Muyong-chong tomb bear a particularly close resemblance to decorations on the Fujinoki saddle, featuring constellations consisting of rings connected by sets of three straight lines, which are depicted amidst a field of mythological beasts and floral motifs (fig. 260). 530 In Japan, disc-shaped stars also appear to be painted on the walls of several kofun, such as at the early sixth-century Chibusan tomb in Kumamoto Prefecture (fig. 261). 531 Full star maps do not emerge in the archipelago until the end of the Kofun period, however, where they appear as ceiling frescos at the early eighth-century Kitora and Takamatsuzuka tombs in Asuka-mura. At both kofun, groups of circular gold-leaf stars adorn the ceilings and are connected via vermillion lines to form constellations (fig. 262). These maps are accompanied by ceiling and wall murals of the sun, moon, and Four Directional deities, as well as by paintings of weapon-wielding anthropomorphic zodiac animals at Kitora. 532

The similarity between the design of the Fujinoki tortoise shell pattern and representations of constellations I contend may indicate a conceptual correspondence that unifies the two motifs. The tortoise shell pattern could be thought of as a type of celestial short hand, serving as a representation of the heavens in general without relying on specific depictions of astrological bodies. Several mainland examples appear to support such an interpretation. The

⁵²⁸ Uehara, 93.

Tseng Lan-ying, "Picturing Heaven: Image and Knowledge in Han China" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2001), 137-167. The four mythological animals are interchangeably referred to in Chinese contexts as the four images (*sixiang*), four spirits (*siling*), or four deities (*sishen*). Ibid., 124. Wu Hung has argued that the Jiaotong image and other tomb star maps were intended to create a microcosm that the soul of the deceased could inhabit within the confines of the grave. Wu, *The Art of Yellow Springs*, 49-50.

⁵³⁰ Uehara, 93.

⁵³¹ Haraguchi Nagashi, "Chibusan Kofun," in *Kumamoto ken sōshoku kofun sōgō chōsa hōkokusho*, ed. Kumamoto Ken Kyōiku Iinkai (Kumamoto: Kumamoto Ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1984), 44-46.

⁵³² Inokuma Kanekatsu, "Takamatsuzuka kara Kitora Kofun e," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 290 (2007): 19-21.

painted side chamber door of the Eastern Han Dynasty Dahuting tomb no. 2 has a repeated hexagon pattern formed from sets of three parallel lines connected to clusters of small dots, which perhaps serve as representations of groups of stars (fig. 256). The edges of the door feature images of the Four Directional deities, while the interior of the hexagons depict various mythical animals surrounded by curling arabesques.⁵³³ The sides of the fifth-century Guyuan sarcophagus also feature hexagons with three-line edges and circular vertices, and each again are inscribed with divine figures and animals. In this case, the tortoise shell motif on the sides also accompanies celestial iconography painted on the coffin's lid (fig. 263). The King Father of the East, *Dongwangfu*, and Queen Mother of the West, *Xiwangmu*, are shown on the left and right seated in pavilions under their respective cosmological symbols of the sun and moon. Separating the two figures, and vertically bisecting the composition, is a winding depiction of the Milky Way, also known as the Heavenly River, or *tianhe*.⁵³⁴

The two fourth-century Xianbei gilt-bronze saddles excavated near Chaoyang City provide the earliest examples of the application of the tortoise shell motif specifically to grave-good horse tack. The openwork hexagons adorning these two works have the same design of circles linked by straight bars, and again feature inscribed mythological images, such as dragons and firebirds. If we accept the interpretation of the tortoise shell pattern as representing the celestial sky, its use as a compositional framework for these saddles would seem apposite, serving to identify the divine nature of the inscribed animals and their cosmological realm, within the spatial limitations of the openwork saddle surface. The tradition of adorning saddles with hexagons inscribed with mythological creatures seems to have passed from the Xianbei culture into the kingdoms of Korea, appearing again on a saddle from the Silla Cheongma-chong tomb, before arriving in Japan, where it was used first on the Suketo tomb saddle and later on the Fujinoki work.

Mythological creature and animal motifs

As intimated in my discussion of the tortoise shell pattern, the various figural motifs that adorn the Fujinoki saddle derive from the depictions of celestial creatures found within mainland Asian art. Among the saddle's imagery, perhaps the most striking is the depiction of the weapon-wielding ogre found on the cantle's central plate (figs. 74-75). The placement of this motif disrupts the continuous tortoise shell pattern of the *umi*, and the scale and higher relief casting of the figure stand in contrast to the smaller surrounding images of plants and beasts. The wild hair, tusked mouth, and exaggerated bulging eyes and nose of the creature have led most publications to refer to the image as a *kishin* ogre. Depictions of similar rampaging monsters are found within contemporaneous Chinese and Korean art, often within elite tombs or at Buddhist temples. The Fujinoki motif bears a particularly close resemblance to works from

⁵³³ Henan Province Cultural Relics Research Institute, 370-371.

⁵³⁴ Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky and Alexander C. Soper, "A Northern Wei Painted Coffin," *Artibus Asia* 51, no. 1/2 (1991): 6-7; Bradford, 10, 53-54.

⁵³⁵ Katsube and Suzuki note that shortly after the saddle's excavation, the central *umi* motif began to be referred to as a *kishin* instead of the more commonly used term for a demon/ogre, *oni*, in order to sufficiently differentiate it from the ogre/goblin mask (*kimen*) images in the tortoise shell pattern of the cantle. Goblin mask motifs found on East Asian artifacts tend to focus primarily on a depiction of a monstrous face, whereas the Fujinoki *kishin* image details the full body of the creature. Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki kofun shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 378.

the Chinese Northern and Southern dynasties.⁵³⁶ A Liang dynasty funerary stele dating to 526 CE, which had been placed along the spirit road leading to the tomb of Xiao Hong in Nanjing, features ogres carved along its side edges (fig. 264). Similar to the Fujinoki saddle, the stele motifs are depicted as ferocious monsters, their muscular bodies poised in mid-movement and their fanged mouths agape. Such Chinese and Korean ogre depictions are thought to derive from regional myths concerned with local nature deities. The figures had become adapted by the sixth century to serve as apotropaic guardian images, whose depiction was intended to protect tombs and religious sites from malevolent spirits.⁵³⁷ Understood within this context, the Fujinoki motif may have held a similar talismanic association for Japanese viewers.

Katsube and Suzuki have pointed out that the Fujinoki kishin has feet with five individually depicted toes, as well as balled fists with knuckles that similarly suggest the appropriate number of manual digits. They argue that this indicates that the motif was not intended as an ogre image but instead as a representation of a human form. 538 Along these lines, several scholars have suggested that the image served as a depiction of a Chinese fangxiangshi (ip: $h\bar{o}s\bar{o}shi$) exorcist. ⁵³⁹ The earliest account of these exorcists appears in the Zhou li, a text created during the Warring States period to describe the bureaucratic systems of China's Zhou Dynasty. The fangxiangshi functioned as a member of the imperial court, whose duties included conducting the yearly danuo ritual to dispel accumulated evil spirits, as well as leading funerary processions and purifying tombs during the interment of important personages. 540 The Zhou li states that during ceremonies the exorcist would, "...don the hide of a young bear ornamented with four eyes of gold, a dark jacket and a red skirt, holding a dagger-axe and wielding a shield; thus they lead a hundred menial officials in carrying out the *nuo* at the appointed times."⁵⁴¹ The imperial position of fangxiangshi continued through the Tang dynasty (618-906 CE) and, by the ninth century, a similar tradition had appeared in Japan. For instance, a passage within the Dairishiki, a handbook compiled in 821 CE summarizing the annual ceremonies of the Heian court, describes an exorcist dressed in the costume of a fangxiangshi presiding over the tsuina purification ritual held at the imperial palace. 542

While the funerary associations of the *fangxiangshi* would seem to make it an appropriate motif for use within a *kofun* burial, Katsube has argued against such an attribution for the

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⁵³⁶ Itō, 213.

⁵³⁷ Dorothy Wong, *Chinese Steles* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 88; Susan Bush, "Thunder Monsters and Wind Spirits in Early Sixth Century China and the Epitaph Tablet of Lady Yüan," *Boston Museum Bulletin* 72, no. 367 (1974): 40; Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-Goods," 76.

⁵³⁸ Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki kofun shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 376.

⁵³⁹ Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-Goods," 82; Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa, 20; Izumori and Yaoshi Bunkazai Chōsa Kenkyūkai, 41.

⁵⁴⁰ Patricia Berger, "Body Doubles," *Orientations* 29, no. 2 (1998): 50; Dallas McCurley, "Performing Patterns: Numinous Relations in Shang and Zhou China," *TDR: The Drama Review* 49, no. 3 (2005): 137-138.

⁵⁴¹ Translation as adapted by Lothar von Falkenhausen, "Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China: The Wu Officials in the Zhou Li," *Early China* 20 (1995): 291.

⁵⁴² Tian Min, "Chinese Nuo and Japanese Noh: Nuo's Role in the Origination and Formation of Noh," *Comparative Drama* 37, no. 3/4 (2003-2004): 349. The *Dairishiki* passage describing the presence of a *hōsōshi* is found under the heading for the twelfth month *tsuina* ritual. Fujiwara Fuyutsugu, Kiyowara no Natsuno, and Tō Teikan, "Jūni gatsu taina shiki," in *Dairishiki kyōwa kigai kankō* (Heian(Kyoto): Sasaki Haruyuki, 1803), n.p.

Fujinoki image. He states that the saddle lacks the specific iconography of the exorcist, in particular its characteristic four-eyed mask and shield. Instead, Katsube and others have suggested an alternative interpretation of the image as the Han Dynasty military deity Chiyou. 543 The figure is depicted in China as a monstrous creature, shown with various weapons grasped in his hands and feet, and a bow emerging from the top of his head. 544 Imagery of the deity is found frequently within funerary settings. A pillar relief depicts the creature at the third-century CE tomb at I-nan (fig. 265), for example, and it is likewise engraved on the rear face of the Xiao Hong stele (fig. 266). Like ogre images, the *Chiyou* motif generally is thought to have served as an apotropaic ward. 545 However, similar to Katsube's argument against the fangxiangshi interpretation, I would also contend that there is an absence of iconographic cues that decisively link the Fujinoki motif to *Chiyou*. Most notably the saddle's image lacks the proper representation of a bow atop the creature's head. Regardless, whether we accept a specific identification of the motif as an adapted depiction of a nature spirit, a fangxiangshi exorcist, or the deity *Chiyou*, it is surely the case that the Japanese image derives from a tradition of mainland Asian funerary art which utilized such representations of monstrous warriors as protective devices to guard burial sites from malevolent forces.

Less ambiguous are the two openwork depictions of ogre masks, or *kimen*, found populating the Fujinoki cantle's tortoise shell pattern (fig. 267). A single *kimen* is portrayed on both the left and right sides of the *umi*. Each depicts a monstrous face that gazes toward the viewer, with arms and legs emerging from around the head to indicate the creature's hunched body. These masks bear similar features to the cantle's central *kishin* motif, each represented with tufts of wild hair, large noses, and tusked mouths with dangling tongues.

Ogre masks have an extensive history of artistic representation in China, with early bestial faces appearing as *taotie* on ritual bronzes from the Shang Dynasty (c.1600-1406 BCE). During the fourth through sixth centuries CE, ogre masks often were included in

⁵⁴³ Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-Goods," 82; Izumori and Yaoshi Bunkazai Chōsa Kenkyūkai, 41; Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki kofun shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 378. Susan Bush has similarly voiced concern over a tendency in scholarship of early Chinese art to identify ogre/demon images as representations of *fangxiangshi*. She argues that while exorcist and ogre imagery seem to have served the same apotropaic function overall, that there is an iconographic difference between images showing human exorcists wearing the *fangxiangshi* costume and those that are depicting cavorting monsters. Susan Bush "Thunder Monsters, Auspicious Animals, and Floral Ornament in Early Sixth-Century China," *Ars Orientalis* 10 (1975): 31-32.

⁵⁴⁴ Karlgren discusses various references to *Chiyou* found within texts from the Han through Tang Dynasties. *Chiyou* is credited as the first to have lead a rebellion against Emperor Huangdi, and as having invented metal smiting and weapon manufacturing. He is also referred to as a war god and sometimes as a deity controlling the rain. He is described variously as human, a multi-limbed monster with wild hair, or as a multitude of talking animals with copper heads and iron foreheads. Bernhard Karlgren, "Legends and Cults in Ancient China," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 18 (1946): 283-286. ⁵⁴⁵ Jonathan Chaves, "A Han Painted Tomb at Loyang," *Artibus Asiae* 30, no. 1 (1968): 12; Bush, "Thunder Monsters and Wind Spirits," 40-44; idem., "Thunder Monsters, Auspicious Animals, and Floral Ornament in Early Sixth-Century China," 21.

⁵⁴⁶ The symbolic content of Shang ritual bronzes, and specifically the meaning of the early *taotie* design, has been a subject of numerous scholarly investigations. Both Childs-Johnson and Bradford, for example, state that the motif served as a means of communing with deceased ancestors, serving as representations of a human metamorphosed into the animal realm. Elizabeth Childs-Johnson, "The Ghost Head Mask and Metamorphic Shang Imagery," *Early China* 20 (1995): 79-80, 91; Bradford, 183. Bagley, on the

paintings and reliefs adorning the walls of Chinese and Korean tombs. Examples include the monstrous head shown biting a banner rod on an arch in the late fifth to early sixth-century Deng Xian tomb in Henan Province (fig. 268)⁵⁴⁷ and representations of the motif in the fourth-century frescos of Koguryo's Anak Tomb no. 3 (fig. 269).⁵⁴⁸ Ogre masks also appear within Buddhist grotto sites. In Yungang's cave no. 6, for instance, a relief carving of the motif is depicted and features the same tufted hair, tusked mouth, and lolling tongue design as found in the Fujinoki saddle composition (fig. 270). Overall, the images of bestial masks in Six Dynasties China and the Korean peninsula are thought to have functioned similarly to the bodily depictions of ferocious ogres, serving again as guardian images protecting funerary and religious sites.⁵⁴⁹

The most abundant figural motifs represented on the Fujinoki saddle are dragons. This creature is represented on both the saddlebow and cantle, appearing as cast relief serpentine forms on the *iso*, openwork images inscribed within the hexagons of the two *umi*, and framed within the intertwined vines of the relief arabesque adorning the saddle's *fukurin* (fig. 271). Additional dragons also adorn the openwork motif of each of the eight set A breaststrap ornaments (fig. 87).

Dragons are one of the most ubiquitous motifs found in the early art of the Asian mainland. By the Han Dynasty, dragons had become associated with a range of symbolic meanings, including immortality, prosperity, control over the rain, transformation, and the *yang* element of the *yin-yang* duality. Within funerary contexts, dragons, in addition to serving as auspicious or protective motifs, also functioned as representations of the deceased's transition to the afterlife. At the second-century BCE Mawangdui tomb no. 1, twin dragons intertwined with a jade bi disc are depicted climbing along either side of the lower section of an excavated spirit banner. These motifs have often been interpreted as representations of the transformed twin aspects of the entombed Lady Dai's soul, the *hun* and *po*, as they transitioned to the heavenly realm (fig. 272). During the Western Han Dynasty, images of dragons also were used within representations of the Four Directional Beasts, serving as the Blue Dragon guardian of the East (ch: *Qinglong*, jp: *Seiryū*). The Blue Dragon appeared within fifth and sixth-century tombs of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, as exemplified by its depiction on a molded tile at the

other hand, has argued against a symbolic interpretation of this imagery, proposing instead that the decoration served as a visible sign to early viewers indicating the ritual bronzes and their owners to be of particular social importance. Robert Bagley, "Meaning and Explanation," *Archives of Asian Art* 46 (1993), 18.

⁵⁴⁷ Annette Juliano, "Teng-Hsien: An Important Six Dynasties Tomb," *Artibus Asiae, Supplementum* 37 (1980): 10, 26.

⁵⁴⁸ Uehara, 92.

⁵⁴⁹ Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki kofun shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 396; Bush, "Thunder Monsters and Wind Spirits," 43-44

⁵⁵⁰ Juliano, 42; Bush, "Thunder Monsters and Wind Spirits," 43.

⁵⁵¹ Gutkind A. Bulling, "The Guide of the Souls Picture in the Western Han Tomb in Ma-Wang-Tui near Ch'ang Sha," *Orientations* 20, no. 2 (1974): 161-162; David Buck, "Three Han Dynasty Tombs at Ma-Wang-Tui," *World Archaeology* 7, no. 1 (1975): 37; Eugene Wang, "Why Pictures in Tombs? Mawangdui Once More," *Orientations* 40, no. 2 (2009): 79-81. Yü Ying-Shih provides a useful discussion of the evolution of the dual *hun* and *po* construction of the soul within China. In particular, he states that this conception of the soul had become formalized by the second century BCE and is referenced within the *Book of Rites*, which describes the *hun* as ascending to heaven after death and the *po* returning to earth. Yü Ying-Shih, "O Soul, Come Back!" A Study in the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47, no. 2 (1987): 374.

Deng Xian tomb (fig. 273).⁵⁵² The motif in the guise *Qinglong* is found on the wall murals of numerous Koguryo kingdom tombs as well, such as the fifth-century Ssangyeong-chong tomb (fig. 274) and sixth-century Jinpa-ri tomb no. 1 (fig. 275).⁵⁵³

In searching for specific stylistic precursors to the dragon imagery found on the Fujinoki saddle, Katsube has identified stone reliefs from Yungang caves 12 and 13 as likely candidates (fig. 276). Similar to the images on the saddle's *iso*, the Buddhist site's carvings feature opposing serpentine dragons surrounded by palmettes in various shapes. Depictions of dragons inscribed within hexagons, on the other hand, seem more likely to derive from the Xianbei cultural tradition of saddle decoration. Several cells of the tortoise shell pattern of the two saddles excavated near Chaoyang city, for example, feature images of the creatures.

Nearly as prolific as the dragon motifs, numerous images of firebirds also decorate the Fujinoki saddle. These animals are found both within the tortoise shell pattern of the saddlebow and cantle, and interspaced between images of dragons and palmettes within the vine-work of the fukurin (fig. 71). Twin mirrored openwork firebirds also serve as the central motif on the thorny leaf-shaped pendants from the set A crupper straps (fig. 82). Images of birds with long flowing tail feathers, extended necks, head-crests, and a rooster-like wattle are found frequently in mainland art, serving either as depictions of mythical firebirds (ch. fenghuang; jp. $h\bar{o}\bar{o}$) or as the Red Bird of the South (ch: *Zhuque*; jp: *Suzaku*). 555 The motif, associated with auspicious or otherwise protective symbolism, is found in many of the same early funerary contexts as dragons in China and Korea, again appearing as painted murals or in reliefs on the walls of such tombs as Deng Xian (fig. 277) and Ssangyeong-chong (fig. 278). 556 Also similar to dragon imagery, we find the early application of the firebird motif within a saddle's tortoise shell pattern on the two sets of gilt Xianbei saddle covers from Chaoyang. Openwork and relief firebirds inscribed within hexagons appear on numerous Paekche and Silla kingdom grave-goods, including the previously identified ring-pommeled sword from the Tomb of King Muryeong (fig. 252) and the decorated silver cup from the north mound of Hwangnam-daechong (fig. 254). In Japan, we see the use of hexagons and birds in conjunction to horse tack prior to Fujinoki on the remains of the Suketo Kofun saddle. 557

⁵⁵² Juliano, 36; Bradford, 234-235.

⁵⁵³ Juliano, 36; Jeon Ho-Tae, *The Dreams of the Living and Hopes of the Dead: Goguryeo Tomb Murals* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2007), 77-81; National Museum of Korea, ed., *Goguryeo Tomb Murals: Replicas in the National Museum of Korea* (Seoul: Jujaso, 2007), 86-87, 96-97, 170-174; Jung Ho-sub, Shin Joon-young, and Kim Kyeong-soon, eds., *World Heritage Goguryeo Tomb Murals* (Seoul: Inter-Korea Historian Association, 2013), 191, 261, 266-267.

⁵⁵⁴ Katsube, "Monyō no Sekai," 90.

creatures, their representations within Han and Six Dynasties art are often indistinguishable from one another. Since they also symbolically served an overlapping auspicious function, differentiation between the two types, she argues, is irrelevant. Juliano, 38-39. Rawson similarly addresses the seeming interchangeability of these two creatures in artistic representation. Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Ornament: The Lotus and the Dragon* (London: British Museum Publications Ltd., 1984), 99.

⁵⁵⁶ Bush, "Thunder Monsters and Wind Spirits," 43; Bradford 236.

⁵⁵⁷ Although Katsube and others have identified the Suketo motifs as birds, it is unclear whether this pattern was intended to serve as a depiction of the mythical firebird or simply a generic animal in this case. Kidder, *Early Japanese Art*, 63-65; idem., "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-Goods," 74; Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai,", 560; idem., "Kikkōtsunagimon,", 436; Katsube and Suzuki, *Kodai no waza*, 200-201.

Images of smaller birds in flight are placed within several of the fragmented hexagons along the top edge of the tortoise shell pattern of the set A saddlebow and cantle (fig. 279). These motifs may have been intended as depictions of firebirds, or perhaps as mundane animals included to further illustrate the compositional space as a representation of the celestial sky. Rawson discusses the inclusion of both exotic and common animals in early Chinese mortuary art as motivated by a desire to populate the tomb with a range of fauna, helping to develop an earthly microcosm for the dead to inhabit. ⁵⁵⁸ In this regard, beyond the flying birds, the elephants and rabbit found on the cantle's *umi* may also have been intended to provide visual elaboration to the depicted cosmological realm, a celestial menagerie inhabited with a diverse array of life (fig. 237). Although elephant and rabbit motifs derive a multitude of associations through sixth-century mainland Daoist and Buddhist contexts, the images at Fujinoki approach a naturalistic rendering of these animals, eschewing the iconographic cues that would normally link them with further symbolic meanings. The crouching rabbit lacks, for instance, the accompanying mortar and pestle or image of the moon that would associate it with the creation of Daoist elixirs of immortality. 559 Furthermore, aside from the lotus petals that surround the legs of the saddle's handle, no additional Buddhist iconography is present that would support a reading of the elephants as reflections of religious doctrine. 560

Lions make their appearance on the Fujinoki saddle within the tortoise shell pattern on the lower left and right sides of the saddlebow, as well as compressed into a partial hexagon at the right edge of the cantle's *umi* (fig. 280). These creatures, depicted with flame-like manes and oversized heads with gaping jaws, have a monstrous appearance that bears little resemblance to their real-world counterparts. The most likely models for these motifs originated from images of the Northern and Southern dynasties. Kidder suggests that the curling tufts of hair emerging from the shoulders of the lions on the saddlebow could serve as representations of wings. As a result, he states that these images should be identified as Chinese *bixie* chimera and that they likely were derived from Liang Dynasty statuary found along the sides of tomb spirit roads. ⁵⁶¹

Jessica Rawson, "The Eternal Palaces of the Western Han: A New View of the Universe," *Artibus Asiae* 59, no. 1/2 (1999): 54-55; Jessica Rawson, "Strange Beasts in Han and Post-Han Imagery," in *Nomads, Traders and Holy Men Along China's Silk Road: Papers Presented at a Symposium Held at The Asia Society in New York, November 9 – 10, 2001*, eds. Annette Juliano and Judith Lerner (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2002), 30-32.

⁵⁵⁹ Bradford, 227, 231. The lack of additional zodiac animals within the composition would also preclude a reading of the motif as a representation of one of the twelve branches. Wu and Bradford have further suggested that mundane animals could symbolically represent embodiments of evil influence within funerary art, and that they were intended as prey for the accompanying monstrous guardian images. Wu Hung, "Art in Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," *Early China* 17 (1992): 128-129; Bradford, 227. ⁵⁶⁰ Katsube and Suzuki note that the leftmost elephant appears to have been depicted with a headstall, and that the palmettes that accompany the animals within their hexagonal cells were intended as parade decorations. They state that these factors indicate that the elephants were domesticated and that their depiction on the saddle reflects their incorporation within mainland Buddhist festivals. Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 402-403. I disagree with this assertion, however, as I have not been able to identify the headstall myself, and I contend that palmettes appear in areas throughout the saddle, making it unlikely that they were intended to provide further meaning only in the case of the elephant renderings.

⁵⁶¹ Kidder, "Saddle Bows and Rump Plumes," 78. Su, Katsube, and Suzuki also have acknowledged that Liang Dynasty spirit road statuary may have served as a model for the Fujinoki lions, although they do

Sixth-century *bixie* statues were placed along thoroughfares leading to Liang royal tombs and featured many of the same characteristics of the Fujinoki motifs, such as gaping mouths, long lolling tongues, and lion-like manes (fig. 281). These images derived from earlier Han dynasty feline monumental statuary, which symbolically served as the bestial protectors of funerary sites, as well as guides that led the deceased to the afterlife and facilitated their communion with the living world. Other scholars stress the formal similarity between the saddle's representations and lions found at Buddhist cave temples of the Northern Wei dynasty. Lion motifs within the grottoes at Yungang and Longmen often are depicted alongside palmettes, and they display lions in pairs assuming postures of a single raised paw and lolling tongue that closely match the figures on the Fujinoki work (fig. 282). 563

The final bestial motif of the Fujinoki saddle comprises a monstrous fish on the left side of the cantle's *umi* (fig. 283). The creature swims downward along the right edge of his hexagonal frame, his head turned sharply to bite a nearby palmette leaf. Images of ferocious fish appear with regularity within mainland funerary sites. The spirit banner from Mawangdui, for example, displays a pair of similar creatures near the bottom of the composition (fig. 272). In the Korean peninsula, representations are found in the murals of Koguryo's Anak tomb no. 2 and the Deokheung-ri tomb, as well as in the Paekche painted headrest excavated from King Muryeong's grave (fig. 251). ⁵⁶⁴ The design of these motifs has been linked with images of *makara* water spirits originating from India. ⁵⁶⁵ In the mortuary contexts of East Asia these creatures seem to have been recast in the guise of monstrous guardians, their fish-like form perhaps providing an allusion to early Chinese conceptions of the watery primordial depths of the underworld. ⁵⁶⁶

Returning to consider again the overall design of the Fujinoki saddle, I have argued throughout this section that the composition was intended as a representation of the cosmos. The tortoise-shell pattern of the *umi* serves as an expedient means of representing constellations within a celestial sky. It is decorated with inscribed bestial imagery that outline the various inhabitants of this realm, many of which can be linked with apotropaic or otherwise auspicious significance within Asian mainland contexts. I acknowledge, however, that there is a danger in applying too specific a symbolic reading to any one of these images. Robert Bagley has previously cautioned against the art historical desire to search for greater significance within ornamentation, positing that images need not have a precise symbolic meaning and may function instead as visually dynamic displays intended to highlight an object as something of importance. Sections of palmettes and arabesques that seem to serve more as ornamentation intended to fill the negative space of the work than as symbolically laden imagery. However, regardless of what

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not interpret the saddle motifs as possessing wings. Su Zhe, "Bagu monyō," in *IFK 1*, 427; Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki kofun shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 396.

⁵⁶² Ann Paludan, *The Chinese Spirit Road*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 9.

⁵⁶³ Katsube, "Monyō no sekai," 90; Su, 427-428; Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki kofun shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 396.

⁵⁶⁴ Uehara, 92.

⁵⁶⁵ Rawson, *Chinese Ornament*, 114-117; Kidder, "Saddle Bows and Rump Plumes," 78; Izumori and Yaoshi Bunkazai Chōsa Kenkyūkai, 41; Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki kofun shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 400.

⁵⁶⁶ Although I have emphasized a generalized interpretation of monstrous fish as guardian figures, Bulling discusses additional symbolic associations that could be represented by such images. Bulling, 161-162. ⁵⁶⁷ Bagley, 16-18.

specific meanings the various saddle motifs may or may not have had for viewers within Japan's Nara Basin, through tracing the lineage of these images we can conclude that they derive overall from a wider tradition of East Asian mortuary art. This would imply that the saddle's composition was designed as a continuation of these preestablished visual practices and, furthermore, that it had been created specifically to function within similar funerary circumstances. ⁵⁶⁸

The Heavenly Horse and the Soul's Journey to the Afterlife

Having explored the gilt-bronze saddle's individual decorative motifs, I turn now to consider the significance of the work's inclusion among the assemblage of grave-goods in the Fujinoki burial chamber. I would first like to address the prevailing scholarly theory introduced earlier in this chapter that the saddle functioned primarily as a prestige good. Implicit within this reading is the understanding that the work was obtained and used during the life of its owner, ostensibly functioning as a symbol of wealth and political clout to observers of the work. The artifact later was placed within the burial chamber as a prized possession that would accompany the deceased into the afterlife. In this interpretation, the significance of the saddle lies not so much on its final placement within the tomb but in its actual utilization prior to its interment, as an object visible within the social contexts of sixth-century Japan. 569 It is not surprising, then, to find that scholarly discussions regarding the purpose of the work have tended to be concerned in an analysis of the saddle as a functional element of horse tack and less with its meaning specifically as a grave-good. Numerous publications, for example, are dedicated to reconstructing how the set A tack would have originally been arranged when equipped on a horse. ⁵⁷⁰ In regard to the contexts of its use, Izumori has postulated that the saddle likely was not intended for everyday riding, and instead that its ornamentation and prestigious materials indicate that the work was reserved for use during ceremonial processions or festivals.⁵⁷¹ An early interpretation by Hotta Keiichi saw the inclusion of a handle on the saddle as an indication that the work had been designed for a female rider, ⁵⁷² which later was used as evidence to support the theory that the artifact was the possession of a female consort to the elite buried at Fujinoki. 573

⁵⁶⁸ Although many of the motifs I have discussed appear at both mortuary and Buddhist worship sites, I would contend that the lack of distinct Buddhist iconography on the saddle preclude a reading of the artifact as having been intended to represent ideologies specific to the religion.

⁵⁶⁹ To clarify I am referring to the significance of the saddle as a prestige good not in terms of *how* it derived its social value (through the scarcity of its materials, the labor required for its manufacture, the limited access to the networks of exchange required to procure the work, and so on), but instead specifically in its function to visually convey this value to onlookers.

⁵⁷⁰ See my discussion in chapter two describing the full tack assemblage and the accompanying scholarship dedicated to reconstructions of the set A arrangement.

⁵⁷¹ Izumori assumes that, in general, gilt-bronze decorative horse tack in both Japan and Korea was reserved for ceremonial occasions. Izumori and Yaoshi Bunkazai Chōsa Kenkyūkai, 42. ⁵⁷² Ishino, "Fujinoki Kofun no kaikan chōsa," 20.

⁵⁷³ With the set A saddle attributed to a female consort, the set B and C saddles were presumably possessions of her male partner. As discussed in chapters two and three, however, more recent analyses have identified the bones of both bodies as male. Mori Kōichi, "Kōkogaku no tachiba kara (1)," 75. Ōbayashi has also suggested that the saddle served as a symbolic stand-in for a sacrificial horse during the Fujinoki burial rituals. Ōbayashi, 109. Aside from the proscription against animal sacrifice cited from

Given that the gilt-bronze saddle was interred within the Fujinoki chamber accompanied by a complete set of horse tack, it would initially appear that the work truly was intended to serve as a functional piece of riding equipment. The surrounding assemblage of agricultural tools, arrowheads, armor, and swords further supports this interpretation, suggesting that the saddle intentionally was placed alongside analogous utilitarian grave-goods arranged around the exterior edges of the sarcophagus. As Kidder and other scholars have pointed out, however, several elements of the set A tack, particularly the saddle, stirrups, and mudguard, are overly large and would have been ill-suited for practical use, especially considering the small breeds of horses that were predominant within Japan during the Kofun period.⁵⁷⁴ The gilt-bronze materials and elaborate decorative embellishments of the Fujinoki horse trappings also seem out of place compared to the more conventional designs of the iron objects surrounding it. The saddle instead reflects an aesthetic similar to the grave-goods found within the sarcophagus, which in contrast to the artifacts outside of the coffin consisted of non-functional ceremonial swords, jewelry, and other personal ornaments created from such precious materials as gold, silver, and gilt-bronze. Small gilt pendants which originally hung from the pinwheel-shaped crupper ornaments from the set A tack also were spread throughout the interior of the sarcophagus, strengthening this connection between the tomb's riding equipment and the objects within the coffin. It seems likely, then, that the purpose of the saddle lay beyond everyday functionality. Indeed, Imoto has suggested that the extensive openwork and relief embellishment on the saddle perhaps indicate that it was intended to serve a spiritual or talismanic purpose. 575 Such an interpretation is supported by the decorative motifs of the work, which, as we have previously seen, are connected with apotropaic religious and funerary imagery derived from China and Korea. The celestial and mortuary motifs also would seem to indicate that the saddle was created specifically with the goal of it being placed within a tomb, further confounding notions that the saddle was intended to be utilized for actual riding during the life of its owner.

The apparent motives for the saddle's production and placement in the tomb appear to be conflicting. The inclusion of a full set of tack and its location outside of the sarcophagus implies that the work was conceived to be functional, while the decorative motifs, materials, and design of the trappings conceptually and physically undermine such a purpose. Instead of looking at the practical application of the saddle in terms of real-world horses, however, I posit that the work was intended for another kind of animal, one that could be ridden by the soul of the deceased following his interment in the tomb.

A possible depiction of this otherworldly mount can be seen in the surviving Silla kingdom painting of a so-call "heavenly horse" excavated from the sixth-century Cheongma-

the Taika Reform within the *Nihon Shoki*, however, there is no evidence that such horse sacrifices were ever practiced in conjunction with Kofun period funerary rites. Aston, *Nihongi*, 2:220.

⁵⁷⁴ Kidder notes that oversized tack is not unique to Fujinoki, citing the large saddle and stirrups recovered from the Fukuoka Prefecture Miyajidake Kofun and a non-functional horse helmet from the Ōtani tomb in Wakayama prefecture. Kidder, "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-Goods," 70, 80. Imoto states that the large size of the Fujinoki saddle may be an indication that the work was created overseas and was designed for use with larger mainland breeds of horses. Even if true, however, I would argue that the saddle would still have been rendered non-functional when imported to Japan given the lack of suitable mounts within the archipelago. Imoto Eiichi, "Fujinoki Kofun sekkan gai shutsudo butsu no imi," *Higashi Ajia no kodai bunka*, no. 50 (1987): 120. For a discussion on the origins and breed characteristics of horses in early Japan, see Sasama, 265-267.

chong tomb (fig. 284). 576 This image was found adorning the surface of a mudguard formed from several layers of bound birch bark. 577 The horse occupies the center of the composition, executed primarily in white pigment, and is highlighted with red contour lines and crescentshaped geometric motifs placed sporadically along the animal's neck and flank. The legs stretch and bend, while tendril-like wings curl out from each limb, depicting the horse as it gallops through the heavens. The apparent haste of its flight is suggested by the mane and upright tail, which lengthen into sharp points as the wind catches the horse's hair. An elongated tongue, or perhaps a puff of cosmic breath, is depicted emerging from the horse's open mouth, serving as a further indication of the animal's otherworldly nature. ⁵⁷⁸ Four black and white swirling cloudlike forms occupy the corners of the composition and help to define the celestial world surrounding the horse. The work is framed by a 10 cm band of repeated tendriling arabesques painted in red, black, green, and white pigments.⁵⁷⁹ These arabesques, as well as those adorning the gilt-bronze remains of another *aori* mudguard discovered within the tomb, bear a similarity to the floral openwork designs found on the mudguard frame from Fujinoki, and has led archaeologists to suggest that perhaps the lost body of the Japanese work also once was decorated with a heavenly horse motif. 580

Artifacts associated with heavenly horse imagery have been excavated from other Silla kingdom sites as well. At the sixth-century Geumryeong-chong tomb, a horse-shaped fragment from a gilt-bronze mudguard frame was discovered (fig. 285). Although several sections of this work have been lost, including the legs and tail, the remaining portions bear some resemblance to the horse painting at Cheongma-chong, such as the animal's spiked mane and open mouth with protruding tongue. The remnants of a lacquer bowl excavated from the southern Hwangnam-daechong tomb also is adorned with a red-pigment horse painted slightly below its rim (figs. 286-287). Although this image lacks discernable wings or other divine characteristics, the adjacent motifs of a dragon and firebird suggest that the horse similarly was intended to serve as a depiction of a celestial animal. Representations of the heavenly horse in general are thought to have been modeled from Chinese winged horse images, which appear in tombs as

⁵⁷⁶ This painting also serves as the namesake for the grave, which usually is translated into English as the Heavenly Horse Tomb.

⁵⁷⁷ This mudguard belongs to a set of two, which were designed to hang from a saddle suspended by thin straps along either side of the horse. The other mudguard from the set also was found within the tomb but is too heavily decomposed to discern its painted composition. Likely it was similarly decorated with an image of a heavenly horse.

⁵⁷⁸ Early East Asian images of mythical creatures, such as chimera, often are depicted expelling a puff of breath, sometimes in the form of a palmette emerging from their mouth.

⁵⁷⁹ Republic of Korea Ministry of Culture and Information Cultural Property Preservation Bureau, 125, 155-156.

⁵⁸⁰ Chiga, "Kiba no Kazari Kanagu," 72-73; Azuma, "Bagu no keifu," 421. Remains of two other sets of mudguards also were recovered from the Cheongma-chong tomb. Both sets were found in fragments and appear to have been created from multiple layers of a thin lacquered material. The surfaces of these works are decorated primarily with a tortoise shell pattern with inscribed yellow-pigment birds. Republic of Korea Ministry of Culture and Information Cultural Property Preservation Bureau, 124-125. The motifs of these lacquered mudguards bear some resemblance to the openwork design of the Fujinoki saddle's *umi*, again suggesting a connection between the decorations found on horse tack at the two tombs.

⁵⁸¹ Umehara Sueji, 150-152.

⁵⁸² Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 118.

early as the Han Dynasty. Azuma proposes that the motif entered into the Silla kingdom in the later half of the fifth or early sixth century, where it then became incorporated into local Korean funerary beliefs. ⁵⁸³

In a few rare cases, images of the heavenly horse have been found within Japanese tombs, indicating that funerary rituals associated with the motif may have spread into the archipelago by the sixth century. The inscribed sword excavated from Eta-Funayama Kofun, previously discussed in chapter three, features several silver inlay depictions of animals and flowers along the body of its blade. Among these is an image of a horse, located near the hilt of the sword (fig. 288). Curling lines along the flank of the creature, emerging from the tops of the fore and hind legs, are thought to serve as depictions of wings and have led to an identification of the motif as a heavenly horse image. 584 Another possible heavenly horse is found in Fukuoka Prefecture at the sixth-century Takehara Kofun. This tomb contains an extant black and red pigment painting executed on the rear wall of its stone burial chamber (fig. 289). The composition is framed on either side by images of oversized ceremonial fans or abstracted trees, and along the bottom by curving waves. A human figure on the left is shown holding the bridle of a horse and is standing next to a small boat floating on the water below. A row of repeated triangles emerges from the ocean on the right side of the painting, perhaps serving as a representation of mountains. At the top of the mural is an image of a bestial creature, depicted with its four-legs splayed and tail held upright. Although the motif lacks wings, the spiked hair of the creature's mane and tail, and the elongated tongue emerging from its mouth, are familiar characteristics from the Cheongma-chong tomb mudguard and may indicate that the Takehara image was intended as a representation of a similar celestial horse. 585

Indications of the possible conceptual role of a heavenly horse within sixth-century funerary practices can be found within the myths of primordial Japan recorded within the Kojiki and Nihon Shoki. As discussed in chapter one, these texts were created in the eighth century and were compiled as a means of legitimizing the contemporary imperial lineage's ascension to power. As such, these works are unreliable sources for accurate historical accounts of Japan's Kofun period. However, Peter Metevelis has convincingly argued against simply dismissing the mythological stories contained within the texts. He states that although the oral transmission of ancient myths would have led to some degree of loss or corruption over centuries, and that the compilers of the Chronicles probably were quite selective in which story variants they chose to record, that it is unlikely that the myths were extensively revised from their original forms to adhere to a political agenda. Myths are created as a means of explaining the world around us, and as such are indelibly tied to the persisting worldviews and traditions of a culture. They also serve as the basis for ritual acts. If the eighth-century court had drastically attempted to alter

⁵⁸³ Azuma, "Bagu no keifu," 421. Suezaki Masumi, "Kiba bunka no denrai," in *Yūrashia no kaze Shiragi e*, ed. Yamamoto Takafumi (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2009), 107. Although I find it probable that the heavenly horse image originated in China, many scholars argue that the motif can be further traced to earlier depictions of winged horses within Western art. Itō in particular states that the Silla belief in a supernatural horse derived initially from the Greek mythological Pegasus that served as Zeus' flying mount. He interprets the combination of the heavenly horse motif with Middle-Eastern style arabesques on the mudguard from Cheongma-chong as evidence that the concept for the flying horse was introduced to Korea alongside an influx of Sasanian Dynasty cultural influence during the later fifth century. Itō, 214-217.

⁵⁸⁴ Otomasu Shigetaka, "Eta-Funayama Kofun to shutsudo ibutsu," in *Eta-Funayama Kofun*, 6.

⁵⁸⁵ Suezaki, 109.

mythological accounts when creating the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, not only would these new stories have failed to find significance within the existing cultural realities of Japan, but such alterations would have rendered useless the rituals that had for centuries served to legitimize the imperial line. In my following discussion of the *Chronicles* it is not my intent to claim that the recorded myths necessarily informed the funerary rites at Fujinoki, which were performed over 150 years prior. Instead, references to the divine horse and the underworld within the texts are introduced in order to highlight elements that may have endured from earlier sixth-century conceptions of the afterlife to be recorded within the eighth-century *Chronicles*.

In the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* account of Amaterasu's retreat from the world into the heavenly rock cave, it is the rampaging Susanowo's flaying of a heavenly piebald horse and the throwing of its corpse into the sun goddesses' weaving hall that finally precipitates her withdrawal. ⁵⁸⁷ In his commentaries on the *Nihon Shoki*, Aston has noted that the horse within this account was not likely a regular animal, but a type of celestial beast whose dappled coat served as a representation of the night sky. He links the horse to the Indian *Prisni*, an incarnation of the starry night in the form of a piebald cow. ⁵⁸⁸ Naumann interprets the horse as an embodiment of the moon, which he argues was a concept introduced to Japan from Chinese mythology. He cites a pair of Western Han Dynasty tomb tiles depicting such "moon-animals" (fig. 290). In each, a winged horse representing the moon stands in front of a mulberry tree, which Naumann takes to be a cosmic tree with fruit-laden branches serving as supports for the stars. ⁵⁸⁹ From these celestial interpretations of the divine horse within the *Chronicles*, it seems plausible that such a mythological animal may have served as the basis for the depictions of the heavenly horse within Korean and Japanese funerary art.

If we accept that the concept of the heavenly horse may have been incorporated into the burial practices of Fujinoki Kofun, then the function of the set A saddle might also have been related. The gilt-bronze materials, while impractical in real-world usage, would be well-suited for the grandeur of a celestial mount, whose divine nature would be further reflected by the decorative motifs depicting other mythological beasts and constellations of stars. An explanation of why such a grave-good was deemed a necessary inclusion within the tomb, however, depends on how we interpret the location of the afterlife according to ancient Japanese worldviews.

Returning to the *Kojiki*, the first reference to the afterlife occurs when Izanagi travels to the land of Yomi to visit his recently deceased sister-wife, Izanami. Izanagi talks with Izanami at the doorway of her netherworld dwelling, beseeching her to return to the world of the living. When Izanagi eventually creates a torch from a prong of his comb, he sees for the first time the festering corpse of his deceased wife, which sends Izanami into a rage. Izanagi is forced to flee from the underworld, and upon returning to the land of the living he seals the pass to Yomi with

⁵⁸⁶ Peter Metevelis, *Mythical Stone* (San Jose: Writers Club Press, 2002), 5-15; Peter Metevelis, *Japanese Mythology and the Primeval World: A Comparative Symbolic Approach* (New York: iUniverse, 2009), 5-11.

⁵⁸⁷ Aston, Nihongi, 1:41; Donald L. Philippi, Kojiki (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 80.

⁵⁸⁸ Aston, Shinto: The Way of the Gods (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1905), 100.

⁵⁸⁹ Nelly Naumann, "'Sakahagi': The 'Reverse Flaying' of the Heavenly Piebald Horse," *Asian Folklore Studies* 41, no. 1 (1982): 24-25. Within Eastern Han funerary art, such tree motifs, identified as cassia trees, often were depicted populated with birds or monkeys and accompanied by an archer preparing to shoot the animals. These images served as representations of the spirit gate (*guimen* 桂門) that linked the worlds of the living and dead. Patricia Berger, email message to author, November 26, 2018.

a boulder.⁵⁹⁰ Many scholars analyzing this myth have commented that the description of the underworld presented here seems to reflect the Late Kofun period practice of burying bodies in tumuli with side-entrance burial chambers. Within this interpretation, the corridor leading into a tomb corresponds with the passage to Yomi, the burial chamber and sarcophagus align with Izanami's abode, and the stones used to seal the entrance into a *kofun* following the completion of the burial ceremony are the boulder that Izanagi used to block access to the underworld.⁵⁹¹ Similarly, scholars have argued that in the myth of Amaterasu, the act of the sun goddesses concealing herself within the heavenly rock cave and blocking it with a large stone was intended to symbolize her death and interment within a tomb.⁵⁹²

Assuming that sixth-century beliefs regarding the afterlife followed a similar understanding of the underworld, entering into the Fujinoki tomb would have been conceived of as tantamount to entering into the land of the dead, and by extension the burial chamber would have been constructed specifically with the intent of creating a space for the souls of the deceased to inhabit. By placing the afterlife within the tomb itself, it is possible that the gilt-bronze saddle and its associated heavenly horse mount functioned to provide the interred spirits a means taking excursions outside of the netherworld confines of the tumulus. In this sense, the saddle would have functioned similarly to funerary chariots buried within many Han Dynasty Chinese tombs. These included not only functional works, but also miniature models, paintings, and carvings of the vehicles, which were intended to allow the inhabitants of a tomb the ability for posthumous travels throughout the cosmos. This function is perhaps most apparent at the Eastern Han Dynasty Cangshan tomb in Shangdong Province, where an inscription dated to 151 CE accompanies a relief of chariots in procession (fig. 291). The text describes the work as representing the journey of the deceased on his way to be buried in the tomb, followed by the travels of his spirit in the afterlife. ⁵⁹³

Other scholarly interpretations of the *Kojiki*'s representations of the underworld have focused on the perception of the afterlife as a separate physical location. Kōnoishi states that in the spatial structure developed within the *Kojiki*, the land created by Izanagi and Izanami, Ashihara no Nakatsukuni, forms the central axis around which all other mythological realms are situated. The land of Yomi lies on the periphery of this central area, necessitating Izanagi to physically leave Ashihara no Nakatsukuni in order to journey to visit Izanami. ⁵⁹⁴ A similar sentiment is supplied by Nakanishi Susumu, who argues that within the ancient Japanese worldview time and space were not distinct concepts, and that the temporal phenomenon of "death" was conceived of as a literal spatial movement to another location. ⁵⁹⁵ Within the *Kojiki*

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⁵⁹⁰ Philippi, 61-67.

⁵⁹¹ The earliest publication of this interpretation can be found in Tsugita Jun, *Kojiki shinkō* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1924), 57, 65-66.

⁵⁹² Akima Toshio, "The Songs of the Dead: Poetry, Drama, and Ancient Death Rituals of Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 41, no. 3 (1982): 500.

⁵⁹³ This symbolic function of chariots is fairly widely acknowledged in scholarship on Han Dynasty tombs. A useful discussion specifically focusing on these works, including the representations found at Cangshan, can be found in Wu Hung, "Where are they Going? Where did they Come From? – Hearse and 'Soul-Carriage' in Han Dynasty Tomb Art," *Orientations* 29, no. 6 (1998): 22-31.

⁵⁹⁴ Kōnoishi Takamitsu, "The Land of Yomi: On the Mythical World of the Kojiki," trans. W. Michael Kelsey, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 11, no. 1 (1984): 59, 70-72.

⁵⁹⁵ Nakanishi Susumu, "The Spatial Structure of Japanese Myth: The Contact Point Between Life and Death," in *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature*, ed. Earl Miner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 108.

it states that the boulder blocking the way to Yomi is located in Izumo. The surviving 733 CE document providing information about the real-world region of Izumo, the *Izumo Fudoki*, supports the *Kojiki's* claim of the location of Yomi, which it places specifically within an area called Ifuya, in the hamlet of Uka. This again reinforces the idea that within Early Japan the land of the dead may have been conceived of as a distinct geographical location.

If we follow this interpretation of the mythological underworld, then we can assume that the souls of the Fujinoki deceased were not intended to reside within the tomb itself, but instead traveled from the burial site to a separate land of the dead. Scholarly interpretations of the significance of the Takehara Kofun mural, which is thought to have served as a representation of the passage of a soul into the afterlife, have tended to support this idea. Within the work, the images of the boat, horse, and possible heavenly horse each seem to have been included to provide transportation for the deceased during his journey to the land of the dead. ⁵⁹⁷ And perhaps this was the purpose of the Fujinoki saddle as well, facilitating access to a celestial mount that could safely deposit the dead at their ultimate netherworld destination. In this sense we can conceive of the decorative motifs adorning the work not only as depictions of mythological beasts and constellations, but possibly as a map delineating the celestial realm, serving to guide the deceased in their journey through the cosmos and into the afterlife.

Conclusion

My discussion in this chapter has focused on a multi-faceted examination of the set A saddle, relying on a combination of material, iconographic, and textual analyses to build toward a reasoned, speculative interpretation of the work's funerary significance. This approach stands in contrast to previous examinations of the work, which, as I have argued, have tended to emphasize a reductive understanding of the saddle as a prestige-good, or focused on ethnoessentialist arguments that link the artifact to discrete areas of either the Asian mainland or Japanese archipelago.

I contend that the materials, structural design, and ornamental motifs of the set A saddle indicate that the work was created through a combination of horse tack manufacturing and mortuary iconographic traditions derived from areas throughout the Yellow Sea Interaction Sphere. By further considering the saddle's design and symbolic motifs together with its excavated position adjacent to the Fujinoki sarcophagus, I argue that the work was created specifically to serve as a grave-good, and that it was included within the tomb's assemblage as a means of facilitating a posthumous journey by the souls of the deceased. I posit that the saddle is representative of a soteriological ideology concerning a celestial horse, and that this creature had likewise been incorporated into the burial rites of several *kofun* throughout the Japanese archipelago, as well as in contemporaneous Silla kingdom tombs.

Having explored the set A saddle, we are left with the question of the significance of Fujinoki's less ornamented sets B and C. Given their similar construction from gilt-bronze and positioning adjacent to set A outside of the tomb's sarcophagus, however, I suspect that these works may have shared the same symbolic associations. If true, this could indicate that gilt-bronze tack in general, even when lacking additional iconographic embellishment, had been included within *kofun* grave-good assemblages to similarly facilitate the passage of the dead into the afterlife. The overlap in the materials and designs of sets B and C with the gilded saddles at

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⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., 107.

⁵⁹⁷ Mori Teijirō, "Fukuoka ken Kurate gun Wakamiya machi Takehara Kofun no hekiga," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 194 (1957): 101-106; Kidder, *Early Japanese Art*, 307-308, 317-318; Suezaki,109.

Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya Kofun, and their analogous placement outside of their site's respective sarcophagi, could also suggest a wider integration of the celestial horse among the mortuary practices of the western Nara Basin.

Other lingering concerns prove to be more difficult to address. Why, for instance, were three saddles included at Fujinoki, each ostensibly enabling access to the afterlife, when only two bodies were interred? Can we ascribe the funerary significance represented by the set A artifacts to more mundane iron and wood saddles at tombs? Or for that matter to horse tack interred within earlier fifth-century *kofun*? The further excavation of Japanese and Korean tombs may be able to provide additional insight. However, it is possible that the answers to such questions will remain elusive, with artifactual remains alone unable to fully bridge the interpretive gap between their material existence and the internal agency that motivated their manufacture and usage. In this regard, the unique visual design of the set A saddle provides a tantalizing glimpse into wider social traditions surrounding the mortuary rites at Fujinoki. Even if the nuanced intricacies of these interactions continue to be inaccessible, study of this artifact affords insight into the intermeshed systems of belief, local communal relations, and inter-regional exchanges that permeated the sixth-century Nara Basin.

Conclusion

In this investigation of Fujinoki Kofun, I have examined the significance of the site's material remains in their relation to the mortuary practices and beliefs of the sixth-century Nara Basin. I began this study with an overview of the tomb's excavation, framing the discussion with an analysis of the legal and administrative systems that underlie the protection of cultural properties within Japan. I argued that, as a result of the modern socio-political circumstances surrounding archaeological investigation, research on Fujinoki has focused primarily on the empirical assessment of the site, engaging in only a limited range of interpretative analysis of the tomb's greater meanings. In the proceeding chapter, I provided a comprehensive description of the formal design of the tomb's architecture and excavated artifacts. Working from this foundation, in chapter three I moved to consider the interconnected significance of the site's various assemblages of grave-goods. I presented a comparative analysis with Udozuka, Misato, and Bakuya Kofun to both align Fujinoki within a wider regional system of funerary practice and to reconstruct the specific historical circumstances of the tomb's manufacture. Finally, in the closing chapter, I examined the structural design and ornamentation of Fujinoki's set A giltbronze saddle. Through the consideration of the saddle's excavated location within the burial chamber, and analysis of the artifact's visual motifs in reference to the iconography of mainland mortuary sites and mythological accounts within the Kojiki and Nihon Shoki, I theorized that the work had been intended to facilitate the deceased's posthumous journey to the afterlife.

My motivation for this study of Fujinoki was driven, in part, by my long-held fascination with the complex design of the set A saddle, with its surface formed from sumptuous gilt-bronze and blue glass, adorned with a cacophony of intricate visual motifs. As an undergraduate, I first became aware of this work through Kidder's description of the artifact in his 1987 article, "The Fujinoki Tomb and its Grave-goods." My initial captivation with the design of the saddle eventually gave way to an interest in understanding the meaning behind its interconnected iconographic forms. However, my early investigations quickly led to frustration, as I encountered a seeming dearth of publications engaged in the analysis of Kofun period funerary symbolism. Returning to the study of Fujinoki over a decade later as a PhD student, I was surprised to discover that my prior assessment of the tomb's scholarship held true; the discussion of mortuary function and belief continues to be largely absent within the archaeological discourse that surrounds the tomb.

In the conclusion to chapter one, I aligned my current study of the Fujinoki funerary rituals with Okamura's recent critical assessment of Japanese archaeology. He argues that archaeological research, in order to remain relevant within modern society, needs to strive to further situate sites within meaningful interpretative narratives that reach beyond the field's current focus on data collection and national patrimony. Along these lines, much of the previous scholarship of Fujinoki has remained rooted in an analysis of the physical site, directed in large part toward the typological categorization of excavated remains and determinations of their ethnocultural origins. These studies reflect a hesitancy among archaeologists to depart from the interpretative stability provided by empirical analysis, to engage with the more tenuous, and possibly unanswerable, questions concerning the site's greater significance. In this regard, the material/visual methodology adopted within this dissertation presents a means of linking the archaeological data derived from the Fujinoki excavations with an examination of sixth-century mortuary traditions. This approach takes as its foundation the agentive model of Alfred Gell,

⁵⁹⁸ Okamura, "From Object-Centered to People-Focused," 82-85.

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which emphasizes the role of objects as the mediators between internal intentions and the physical world, allowing Fujinoki's grave-goods to stand both as evidence of a specific past performance of burial rites and as the material manifestations of communally held funerary beliefs. ⁵⁹⁹ Within this analytical framework, the Fujinoki archaeological reports, containing extensive descriptive accounts of the designs and locations excavated artifacts, provide a foundation of highly nuanced data from which to develop deductive interpretations linking formal appearance with ritual and symbolic significance.

I have also acknowledged within this dissertation several of the limitations to this material/visual approach to the examination of meaning. In regard to the funerary traditions at Fujinoki, we are restricted to an analysis of the rites that produced artefactual remains and further to only the surviving ritual objects that were successfully identified during the site's excavation. In addition, interpretations of prehistoric artifacts necessitate, at a certain level, an inferential leap to link physical remains with the cognitive associations of their original socio-historical circumstances. Together these limitations create a degree of uncertainty among the deductive conclusions we develop, the materials needed to fully comprehend the complexities of ancient social interactions possibly unrepresented within the archaeological record, and the extant artifacts by themselves only able serve as opaque records of their own agentive meanings. However, I would argue that the instability inherent to this mode of interpretation also represents one of its main strengths. The vulnerability of the suppositions we draw from visual analysis serves as an impetus to continuously search further afield for additional evidence that supports or contradicts our initial deductions. This recursive exploration in itself leads us to discover previously unknown connections between motifs/objects/sites and allow for us, in turn, to assign new significance to these materials.

This fluidity that I propose for the interpretation (and re-interpretation) of Fujinoki's funerary significance stands in contrast to research that prioritizes framing the site's meaning through strict adherence to the *Chronicles of Japan*. As I have identified in chapter one, much of the prior scholarship of Fujinoki has been aimed at situating the tomb among the genealogical histories within these texts. However, instead of using the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* as the expositive foundation for positivist examination, aligning excavated materials to support an identification of Fujinoki as the grave of a personage recorded within the *Chronicles*, my material/visual analysis begins with the artifacts themselves, and incorporates a critical consideration of historical documents alongside excavation data and iconographic symbolism to ultimately develop a more complex understanding of the tomb.

Finally, I wish to emphasize that although this study has focused foremost on the interpretation Fujinoki's sixth-century funerary significance, my examination has also indicated that other meanings have been variously ascribed to the tomb throughout its history. By the twelfth century, the tumulus had become incorporated into the monastic compound of Hōshakuji and was identified as the grave of Emperor Sushun. Although still understood primarily as mortuary space, Fujinoki's significance had shifted from a site intended to protect the buried elite and ensure his seamless transition into the social hierarchy of the afterlife, to instead serve as a site that glorified the political legacy of the imperial line, the status ascribed to the lineage continuously reaffirmed through the performance of Buddhist mortuary rites dedicated to a deceased emperor. The social value ascribed to Fujinoki was altered once again as a result of the 1985 excavation of the tumulus. As an archaeological site, the tomb's significance became aligned with scientific endeavors to discern Japan's ancient past and further demonstrated the

⁵⁹⁹ Gell, 13-20, 220-221. See also Tanner, 81-82; Feldman, 50-51.

government's public commitment to the conservation of cultural patrimony. The restoration and integration of Fujinoki into a historic park has further solidified the contemporary position ascribed to the tomb, the site now an enduring monument linking Ikarugachō to a prehistoric past that has been discovered and preserved through the modern archaeological process.

As an interesting side-note, although many excavated tombs have similarly been transformed into historic parks, such as Asuka-mura's Ishibutai and Takamatsuzuka Kofun, the methods of preserving and reintegrating tumuli within Nara Prefecture varies from one site to the next. On the one hand, tombs officially recognized as imperial mausoleums by the Imperial Household Agency are restricted from public access and have generally been excluded from thorough archaeological investigation. Many of these protected tombs comprise large keyholeshaped tumuli, the pristine wooded slopes of these sites circumscribed by moats or fences, and abutted by small shrines dedicated to the souls of the deceased. The largest proportion of sites, however, can be found interspersed among houses and agricultural plots throughout the Nara Basin, often accompanied by signs indicating the tomb's name, date, and additional details of the tumulus' design and/or prior excavation. Other kofun lack such informational markers, their presence nearly invisible within the surrounding landscape. These sites are often only discernable from regional maps that denote the locations of tombs that have previously been identified through archaeological survey. While the consideration of these issues is outside of the analytical scope of this dissertation, the further examination of Fujinoki's significance after the sixth century, and a comparative analysis of the tomb with regard to the preservation and integration of kofun within contemporary Japanese society, present intriguing possibilities for future explorations of Fujinoki.



Figure 1. Fujinoki Kofun (from the southeast). Late sixth century. Ikarugachō, Nara Prefecture. Photograph by author.



Figure 2. The Fujinoki tumulus and its environs (from the northeast). Photograph by author.



Figure 3. Modern entrance to the Fujinoki burial chamber. Photograph by author.



Figure 4. Ikaruga-Ōtsuka Kofun. Fifth century. Ikarugachō, Nara Prefecture. Photograph by author.

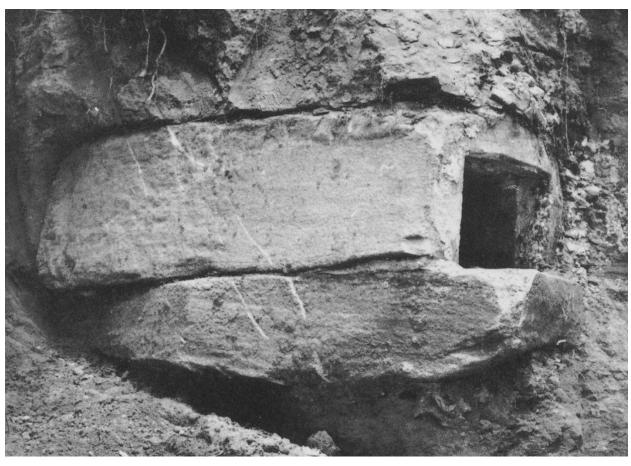


Figure 5. The partially exposed burial chamber of Tatsuta-Gobōyama tomb no. 3. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo 1938~2008*, 21)



Figure 6. Aerial photograph of Fujinoki Kofun (from the west) during the first excavation. 1985. Ikarugachō, Nara Prefecture. (*IFK 1*, pl. 1:1)

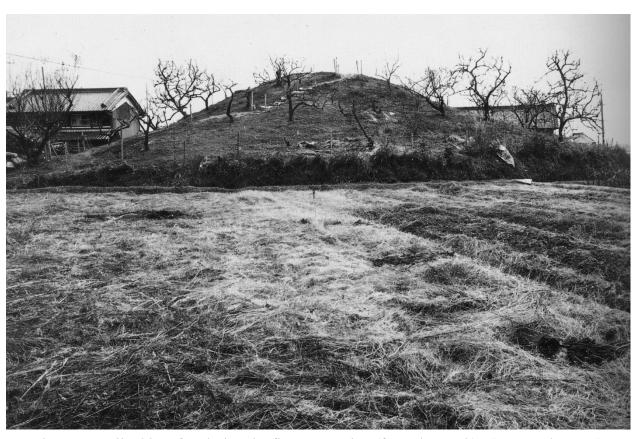


Figure 7. Fujinoki Kofun during the first excavation (from the north). (IFK 1, pl. 25:63)

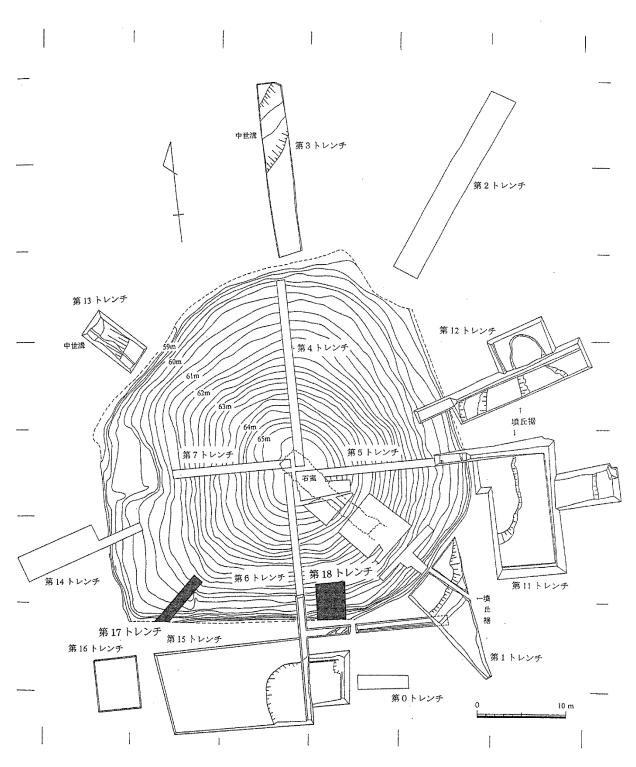


Figure 8. Diagram of the trenches created throughout course of Fujinoki's six excavations. (Hirata, "Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun (dai 6 ji) hakkutsu chōsa gaiyō, 41)

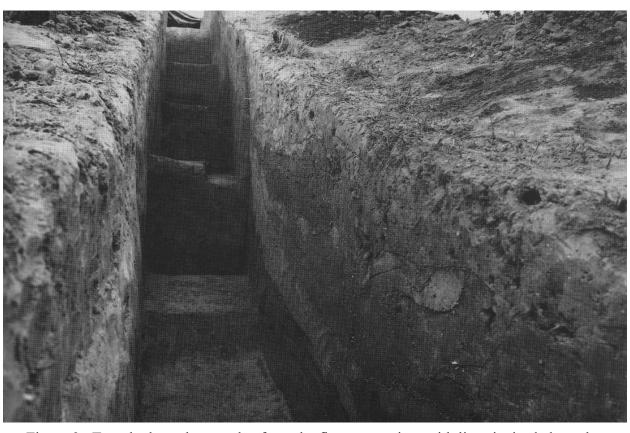


Figure 9. Trench along the tumulus from the first excavation, with lines incised along the side walls to identify differing soil types. (*IFK 1*, pl. 26:66)

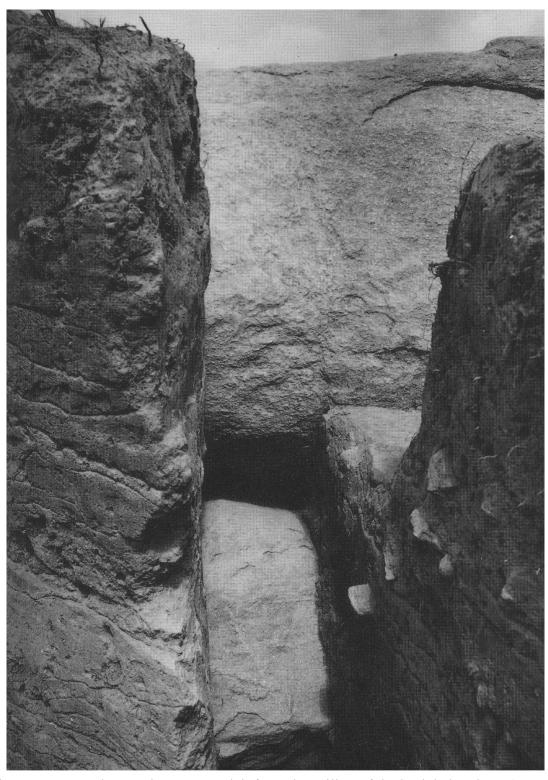


Figure 10. Trench exposing a stone slab from the ceiling of the burial chamber. (*IFK 1*, pl.28:69)



Figure 11. Excavated section of stones piled in the tumulus' entrance. (IFK 1, pl.27:68)

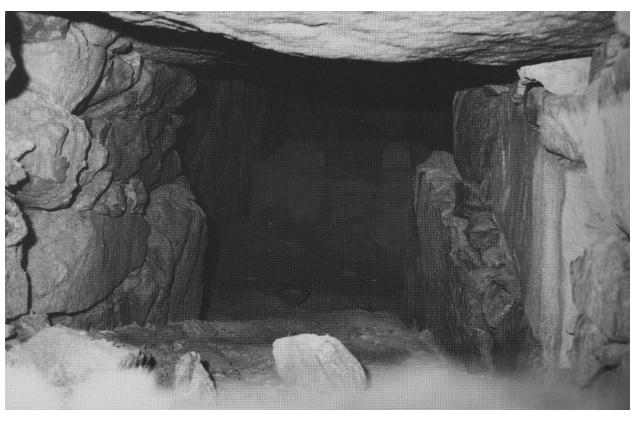


Figure 12. Photograph documenting the preserved condition of the burial facilities. (*IFK 1*, pl.29:76)



Figure 13. Assemblage of artifacts discovered behind the Fujinoki sarcophagus. (*IFK 1*, pl.32:85)



Figure 14. Creation of trench 3 during the second excavation of Fujinoki. 1988. (Maezono, "Dai 2 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:25)

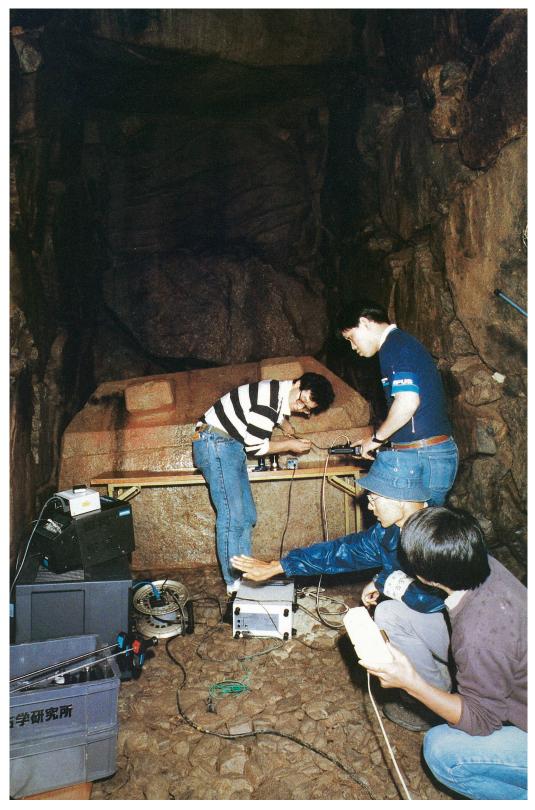


Figure 15. Fiberscope examination of the sarcophagus interior. (Asahi Shimbun and Zenkoku Kōritsu Maizō Bunkazai Sentā Renraku Kyōgikai, *Nihon rettō hakkutsuten, 1988-1989: kodai no bi to roman wo motomete* (Osaka: Asahi Shimbun, 1988), 120)



Figure 16: Fiberscope photograph of the coffin interior. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, "Faibāsukōpu sekkan nai o miru: Fujinoki Kofun," *Asukakaze* 28 (1988): 14)

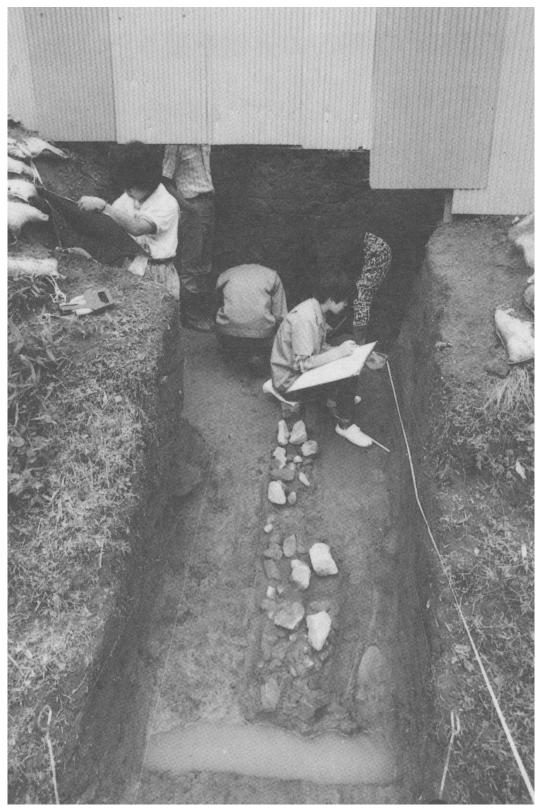


Figure 17. Re-excavation of the Fujinoki drainage ditch. (Maezono, "Dai 2 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:30)



Figure 18. Replica of the Fujinoki sarcophagus created in preparation for the third excavation. Photograph by author.

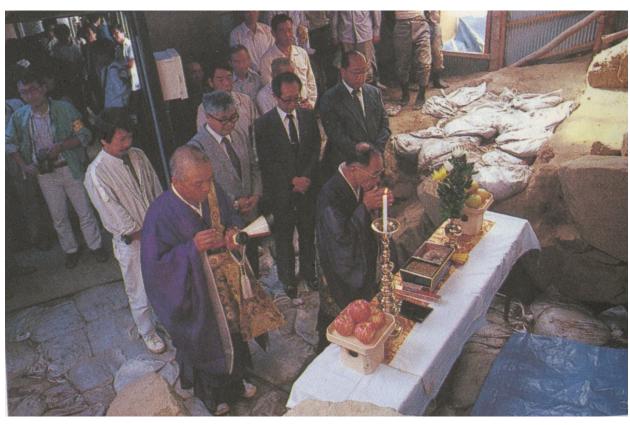


Figure 19. *Ireisai* ceremony conducted before the commencement of the third excavation. 1988. (Maezono, "Dai 3 ji chōsa nisshi, 1:76)

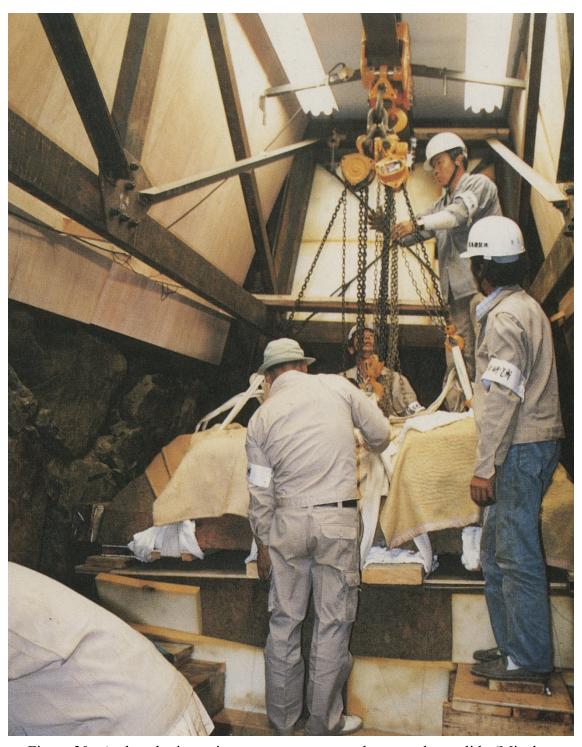


Figure 20. Archaeologists using a crane to remove the sarcophagus lid. (Miyahara Shinichi and Urabe Yukihiro, "Kuchie karā," in *Yomigaeru Kodai!*, 24)

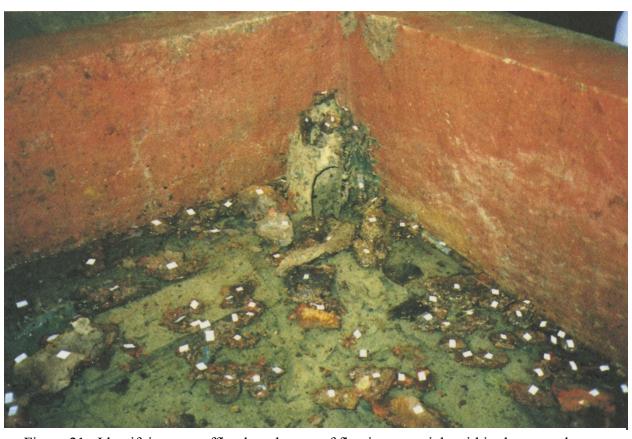


Figure 21. Identifying tags affixed to clusters of floating materials within the sarcophagus. (Maezono, "Dai 3 ji chōsa nisshi, 1:78)

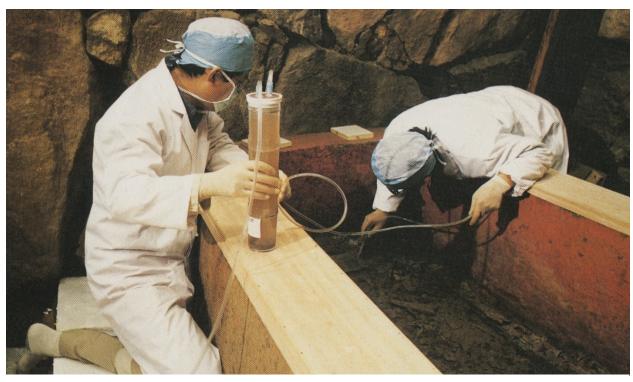


Figure 22. Archaeologists working to remove accumulated water from the sarcophagus. (Miyahara and Urabe, 24)



Figure 23. Archaeologists cleaning mud and other debris from the sarcophagus artifacts. (Miyahara and Urabe, 25)



Figure 24. Collecting and recording the location of sarcophagus artifacts. (Miyahara and Urabe, 25)



Figure 25. Glass beads treated with a solution of acrylic resin. (Maezono, "Dai 3 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:85)



Figure 26. Plaque and reliquaries placed within the sarcophagus at the conclusion of the third excavation. (Maezono, "Dai 3 ji chōsa nisshi," 1:85)

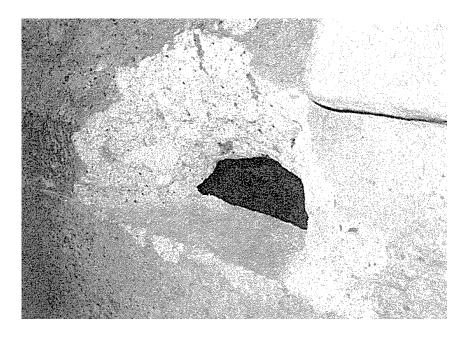




Figure 27. Damage to the sarcophagus caused by intruders in 1995 (above) and subsequent repairs (below). (Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 115, 262)



Figure 28. Piled stones in the Fujinoki entryway prior to their removal during the fourth excavation. 2001. (Hirata and Aoyagi, 2)

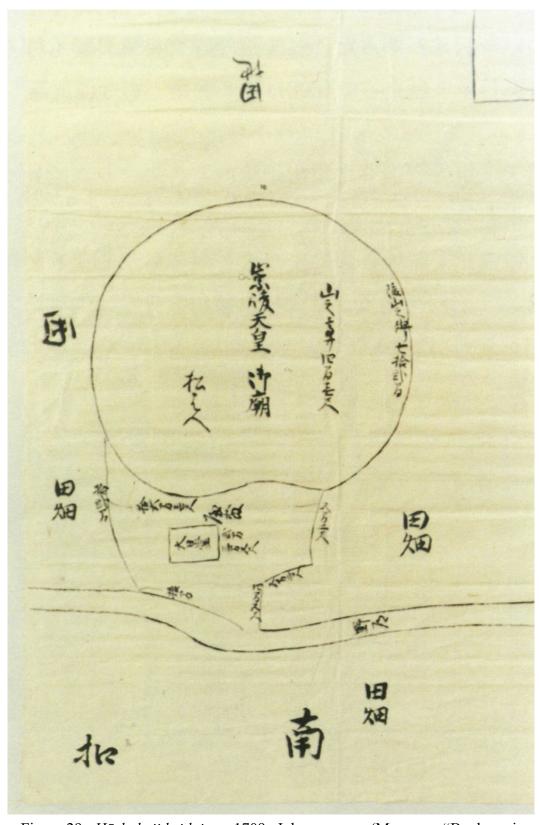


Figure 29. *Hōshakuji keidai zu*. 1709. Ink on paper. (Maezono, "Bunken ni mieru Fujinoki Kofun," 1:258)

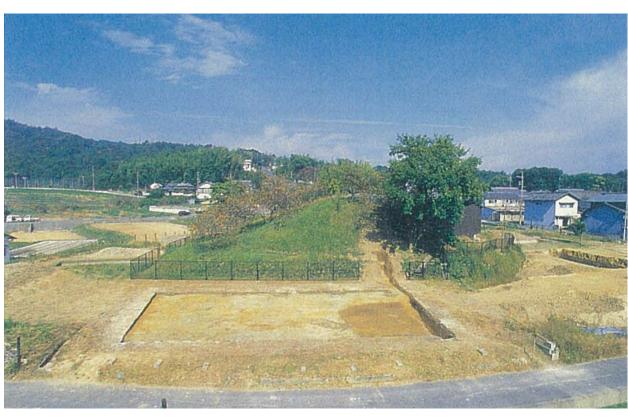


Figure 30. Fifth excavation of Fujinoki (from the south). 2003. (Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 23)





Figure 31. Charred earth and roof tiles discovered in trench 17 during the sixth excavation of Fujinoki. 2005. (Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 25)

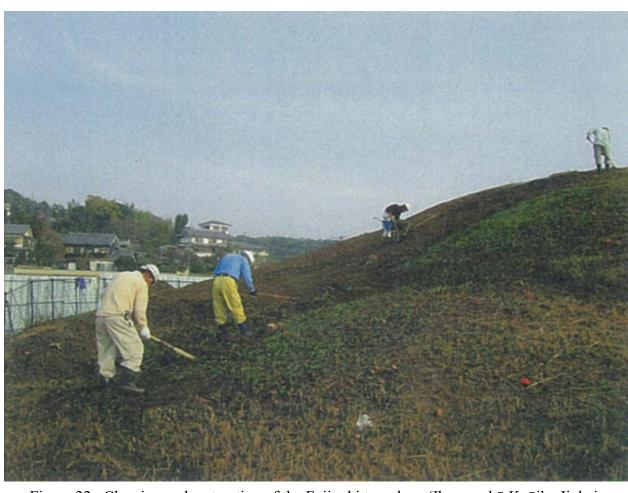


Figure 32. Cleaning and restoration of the Fujinoki tumulus. (Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 107)



Figure 33. Application of a layer of water-resistant plastic sheeting to the tumulus surface. (Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 108)



Figure 34. Epoxy putty applied to gaps in the masonry of the Fujinoki burial chamber. (Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 111)



Figure 35. Replacement stones added during the repairs to the burial chamber walls. (Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 112)

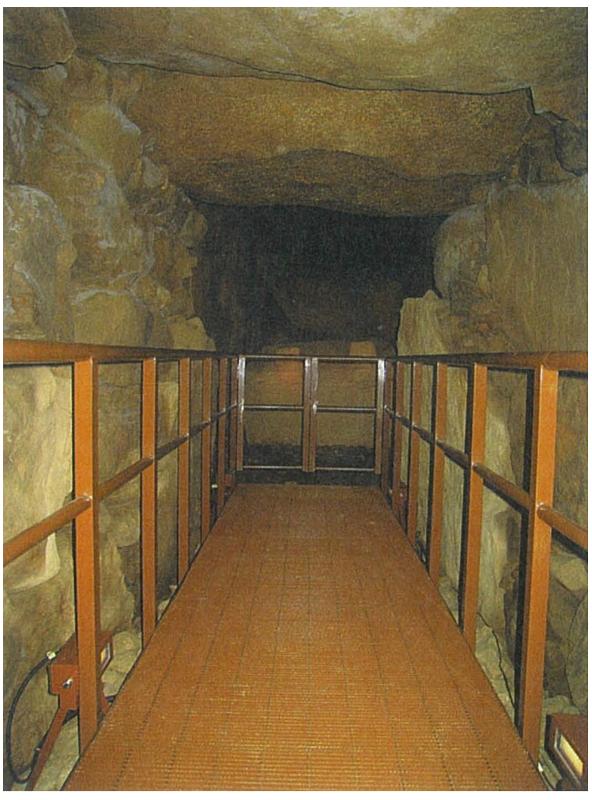


Figure 36. Metal walkway erected within the entrance corridor. (Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, pl.3)



Figure 37. Construction of a modern entrance into the Fujinoki tumulus. (Ikarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai, *Shiseki Fujinoki Kofun hozon seibi jigyō hōkokusho*, 117)

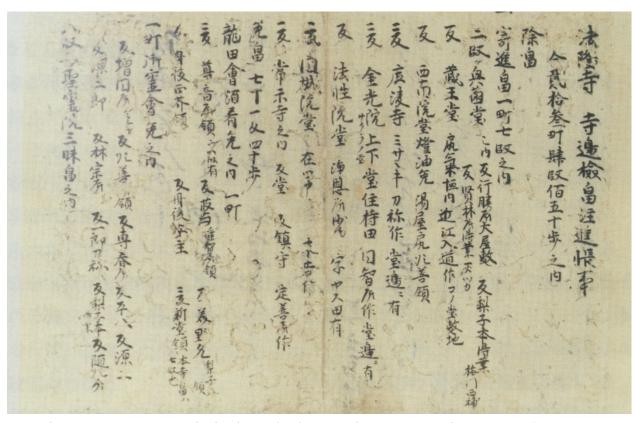


Figure 38. *Hōryūji terabe kenbata chūshinjō no koto*. 1265. Ink on paper. (Maezono, "Bunken ni mieru Fujinoki Kofun," 1:255)

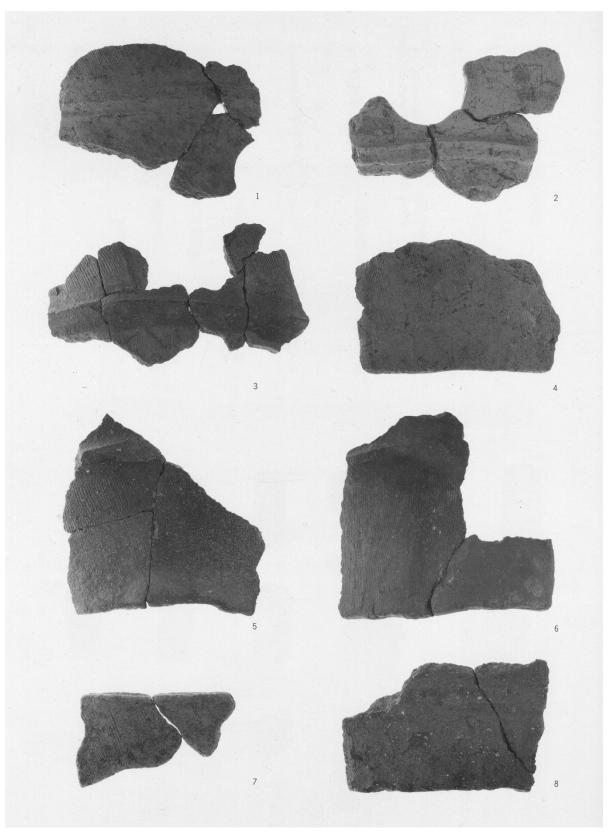


Figure 39. Cylindrical haniwa fragments. Ceramic. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 82:184)

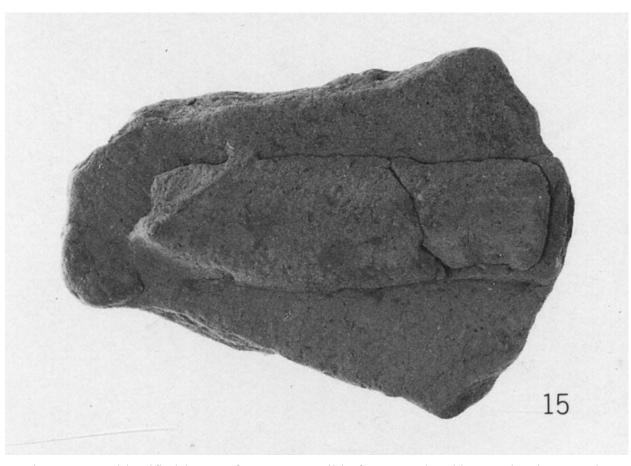


Figure 40. Unidentified *haniwa* fragment, possibly from a sculpted horse's head. Ceramic. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 83:185)

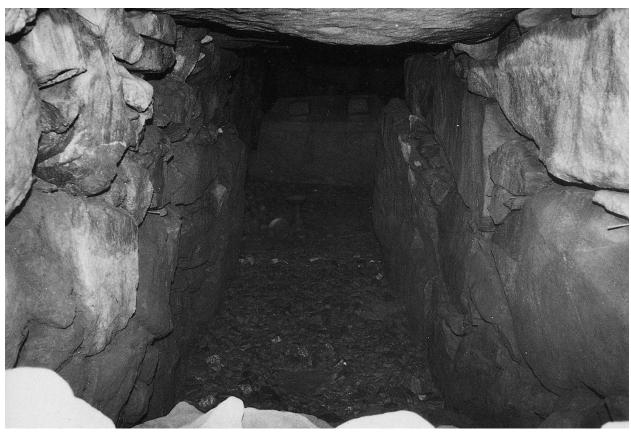


Figure 41. Burial chamber and entrance corridor. (IFK 1, pl. 30:77)

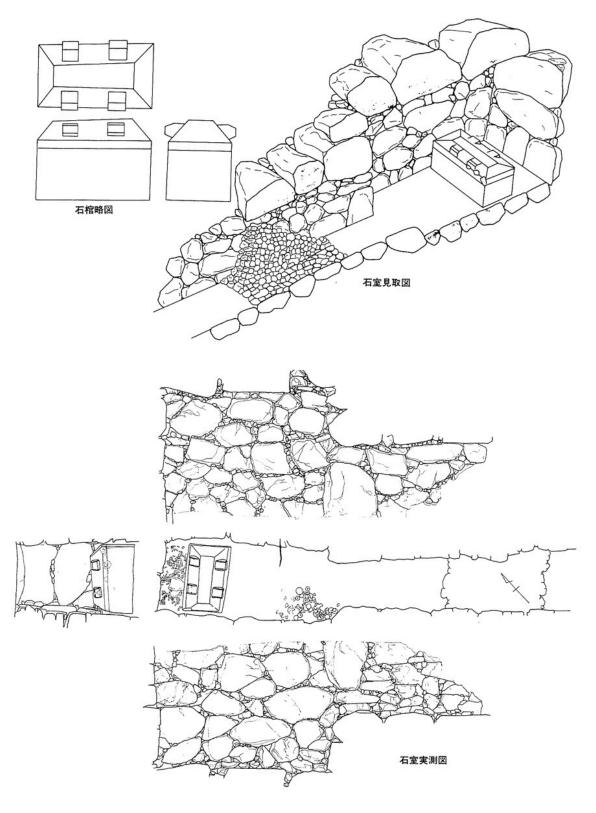


Figure 42. Diagram of the entrance corridor and burial chamber. (Matsuda Shinichi, "Kofun no katachi to sekishitsu• sekkan (ichi)," 42)

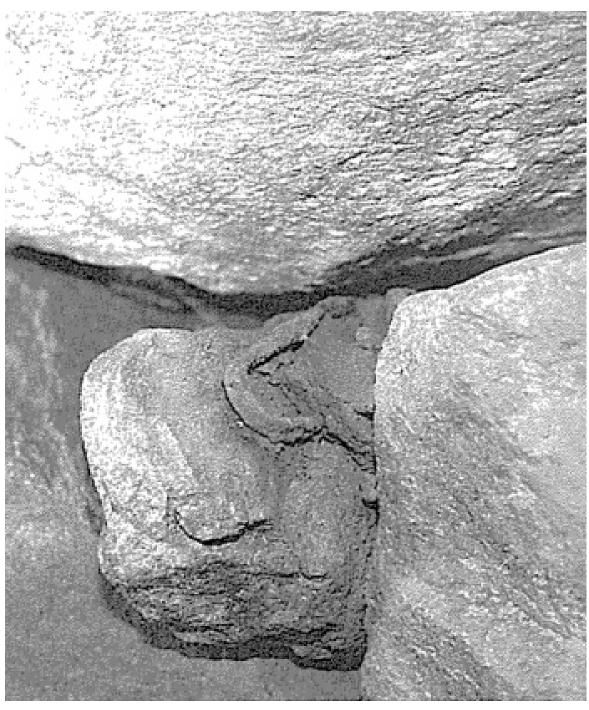


Figure 43. Iron hook attached along the wall of the burial chamber. (Matsuda Shinichi, "Kofun no katachi to sekishitsu • sekkan (ichi)," 43)

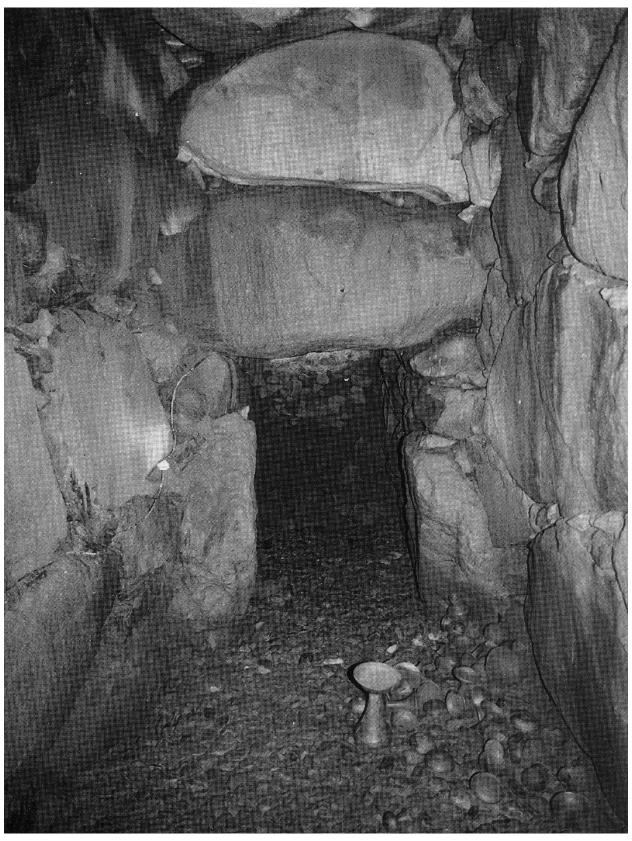


Figure 44. Burial chamber doorway. (IFK 1, pl. 30:79)

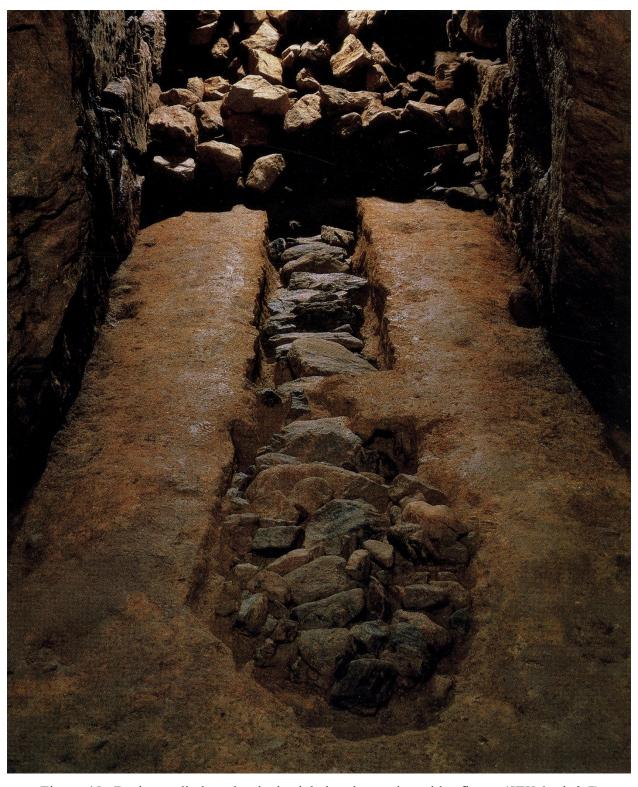


Figure 45. Drainage ditch under the burial chamber and corridor floor. (IFK 1, pl. 3:7)

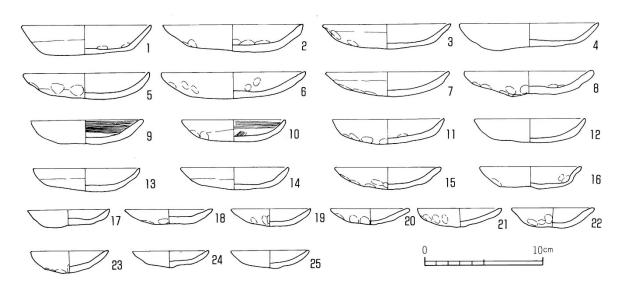


Figure 46. Diagram of excavated Haji-ware plates. (IFK 1, 211)



Figure 47. Ceramic assemblage along the burial chamber's western wall. (IFK 1, pl. 4:9)



Figure 48. Sue and Haji-ware ceramics. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 47)



Figure 49. Sue pedestaled dishes (lidded). Ceramic. (IFK 1, pl.82)

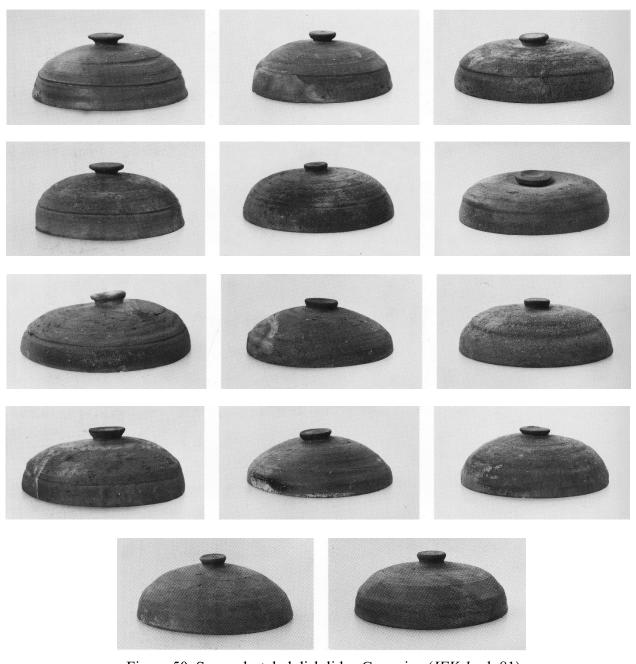


Figure 50. Sue pedestaled dish lids. Ceramic. (IFK 1, pl. 81)

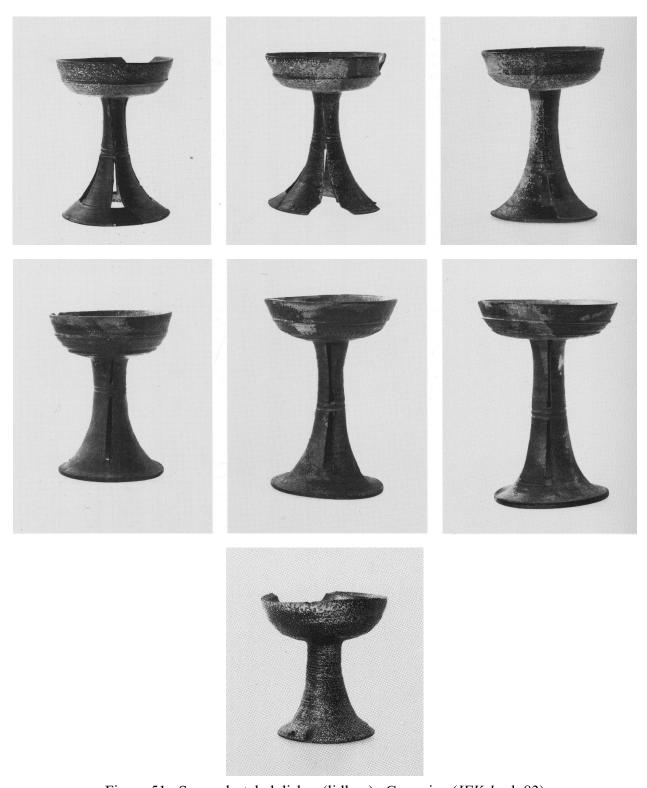


Figure 51. Sue pedestaled dishes (lidless). Ceramic. (IFK 1, pl. 83)



Figure 52. Haji pedestaled dishes. Ceramic. (IFK 1, pl. 83)

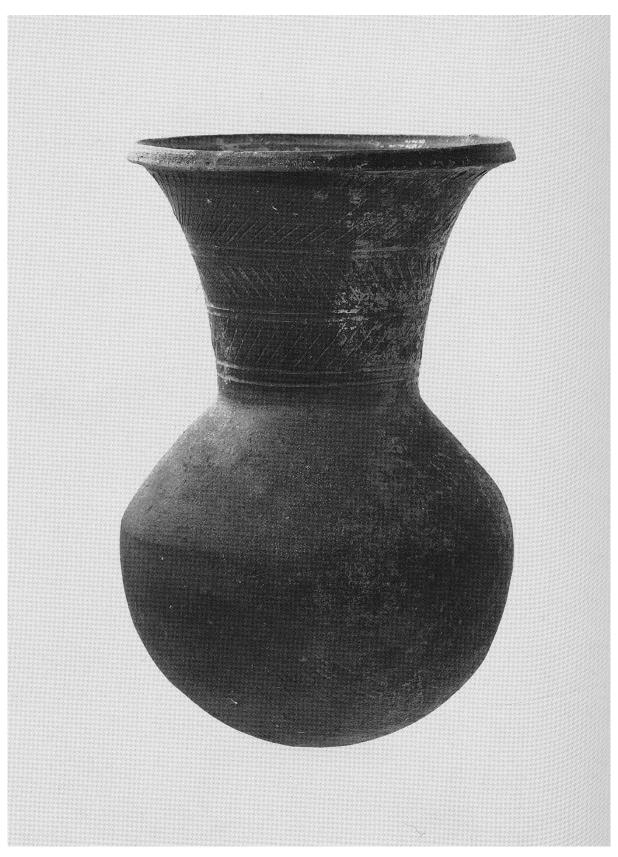


Figure 53. Sue jar. Ceramic. (*IFK 1*, pl.85:325)



Figure 54. Sue pedestaled jars and accompanying lids. Ceramic. (IFK 1, pl. 84)



Figure 55. Sue wine servers. Ceramic. (IFK 1, pl. 85:326-327)



Figure 56. Haji jars. Ceramic. (*IFK 1*, pl. 86:333-334)

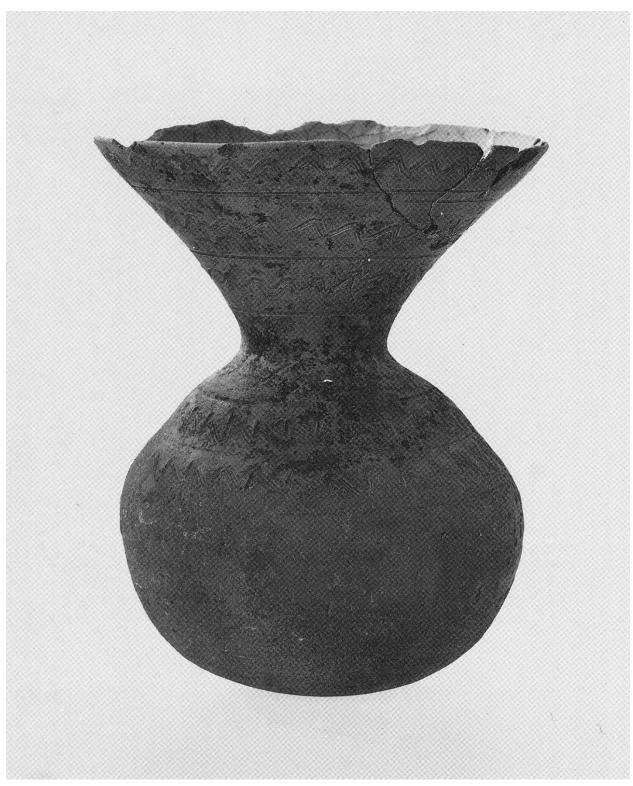


Figure 57. Haji wide mouth jar. Ceramic. (IFK 1, pl. 87:336)



Figure 58. Haji short necked jar. Ceramic. (IFK 1, pl. 87:337)



Figure 59. Haji pot. Ceramic. (*IFK 1*, pl. 86:335)



Figure 60. Sue jar stand. Ceramic. (IFK 1, pl. 85:324)

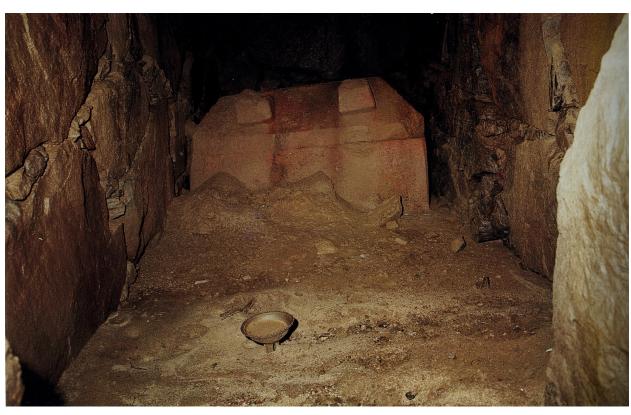


Figure 61. Pre-excavation burial chamber debris and partially buried Sue jar stand. (*IFK 1*, pl.2:3)



Figure 62. Sarcophagus. Cinnabar pigment on stone. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl.2:3)



Figure 63. Sarcophagus (top). (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 2:4)



Figure 64. Sarcophagus interior, artifacts and debris removed. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 15:53)



Figure 65. Underside of the sarcophagus lid. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 4:16)



Figure 66. Artifact assemblage in the gap between the sarcophagus and northern wall of the burial chamber. (*IFK 1*, pl. 5:10)



Figure 67. Artifact assemblage in the gap between the sarcophagus and eastern wall of the burial chamber. (*IFK 1*, pl. 37:97)

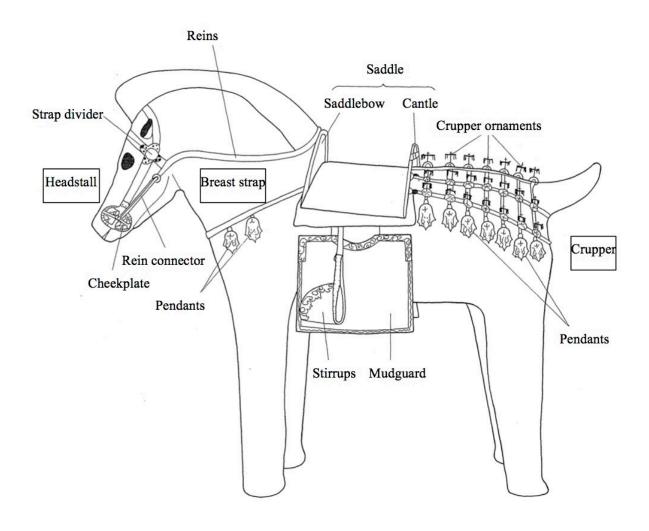


Figure 68. Set A horse tack diagram. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun gaihō*, 51, English adaptation by author)

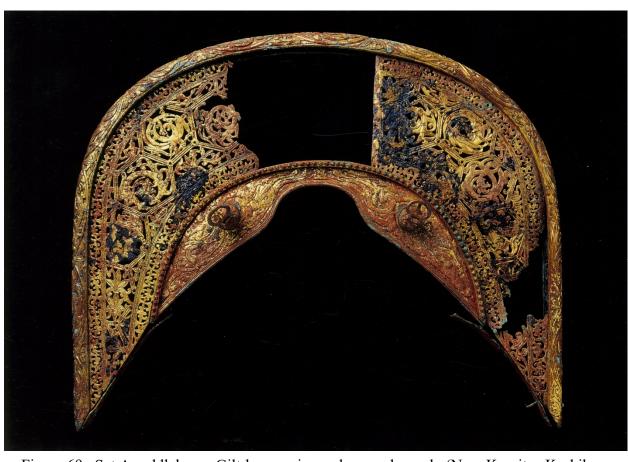


Figure 69. Set A saddlebow. Gilt-bronze, iron, glass, and wood. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 32)



Figure 70. Set A cantle. Gilt-bronze, iron, glass, and wood. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 32)



Figure 71. Diagram of the set A saddlebow (top) and cantle (bottom). (Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon," in *IFK 1*, 437)

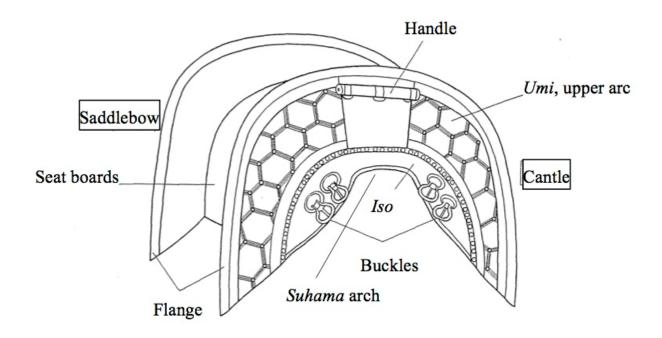


Figure 72. Set A saddle diagram. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Ikaruga Fujinoki Kofun gaihō*, 52, English adaptation by author)

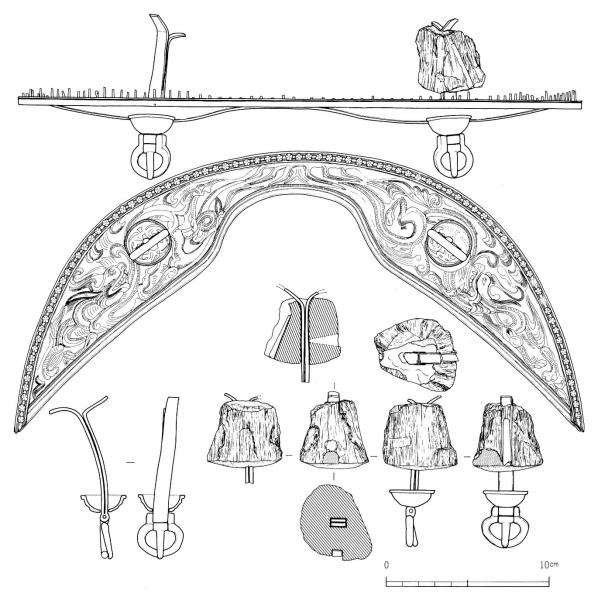


Figure 73. Diagram of the iso section of the set A saddlebow. (Kano, "Kura kanagu," 90)



Figure 74. Central plate from the set A cantle's *umi*. Gilt-bronze, iron, glass, and gold inlay. (*IFK 1*, pl. 12:31)

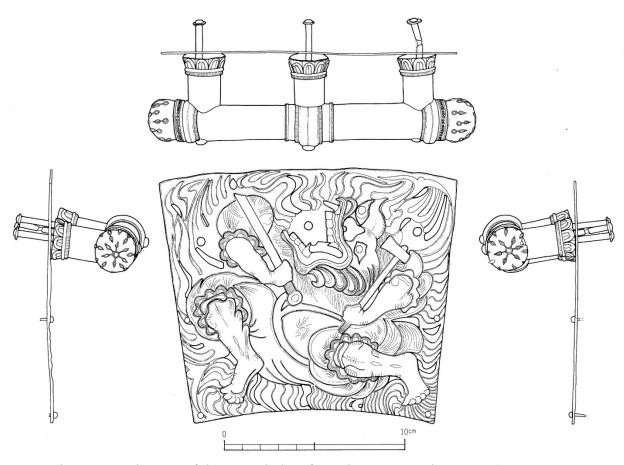


Figure 75. Diagram of the central plate from the set A cantle's *umi*. (Kano, "Kura kanagu," 96)



Figure 76. Mouthpiece, cheekplate, and rein connector from the set A snaffle bit. Gilt-bronze and iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 30)



Figure 77. Cross-shaped strap divider from the set A headstall. Gilt-bronze. (*IFK 1*, pl. 18:47)



Figure 78. Ring-shaped decoration (frontlet) from the set A headstall. Gilt-bronze over iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 30)

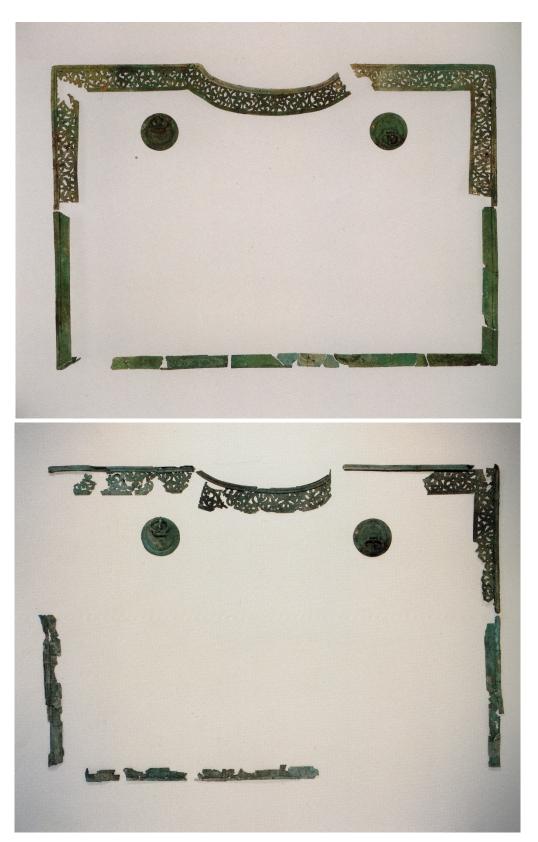


Figure 79. Set A mudguard frames A (above) and B (below). Gilt-bronze and iron. (*IFK 1*, pl. 14:35-36)



Figure 80. Set A stirrup fragments. Gilt-bronze, iron, wood, and leather. (IFK 1, pl. 16)

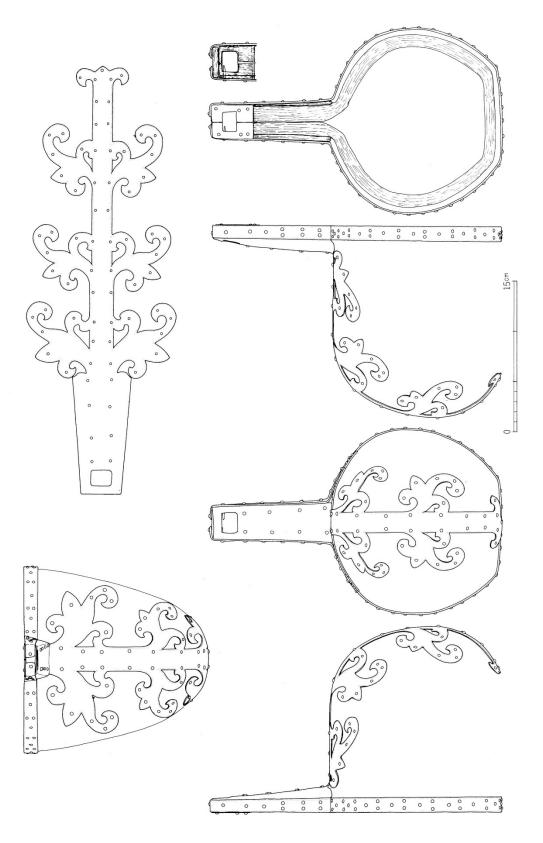


Figure 81. Diagram of the set A stirrups. (Kano, "Abumi," 110)



Figure 82. Set A crupper pendants with firebird motif. Gilt-bronze over iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 31)



Figure 83. Set A pinwheel-style crupper strap dividers. Gilt-bronze, iron, and cork. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 35)



Figure 84. Stone horse sculpture from Iwatoyama Kofun. Sixth century. Stone. Yameshi, Fukuoka Prefecture. ("Sekijin sekiba," Iwatoyama Rekishi Shiryōkan, accessed November 4, 2013, http://museum.iwatoyama.com/archives/museumcat/stone)

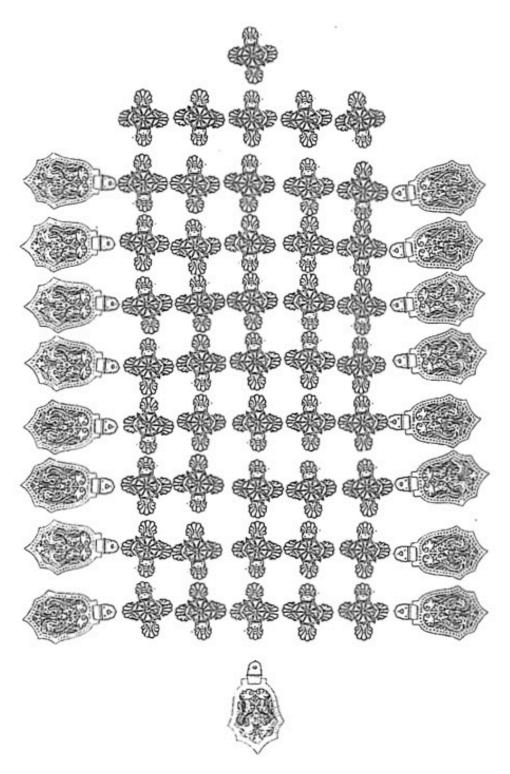


Figure 85. Miyashiro Eiichi's model of the Fujinoki set A crupper. (Miyashiro, "Kofun jidai ni okeru shrigai kōzō no fukugen," 44)



Figure 86. Pinwheel strap divider with attached palmette-shaped fitting. (*IFK 1*, pl. 20:51-52)



Figure 87. Set A ornament with dragon motif. Gilt-bronze, iron, and glass. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 34)



Figure 88. Set A decorative strap covers. Gilt-bronze. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 37)

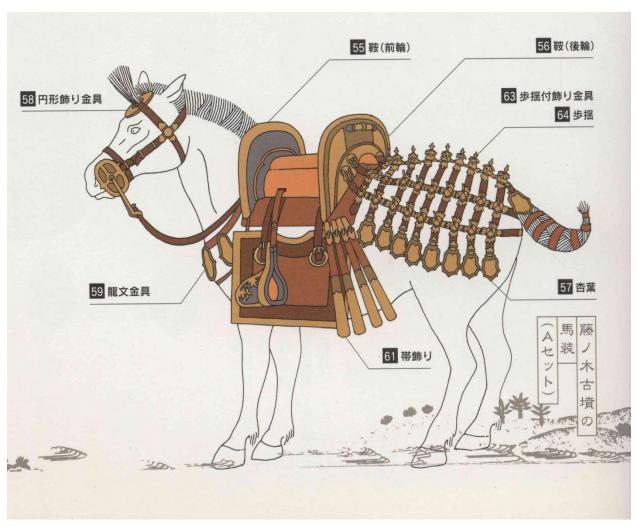


Figure 89. Kyūshū National Museum diagram of the set A horse tack. (Kyūshū Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Uma: Ajia o kaketa nisennen*, 75)



Figure 90. Set A buckles with heart-shaped fittings. Gilt-bronze. (IFK 1, pl. 18:45)



Figure 91. Set A gilded buckles. Gilt-bronze. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 37)

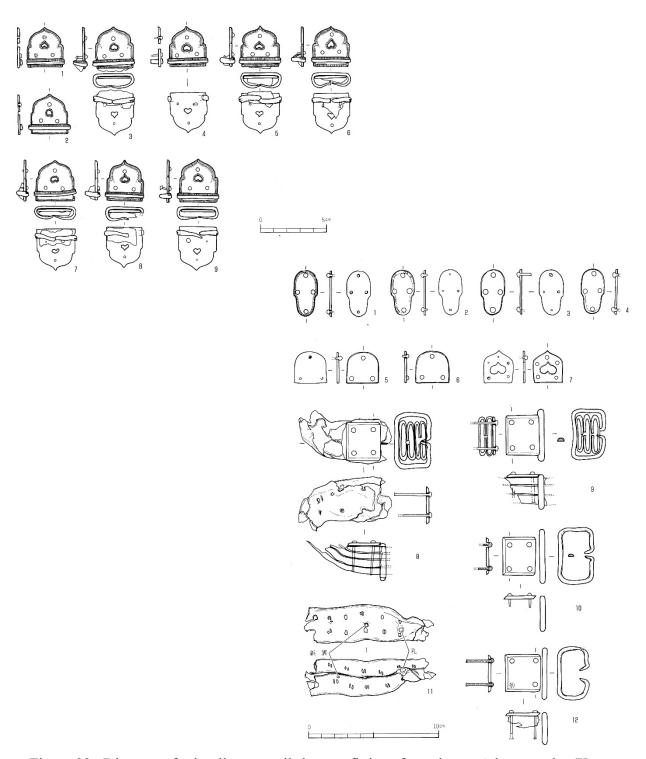
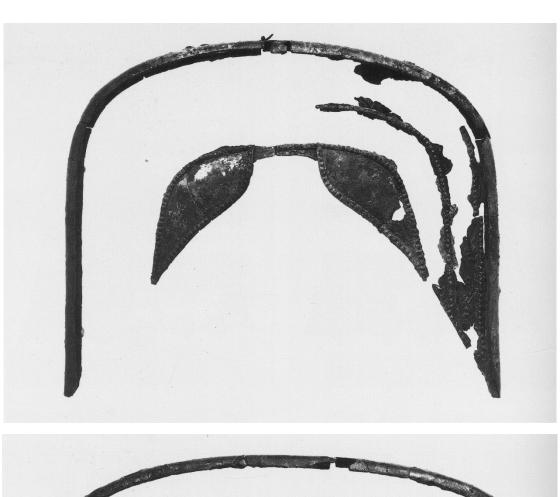


Figure 92. Diagram of miscellaneous gilt-bronze fittings from the set A horse tack. (Kano, "Kawaobi kazari kanagu • kawaobi," 147-148)



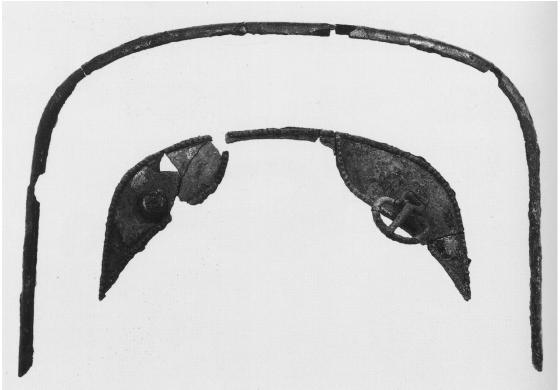


Figure 93. Set B saddlebow (above) and cantle (below). Gilt-bronze, iron, and wood. (IFK I, pl. 63)



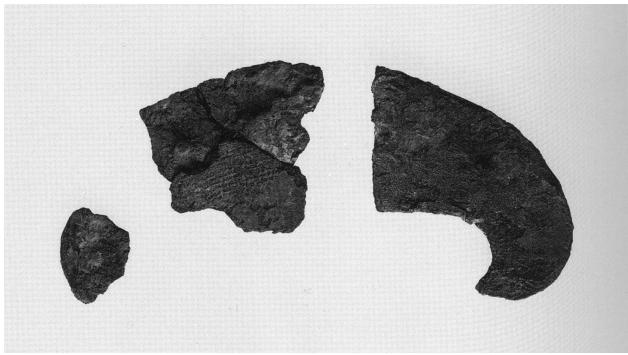


Figure 94. Set B seat board end fittings, obverse (top) and reverse (bottom). Gilt-bronze over iron. (*IFK 1*, pl. 67:225)



Figure 95. Set C saddlebow (*iso* section), obverse (top) and reverse (bottom). Gilt-bronze over iron. (*IFK 1*, pl. 64:220)

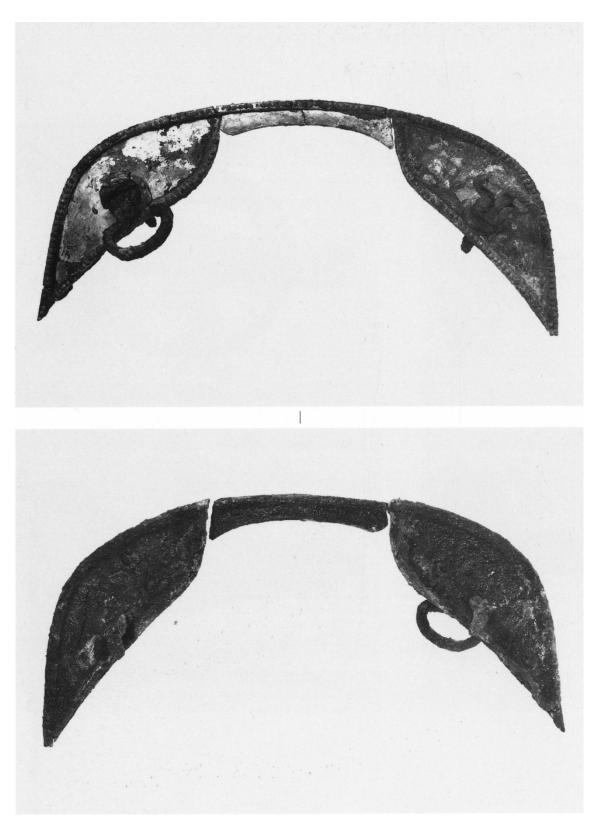


Figure 96. Set C cantle (*iso* section), obverse (top) and reverse (bottom). Gilt-bronze over iron. (*IFK 1*, pl. 64:221)

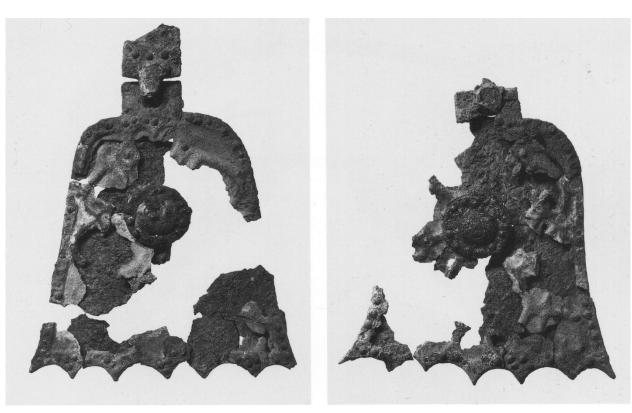


Figure 97. Set B horse tack bell-shaped cheekplates. Gilt-bronze coated iron. (*IFK 1*, pl. 62:214-215)

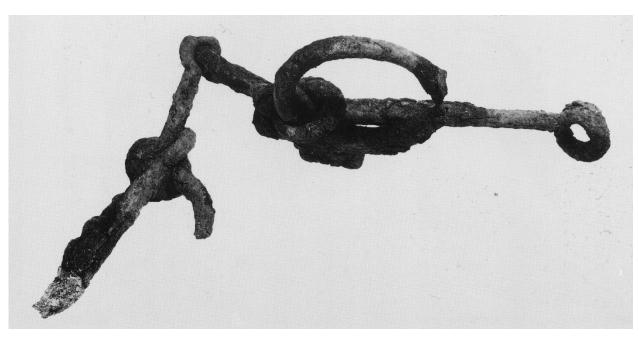


Figure 98. Set C horse tack snaffle-bit. Iron. (*IFK 1*, pl.62:217)



Figure 99. Set B triangular cup stirrups. Iron. (IFK 1, pl. 22)



Figure 100. Set B bell-shaped crupper pendants (top and bottom) and crupper boss (center). Gilt-bronze over iron and silver coated rivets. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 39)

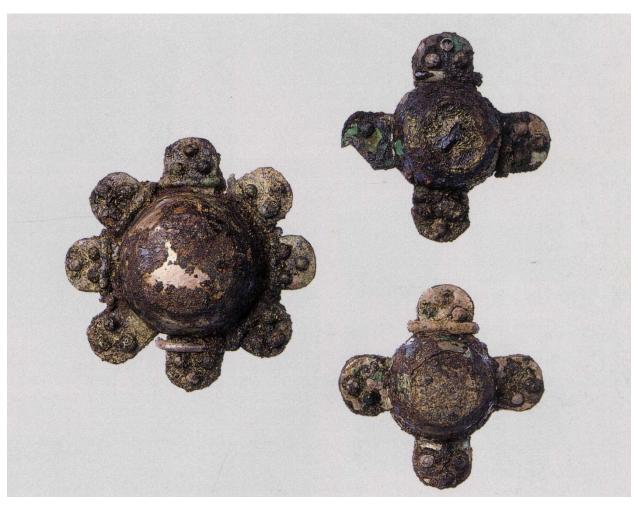


Figure 101. Set C crupper boss (left) and strap dividers (right). Gilt-bronze over iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 41)



Figure 102. Set B strap dividers. Gilt-bronze over iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 40)

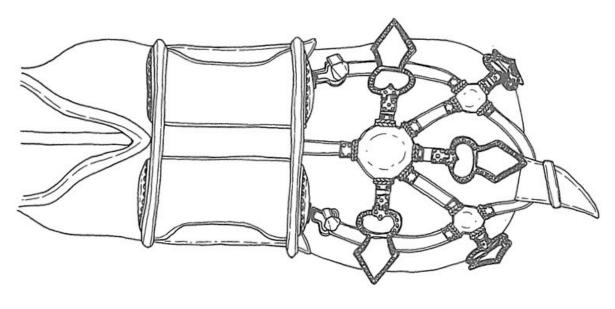


Figure 103. Diagram of possible crupper design based on artifacts excavated from Tamakiyama tomb no. 1. (Miyashiro, "Kofun jidai ni okeru shrigai kōzō no fukugen," 48)



Figure 104. Set B strap fittings. Gilt-bronze over iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 38)

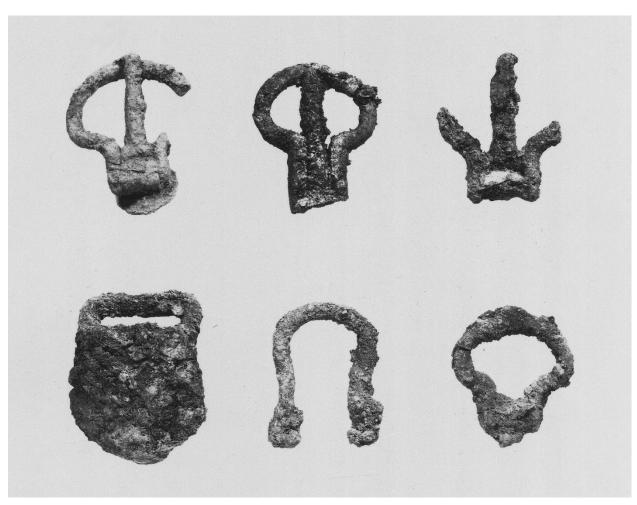


Figure 105. Set B and C iron buckles. Iron. (IFK 1, pl. 72:254)





Figure 106. Sections of excavated armor: neck armor (top); gauntlets (middle); knee guards (bottom). Iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 43)

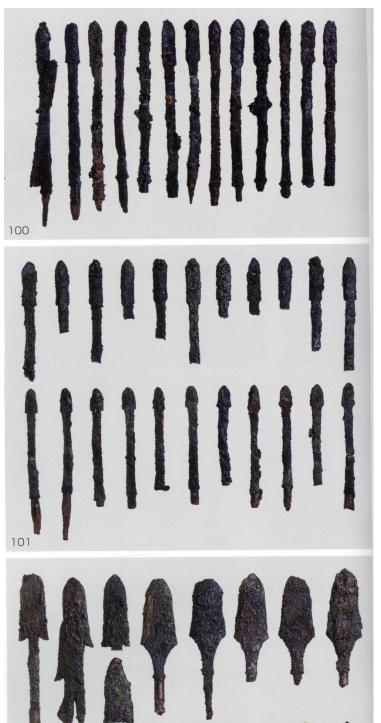


Figure 107. Arrowheads. Iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 44)



Figure 108. Arrowcase remains. Iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 45)

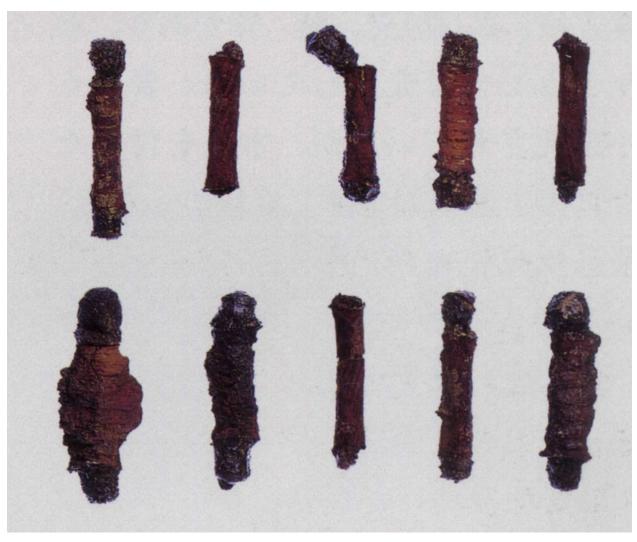


Figure 109. Decorative bow fittings. Iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 45)



Figure. 110. Burial chamber sword remains. Iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 45)

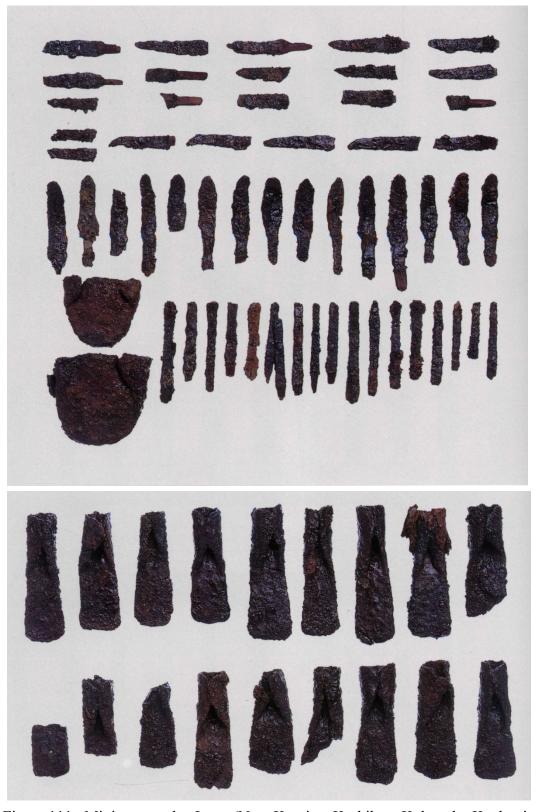


Figure 111. Miniature tools. Iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 46)

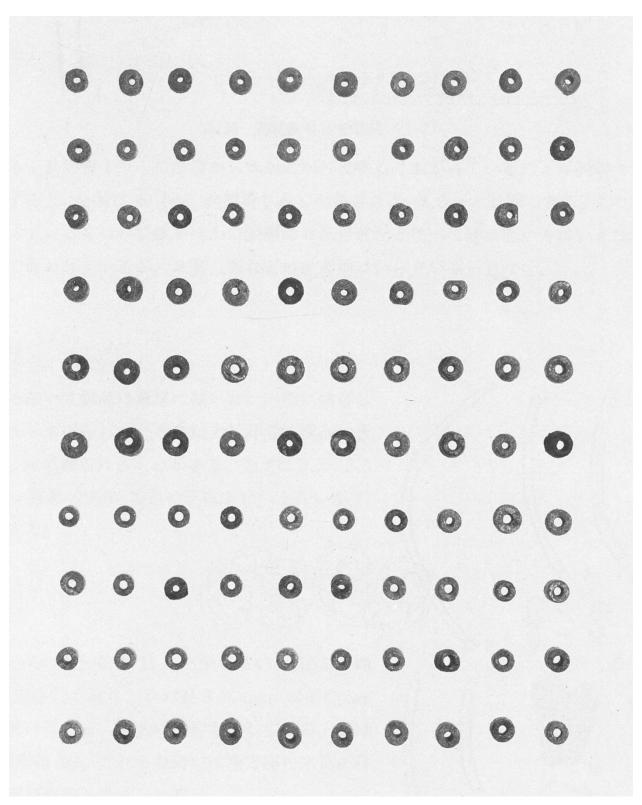


Figure 112. Mortar-shaped beads. Talc. (Shimizu Kazuaki, "Tama: kassekisei usudama," 192)

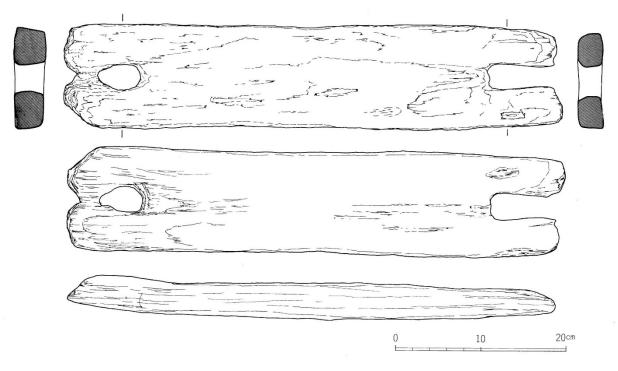


Figure 113. Diagram of the wooden plank excavated from the Fujinoki burial chamber. (Matsuda Shinichi, "Mokuseihin," 210)

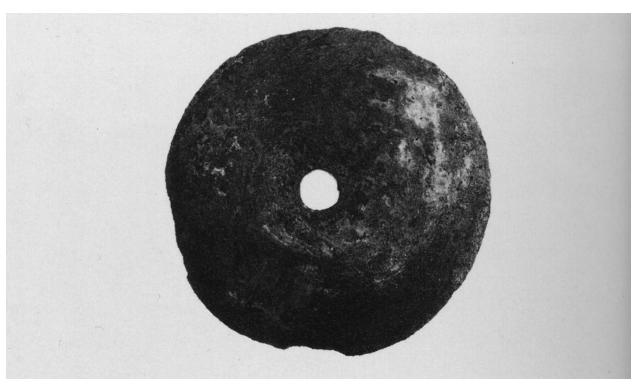
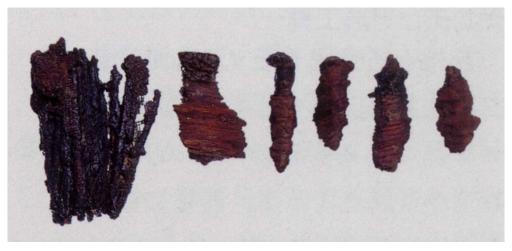


Figure 114. Cone-shaped fitting. Gilt-bronze. (IFK 1, pl.61:213)



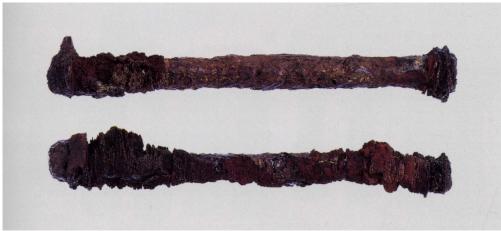




Figure 115. Pins and nails (top); double headed rivets (middle); curved rods (bottom). Iron. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 45-46)



Figure 116. Artifact assemblage interred inside of the sarcophagus. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 6)

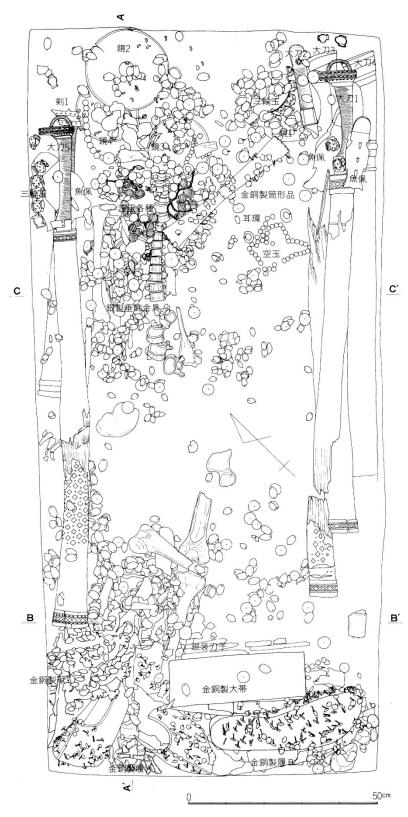


Figure 117. Diagram of the artifact assemblage inside of the sarcophagus. (Sekigawa, "Kan nai no ibutsu haichi jōkyō," 1:89)



Figure 118. Coffin interior and artifact assemblage with accumulated precipitation and debris. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 5:18)

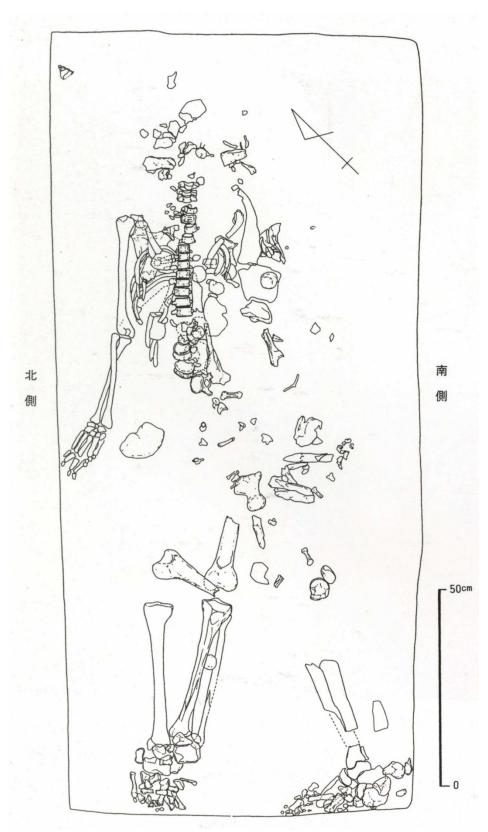


Figure 119. Diagram of interred bone remains. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 28)



Figure 120. Beast-band mirror (mirror 1). Bronze. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 24:72)



Figure 121. Deity and beast mirror with ring-shaped nipples and image band (mirror 2). Bronze. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 24:73)



Figure 122. Imitation Buddha and beasts mirror with image band (mirror 3). Bronze. (*IFK* 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 25:74)



Figure 123. Imitation deity and beast mirror (mirror 4). Bronze. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 25:75)

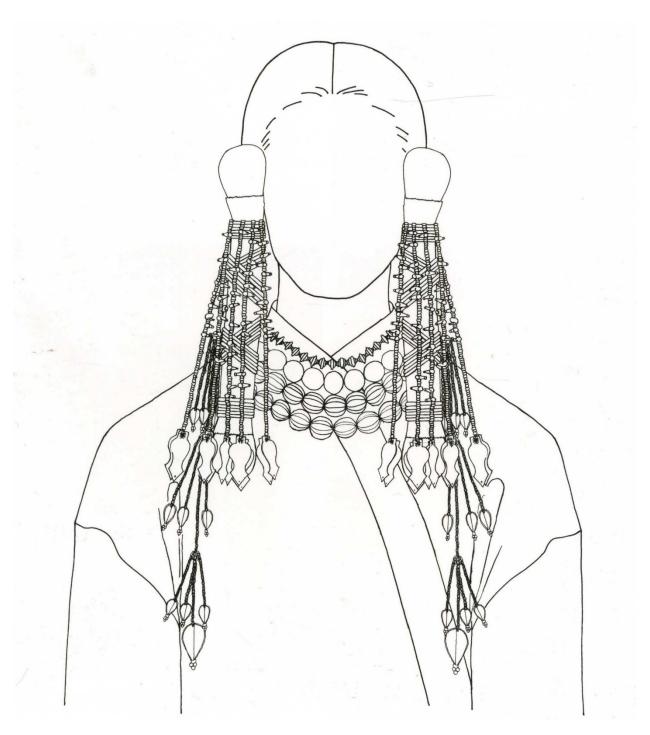


Figure 124. Diagram of the northern body's head ornaments. (Ōtani, 82)

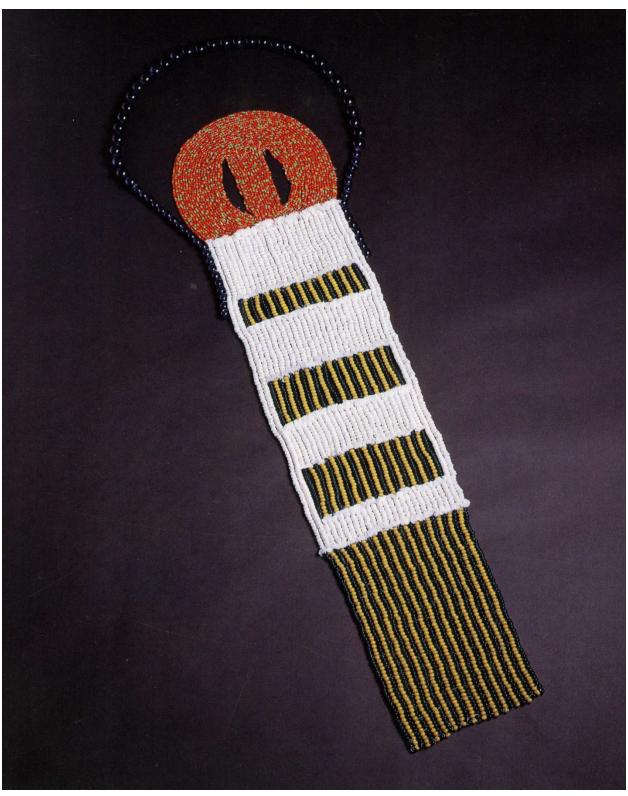


Figure 125. Recreation, northern body's beaded headdress. Glass and silk. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 82)

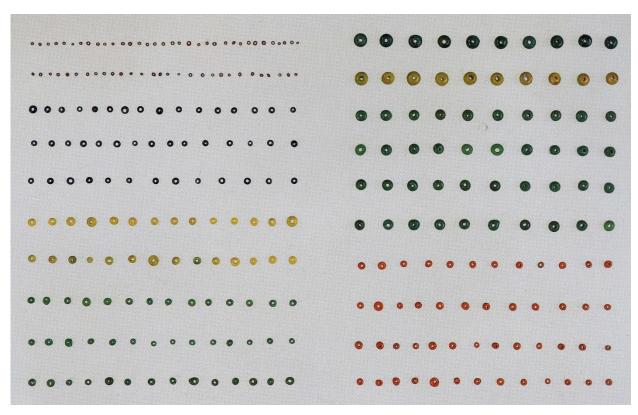


Figure 126. Small glass beads. Glass. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl.23:70)



Figure 127. Small glass beads, glass beads, and small and large round glass beads. Glass. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 57)



Figure 128. Preserved section of the northern body's beaded headdress. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 80)

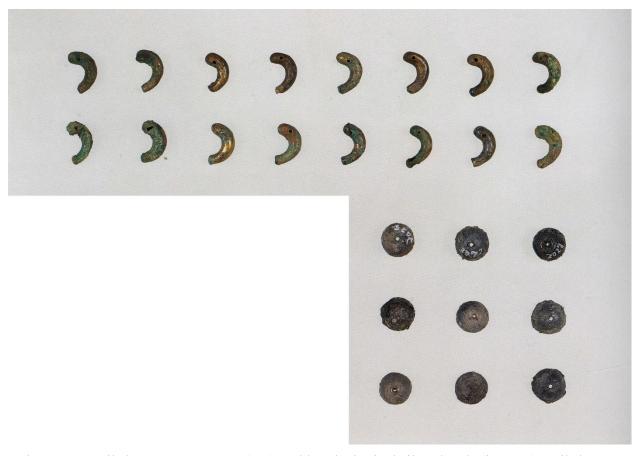


Figure 129. Gilt-bronze *magatama* (top) and hemispherical silver beads (bottom). Gilt-bronze and glass (top); silver (bottom). (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 22:67)



Figure 130. Silver sword-tip motif ornaments (top) and gilt-bronze sword-tip motif ornaments (bottom). Silver (top); gilt-bronze (bottom). (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 19:62)

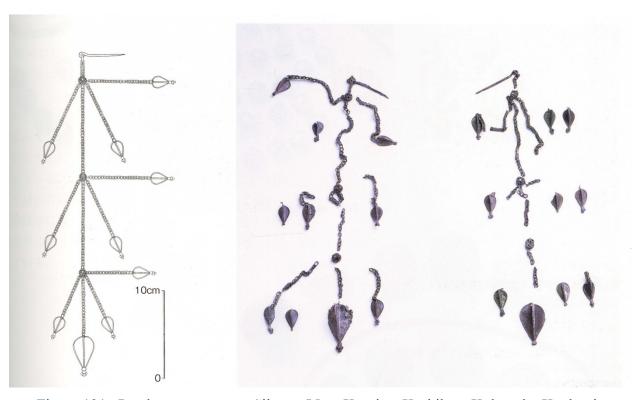


Figure 131. Pendant ornaments. Silver. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 57)

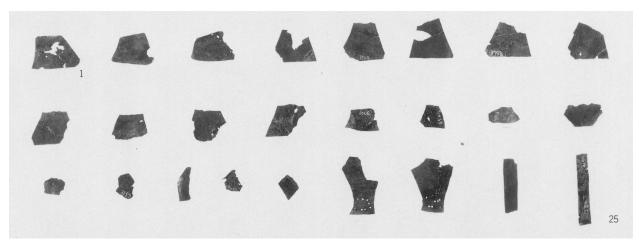


Figure 132. Head ornaments. Silver. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 49:134)



Figure 133. Millet beads (center) and barrel-shaped beads. Glass. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 58)

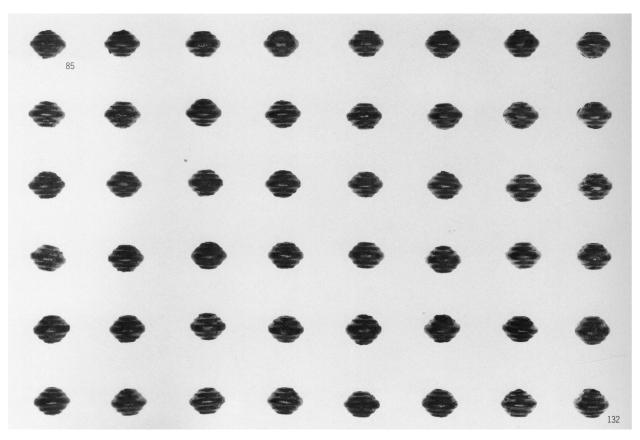


Figure 134. Stepped beads. Gold-plated silver. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 58:145)

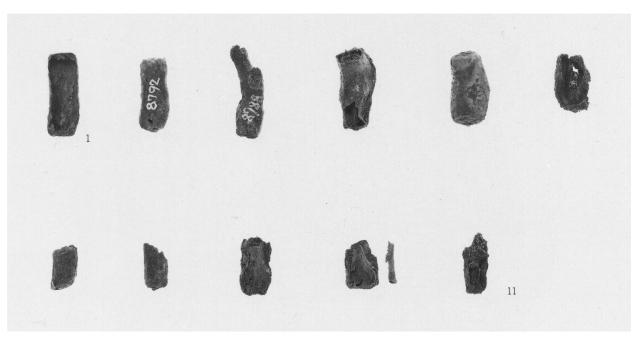


Figure 135. Organic material tubular beads. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 67:157)

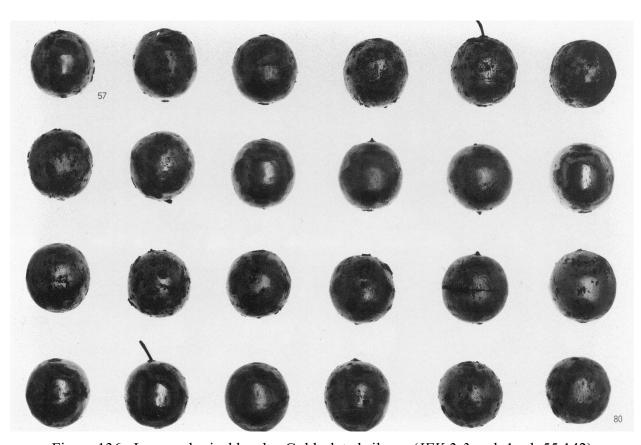


Figure 136. Large spherical beads. Gold-plated silver. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 55:142)

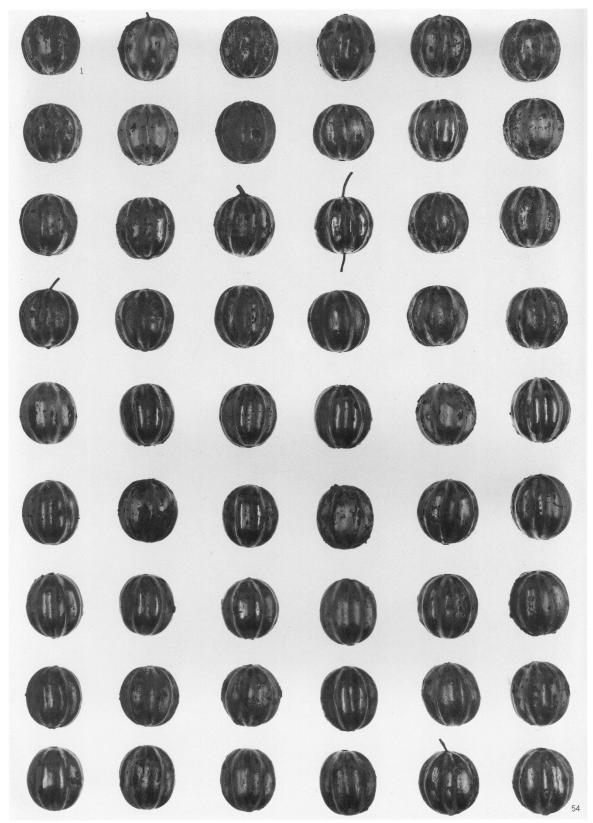


Figure 137. Segmented oval beads resembling gardenia seeds. Gold-plated silver. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 56)

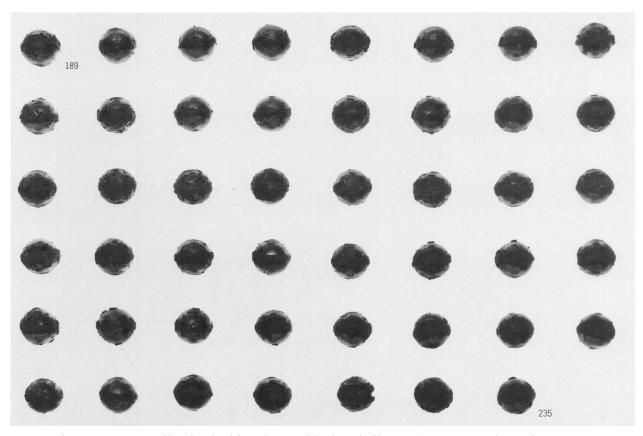


Figure 138. Small spherical beads. Gold-plated silver. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 61:148)



Figure 139. Earrings. Gilt-bronze wrapped silver (top); gilt-bronze wrapped bronze (bottom). (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 22:68)



Figure 140. Cylindrical artifact. Gilt-bronze. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 18:60)

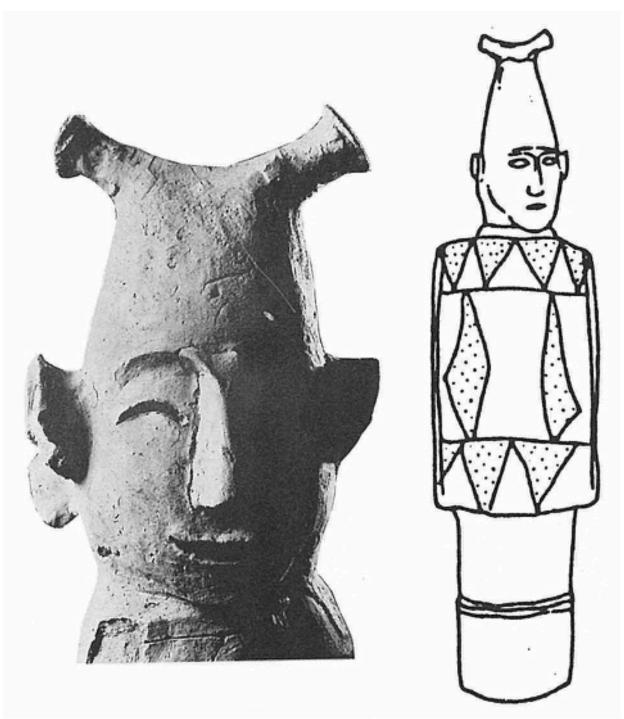


Figure 141. *Haniwa* excavated from the Tsukamawari Kofun group. Sixth century. Ceramic. Ōtashi, Gunma Prefecture. (Wang Wei, 114)



Figure 142. Diagram of flying *apsarases* from a wall painting in Ohoebun Tomb no. 4. Sixth-seventh century. Ji'an, Jilin Province, China. (Wang Wei, 115)



Figure 143. Stone relief rubbing from the inside of Li Shou's sarcophagus. 630 CE. (Shanxi Sheng Bo Wu Guan, wen guan hui, "Tang Li Shou mu fa jue Jian bao," *Wen Wu* 9 (1974): 86)



Figure 144. Waist drum (*kodō*). Eighth century. Black lacquered wood. Miho Museum. ("Kuro urushi kodō," Miho Museum, Accessed October 10, 2018, http://www.miho.or.jp/booth/html/artcon/00000143.htm)





Figure 145. Sword 1. Wood, gilt-bronze, silver, and glass. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 49)





Figure 146. Sword 5. Wood, iron, gilt-bronze, silver, glass, and cloth. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 49)

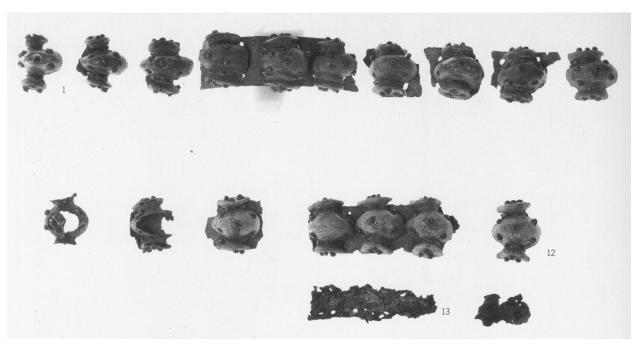


Figure 147. *Miwadama* beads with handguard remains from swords 1 (top) and 5 (bottom). Gilt-bronze and glass. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 78:174)





Figure 148. Sword 3. Wood, iron, gilt-bronze, and silver. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 50)





Figure 149. Sword 4. Wood, iron, gilt-bronze, and silver. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 50)





Figure 150. Sword 2. Wood, lacquer, iron, giltbronze, and silver. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 51)





Figure 151. Short sword. Wood, iron, gilt-bronze, silver, and glass. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 51)

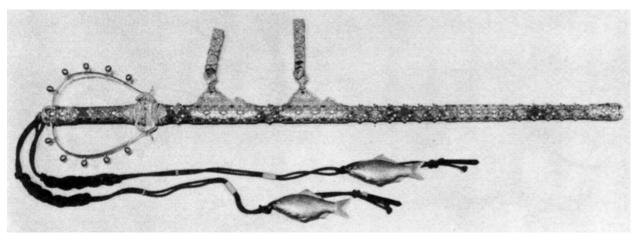


Figure 152. Meiji period *Tamamaki no Tachi* created for Ise shrine. 1909. (Shiraishi, "Tamamaki no Tachi kō," 153)

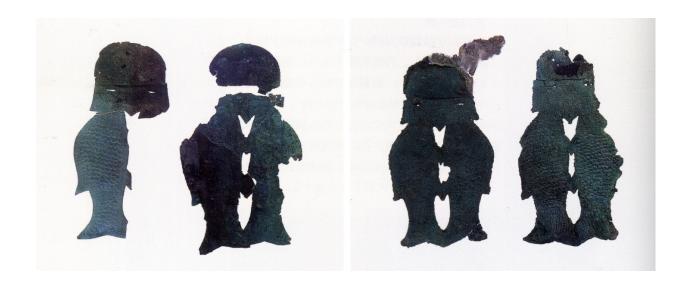




Figure 153. Fish ornaments attributed to swords 1 (top left), 3 (obverse, bottom left; reverse, bottom right), and 5 (top right). Gilt-bronze. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 52)



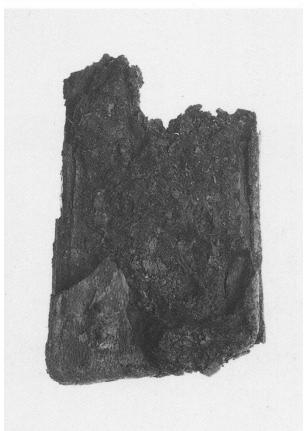


Figure 154. Sword decoration (obverse, top; reverse, bottom). Wood and silver. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 79:177)

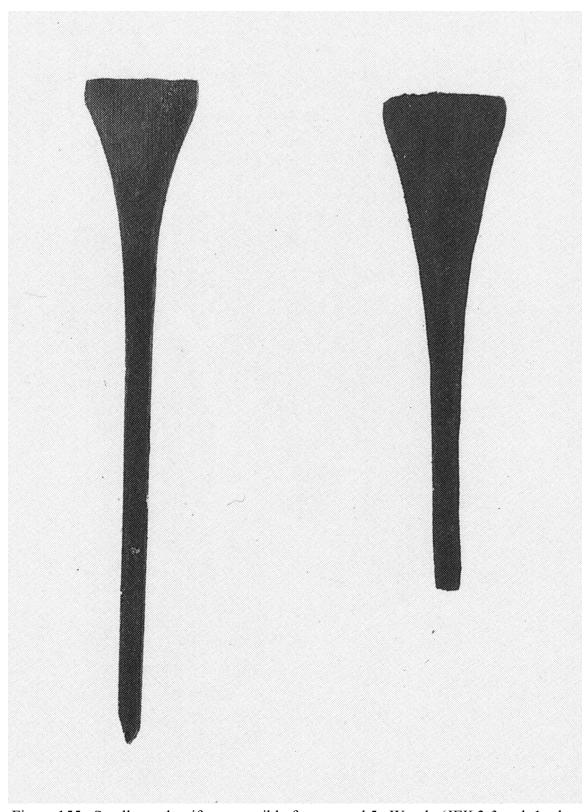


Figure 155. Small wood artifacts, possibly from sword 5. Wood. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 80:182)



Figure 156. Crown. Gilt-bronze. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 136)

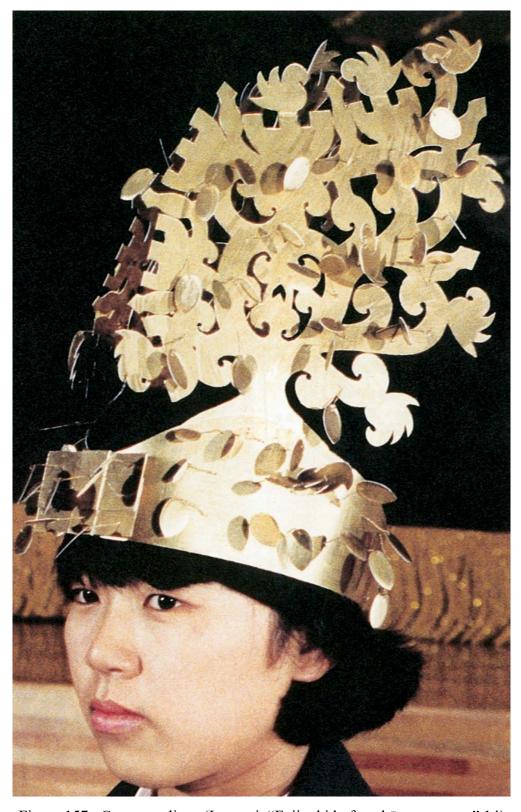


Figure 157. Crown replica. (Izumori, "Fujinoki kofun chōsa sono ato," 14)

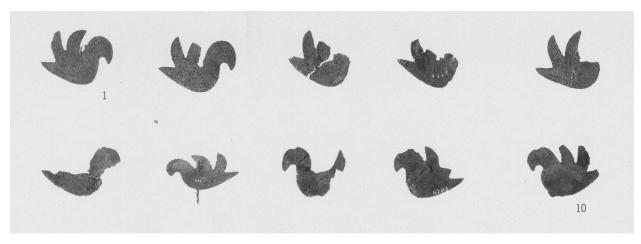


Figure 158. Bird-shaped pendants. Gilt-bronze. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 48:133)

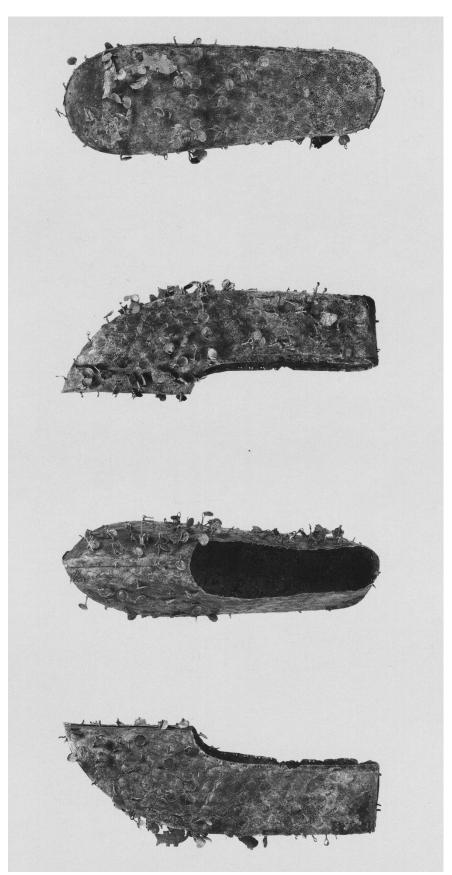


Figure 159. Right shoe of pair A. Gilt-bronze. (*IFK* 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 40)

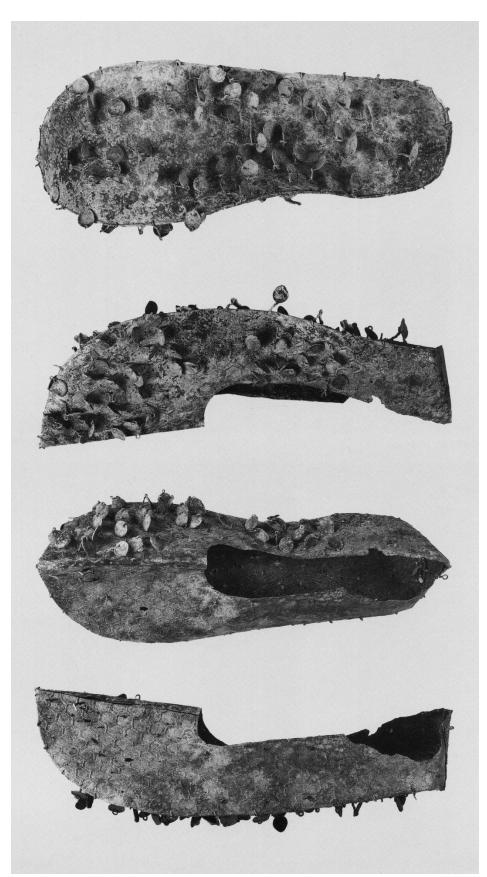


Figure 160. Right shoe of pair B. Giltbronze. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 41)



Figure 161. Paper scale replica of the pair B gilt-bronze shoes. (Imazu Setsuo, "Ibutsu no shashin jissoku," in *IFK 2-3*, 2:380)



Figure 162. Half-cylindrical artifacts. Gilt-bronze. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 19:61)



Figure 163. Petal-shaped decorative fitting remains. Gilt-bronze. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 20:63)



Figure 164. Gilt-bronze belt. Gilt-bronze. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 18:59)

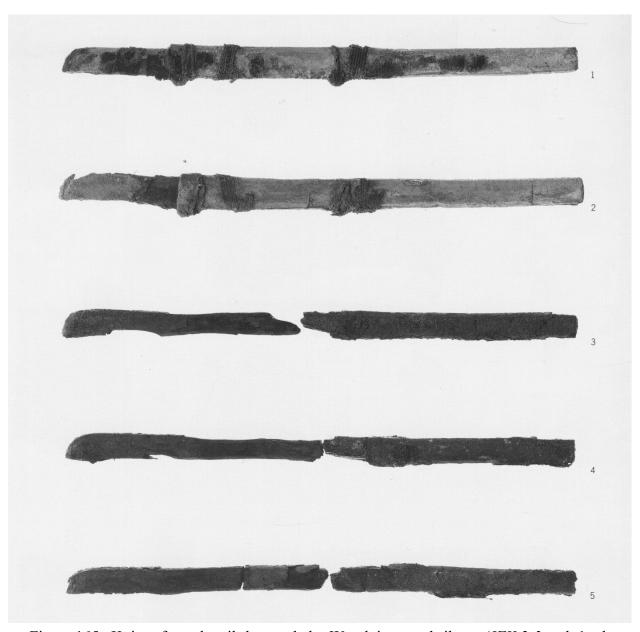


Figure 165. Knives from the gilt-bronze belt. Wood, iron, and silver. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 80:179)

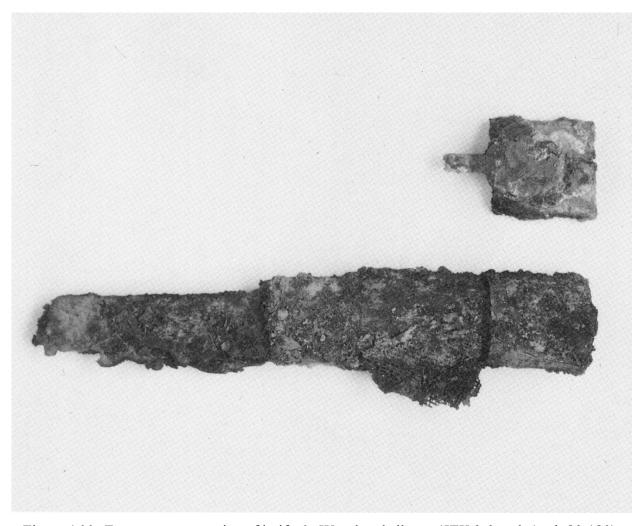


Figure 166. Fragmentary remains of knife 6. Wood and silver. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 80:180)



Figure 167. Anklet beads. Glass. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 58)



Figure 168. Circular spangles. Gilt-bronze. (IFK 2-3, vol. 1, pl. 21:65)

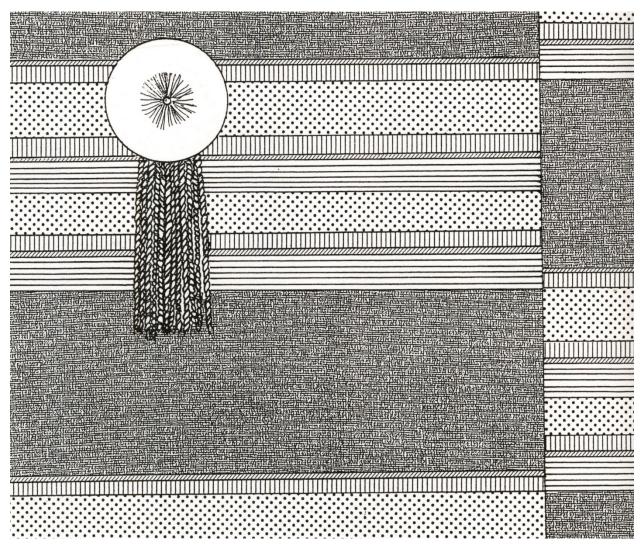


Figure 169. Diagram of *kakefu* 1 with attached spangle. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 60)



Figure 170. Brocade fragment no. 355, from *kakefu* 1. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 60)



Figure 171. Small and large petal-shaped ornaments. Gilt-bronze. (*IFK 2-3*, vol. 1, pl. 20:64)



Figure 172. Udozuka Kofun (from the west). Mid to late sixth century. Hegurichō, Nara Prefecture. Photograph by author.

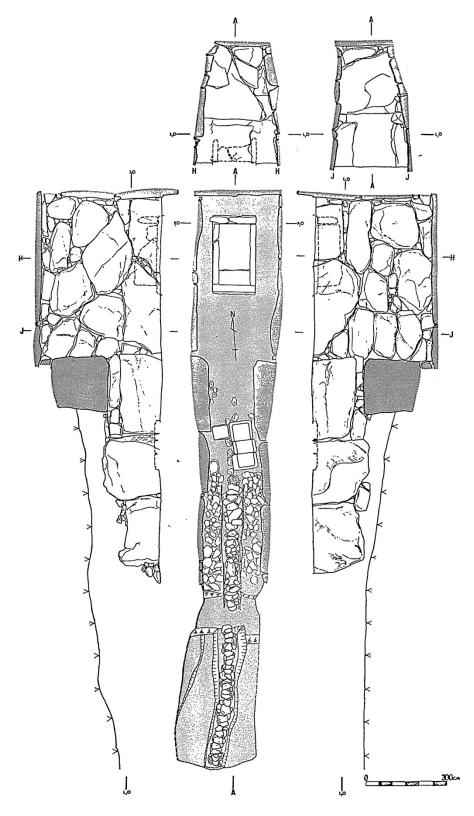


Figure 173. Diagram of Udozuka Kofun burial facilities. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 32)

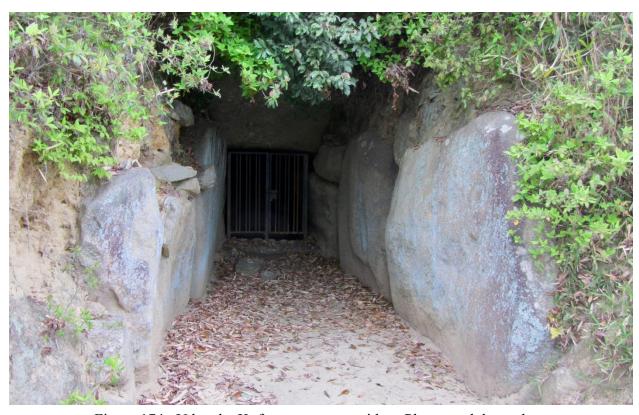


Figure 174. Udozuka Kofun entrance corridor. Photograph by author.



Figure 175. Udozuka Kofun burial chamber and stone sarcophagus. Photograph by author.



Figure 176. Detail, Incised pattern on the eastern side of the Udozuka burial chamber stone sarcophagus. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 10)

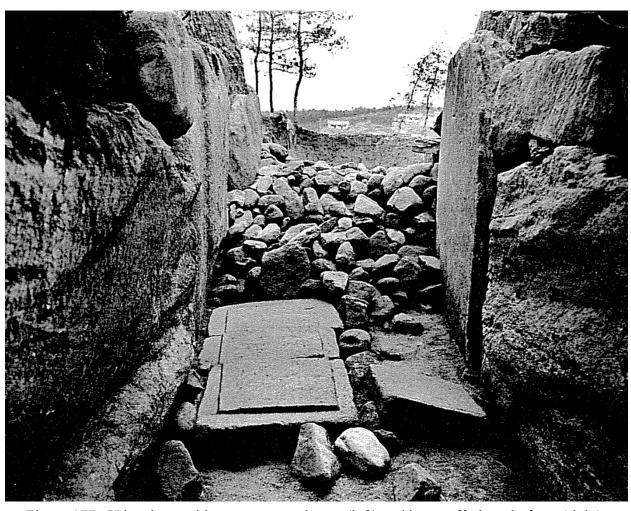


Figure 177. Udozuka corridor stone sarcophagus (left) and burnt offering platform (right). (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 6)

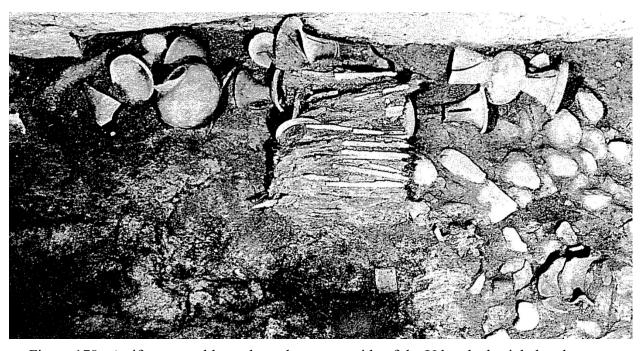


Figure 178. Artifact assemblage along the eastern side of the Udozuka burial chamber rear wall. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 11)

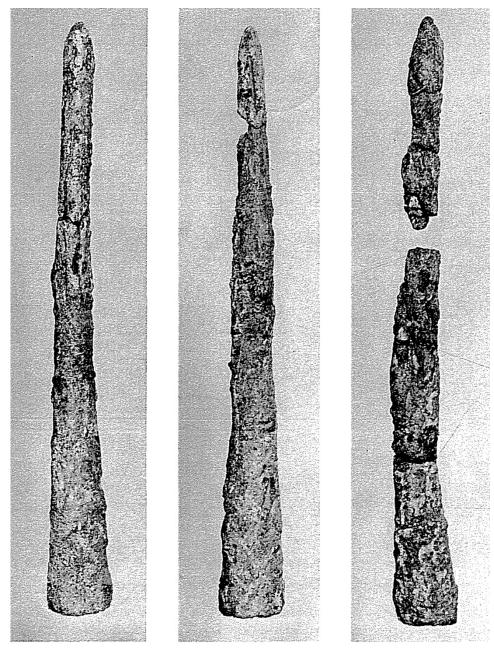


Figure 179. Spearheads. Iron. Udozuka Kofun. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 16)



Figure 180. Artifact assemblage along the western side of the Udozuka burial chamber rear wall. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 11)

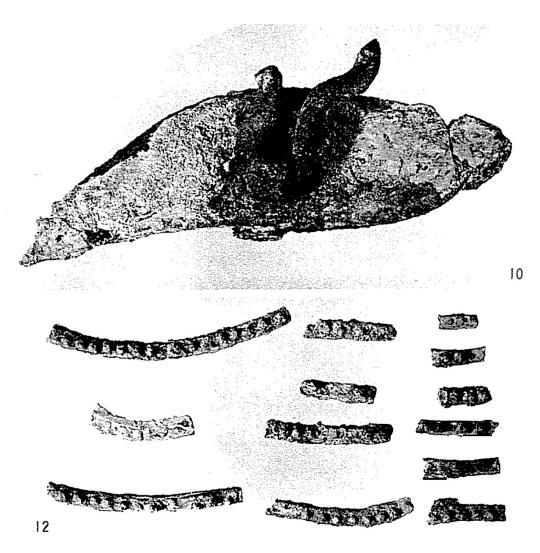


Figure 181. *Iso* remains from a saddle's cantle. Iron and gilt-bronze. Udozuka Kofun. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 20)



Figure 182. Saw blade. Iron. Udozuka Kofun. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 18)

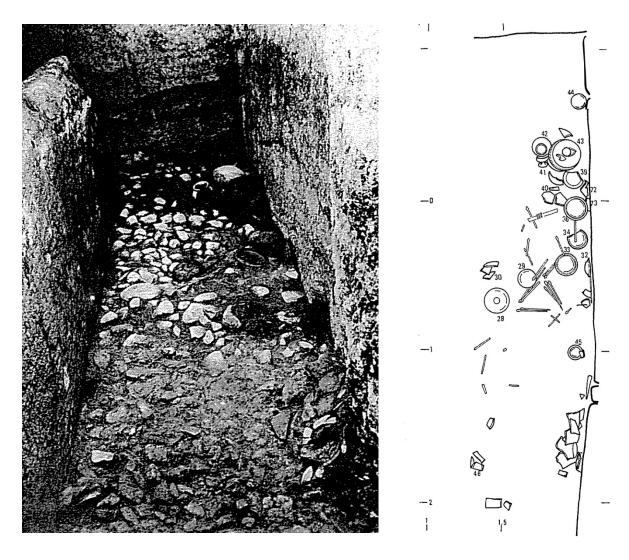


Figure 183. Artifact assemblage along the east wall of the Udozuka burial chamber. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, 21, pl. 12)

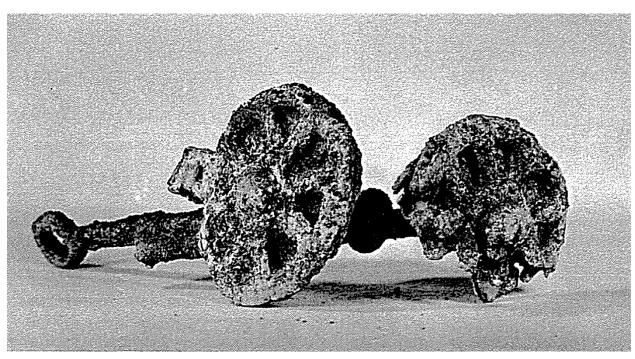


Figure 184. Headstall with cartwheel motif cheekplates. Gilt-bronze and iron. Udozuka Kofun. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 19)

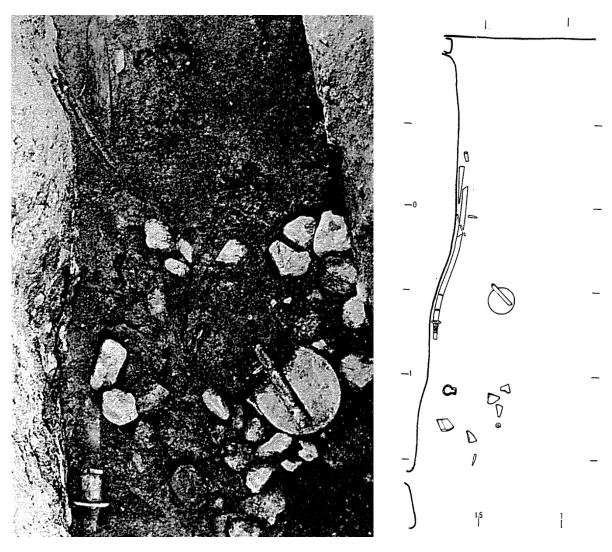


Figure 185. Artifact assemblage along the west wall of the Udozuka burial chamber. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, 22, pl. 12)

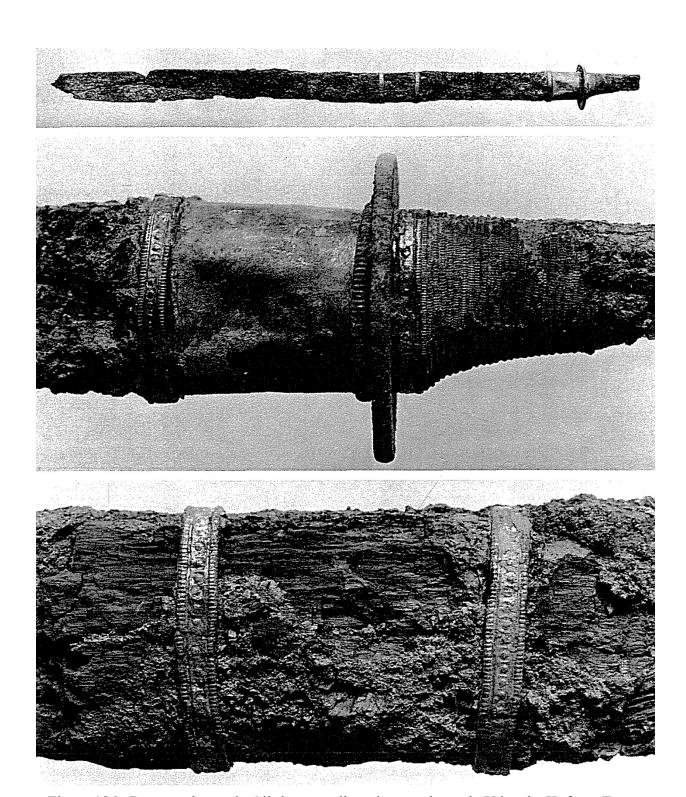


Figure 186. Decorated sword. Gilt-bronze, silver, iron, and wood. Udozuka Kofun. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 15)



Figure 187. Mirror with four beasts. Bronze. Udozuka Kofun. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *San jigen dejitaru • ākaibu o katsuyōshita kokyō no sōgōteki kenkyū, dai 2 bunsatsu* (Kashihara: Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, 2005), 323)

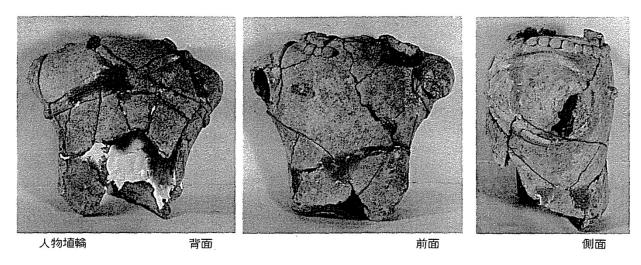


Figure 188. *Haniwa* in the shape of a shamaness. Ceramic. Udozuka Kofun. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 25)



Figure 189. House-shaped *haniwa*. Ceramic. Udozuka Kofun. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 25)



Figure 190. Komochidoki. Ceramic. Udozuka Kofun. (Date, Oka, and Sugaya, pl. 24)



Figure 191. Misato Kofun (from the southwest). Late sixth century. Hegurichō, Nara Prefecture. Photograph by author.

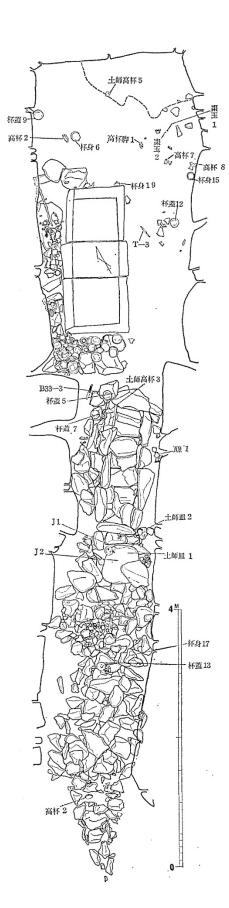


Figure 192. Diagram of Misato Kofun burial facilities. (Kawakami, "Ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 27)



Figure 193. Misato burial chamber stone sarcophagus. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 13:2)



Figure 194. Misato entrance corridor stone sarcophagus (left: with slab lid; right: lid removed). (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 11)

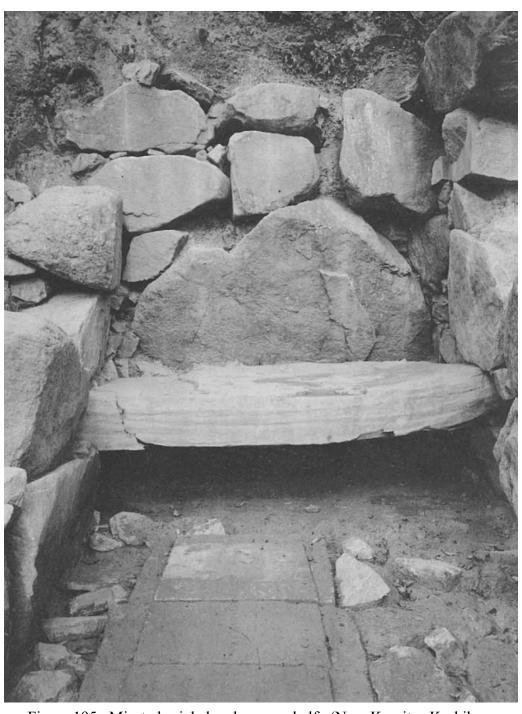


Figure 195. Misato burial chamber rear shelf. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 6:2)

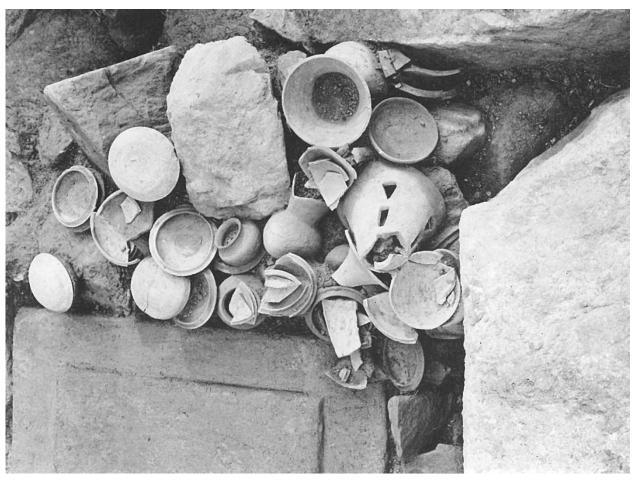


Figure 196. Ceramic assemblage in the southwest corner of the Misato burial chamber. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 12:2)

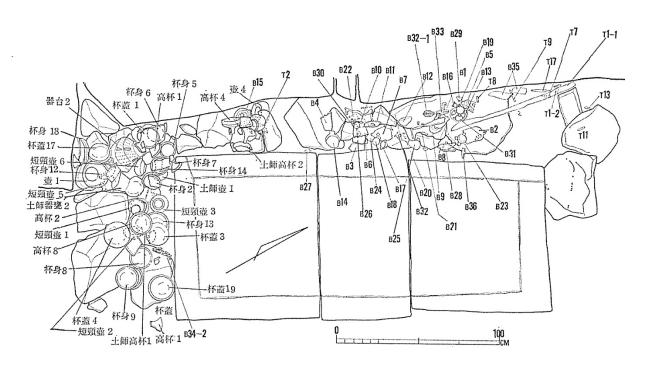
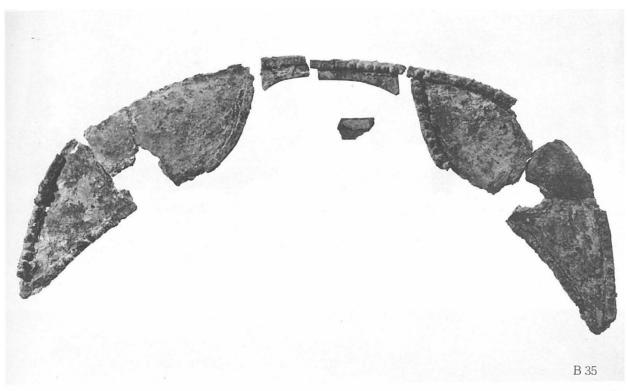


Figure 197. Diagram of artifact assemblage along the Misato burial chamber west wall. (Kawakami, "Ibutsu shutsudo jōtai," 28)



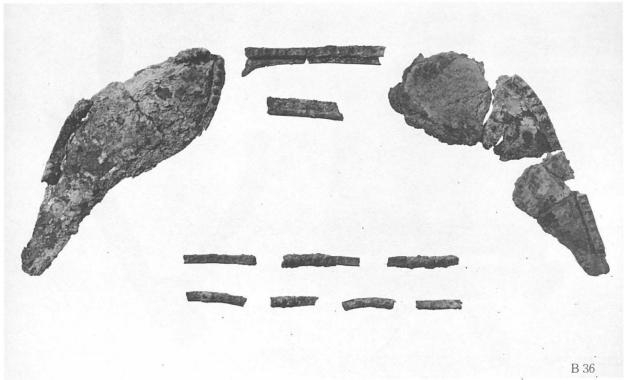


Figure 198. Cantle (top) and saddlebow (bottom). Gilt-bronze and iron. Misato Kofun. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 20)



Figure 199. Bell-shaped headstall cheekplates. Gilt-bronze and iron. Misato Kofun. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 21:1-2)

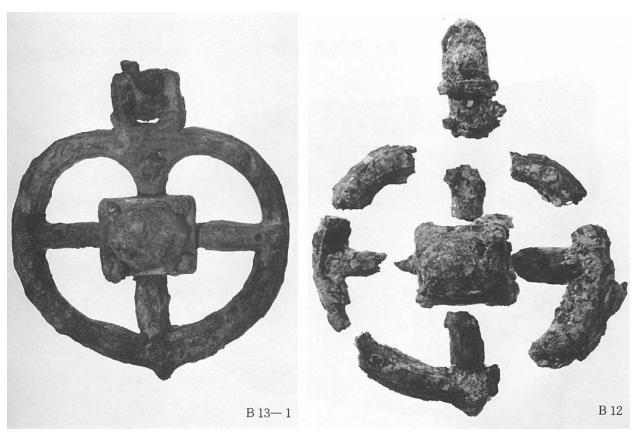


Figure 200. Heart-shaped headstall cheekplates. Gilt-bronze and iron. Misato Kofun. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 22:1-2)



Figure 201. Bell-shaped crupper pendant. Gilt-bronze and iron. Misato Kofun. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 23:1)

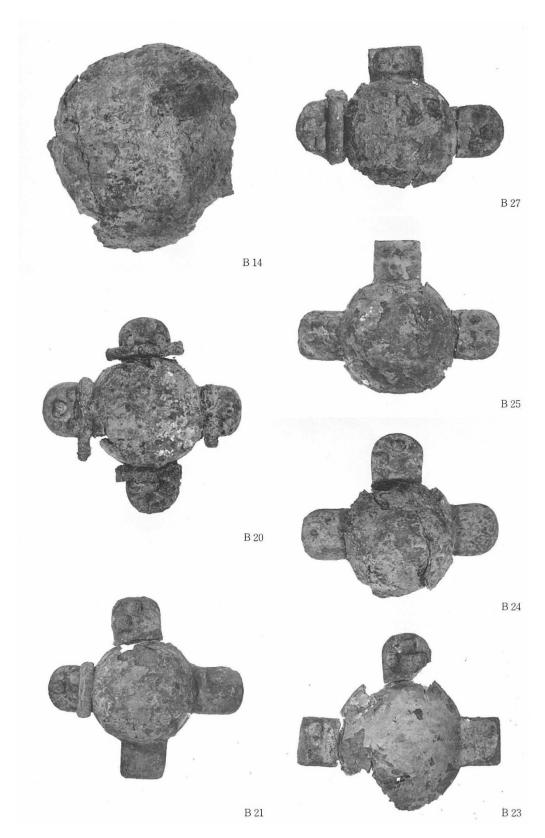


Figure 202. Set A *uzu* (top left) and strap dividers. Gilt-bronze and iron. Misato Kofun. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 26)

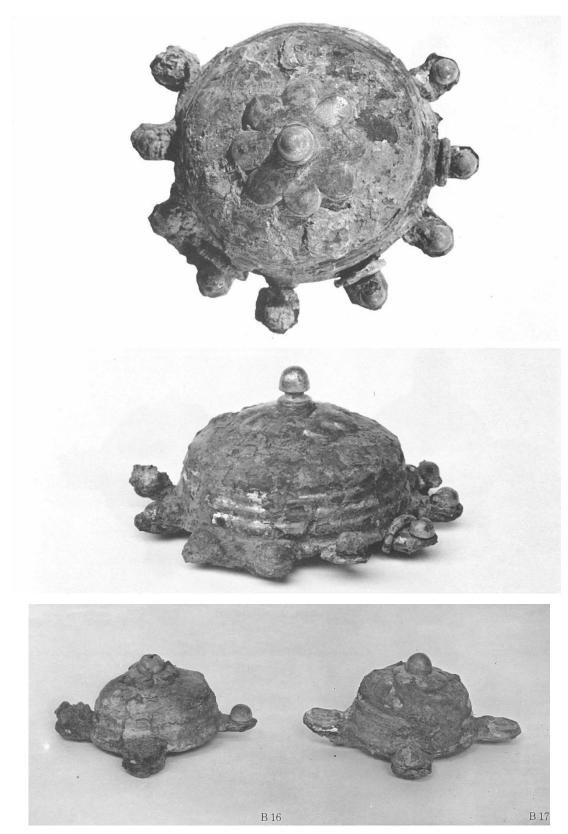


Figure 203. Set B *uzu* (top) and strap dividers (bottom). Gilt-bronze and iron. Misato Kofun. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 27-28)

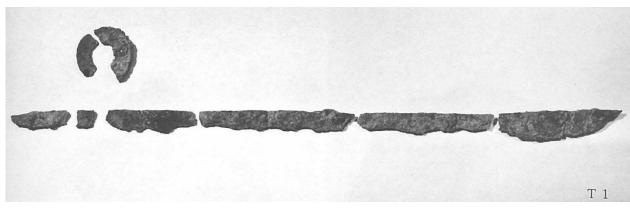


Figure 204. Decorated sword. Gilt-bronze and iron. Misato Kofun. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo, *Heguri • Misato Kofun*, pl. 20)

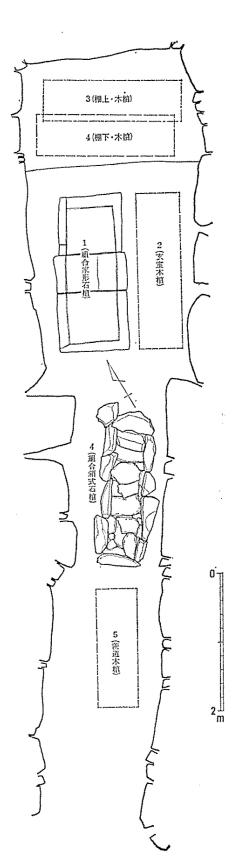


Figure 205. Diagram of the locations of wood coffins at Misato Kofun, as proposed by Kawakami. (Kawakami, "Kan no maisō junjo to ibutsu," 205)



Figure 206. Bakuya Kofun (from the south). Late sixth century. Kōryōchō, Nara Prefecture. Photograph by author.

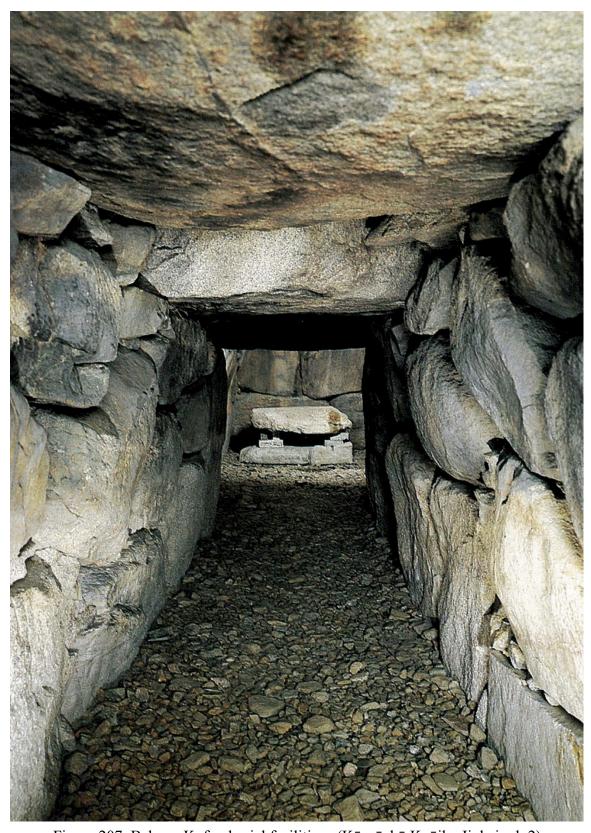


Figure 207. Bakuya Kofun burial facilities. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, pl. 2)

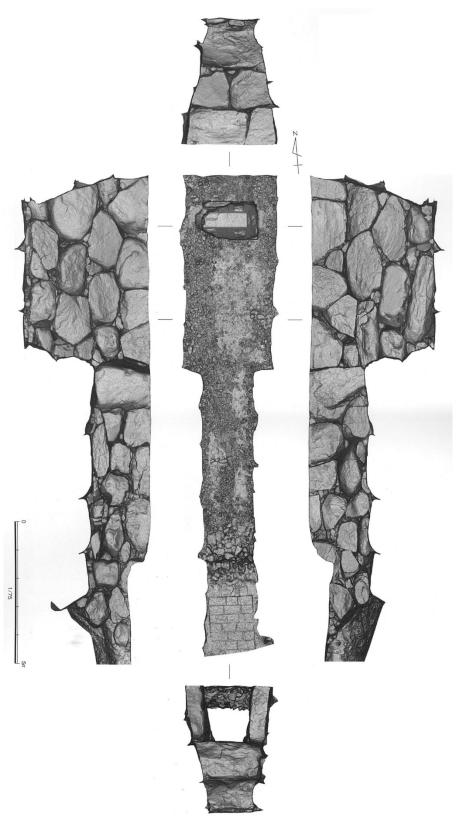


Figure 208. Diagram of Bakuya Kofun burial facilities. (Ōsaka Shiritsu Daigaku Nihonshi Kenkyūshitsu, 1)



Figure 209. Bakuya stone sarcophagus. Photograph by author.



Figure 210. Diagram of the artifact assemblage along the north wall of the Bakuya burial chamber. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, 35)



Figure 211. Set A heart-shaped crupper pendants. Gilt-bronze and iron. Bakuya Kofun. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, pl. 6)

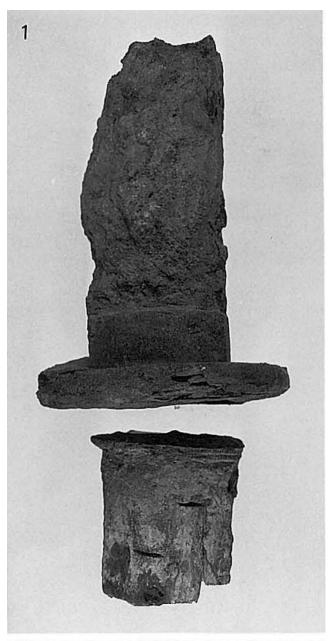


Figure 212. Decorated sword. Silver and iron. Bakuya Kofun. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, pl. 34:1-2)



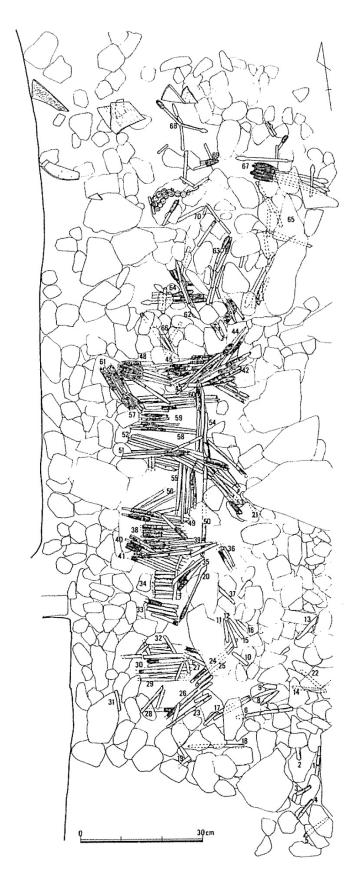


Figure 213. Diagram of the artifact assemblage along the west wall of the Bakuya burial chamber. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, 34)

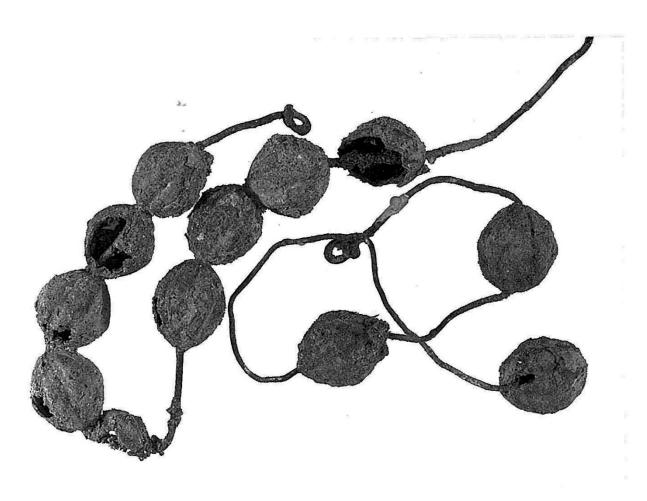


Figure 214. Necklace with lobbed beads. Silver wire and gilt-bronze beads. Bakuya Kofun. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, pl. 33:2)

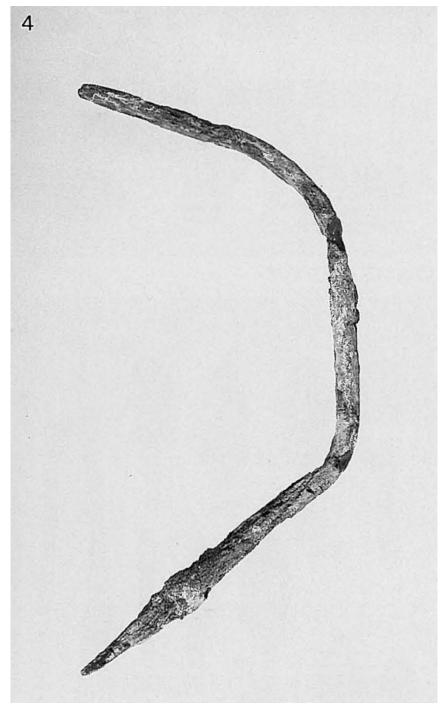


Figure 215. Bent sword. Iron. Bakuya Kofun. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, pl. 34:4)

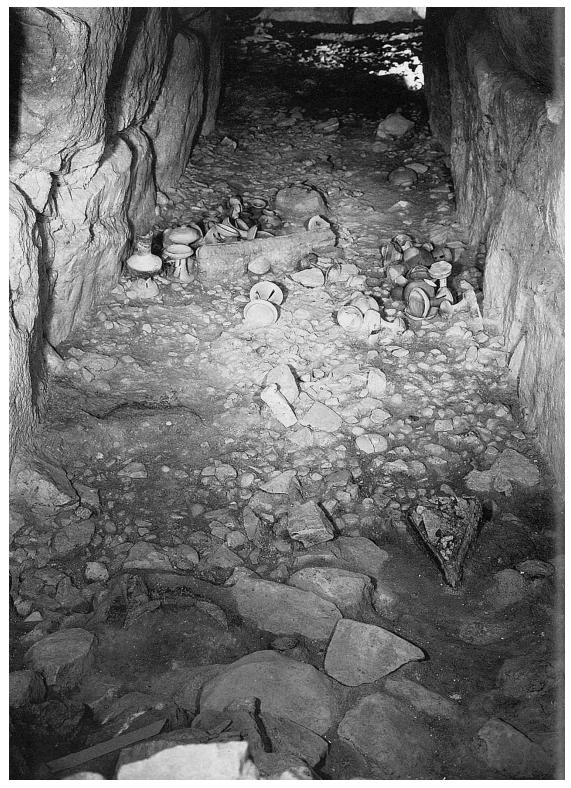


Figure 216. Artifact assemblage in the Bakuya corridor. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, pl. 24)



Figure 217. Remains of an *aori* frame. Gilt-bronze and iron. Bakuya Kofun. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, pl. 6)

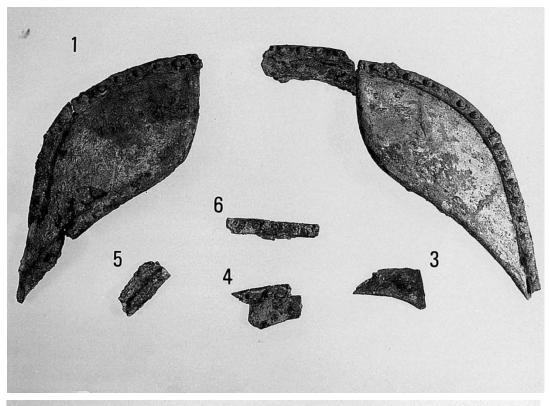




Figure 218. *Iso* remains from the saddlebows of two saddles. Gilt-bronze and iron. Bakuya Kofun. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, pl. 36:1-2)



Figure 219. Cylindrical *haniwa*. Ceramic. Bakuya Kofun. (Kōryōchō Kyōiku Iinkai, pl. 57:2)

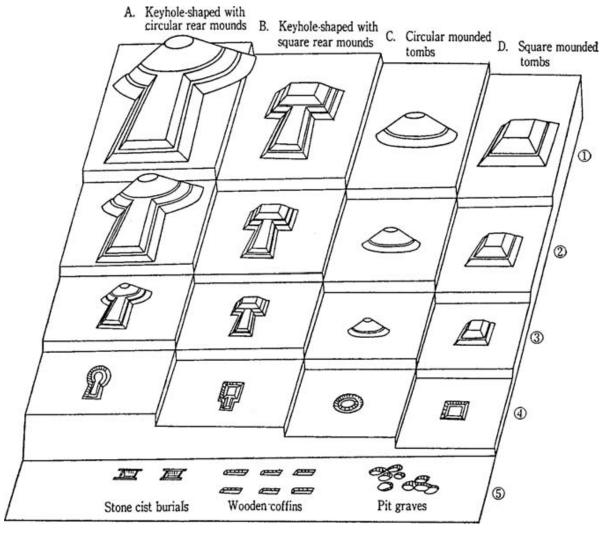


Figure 220. Hierarchy of tomb forms. (Tsude, "The Kofun Period and State Formation," fig. 3)

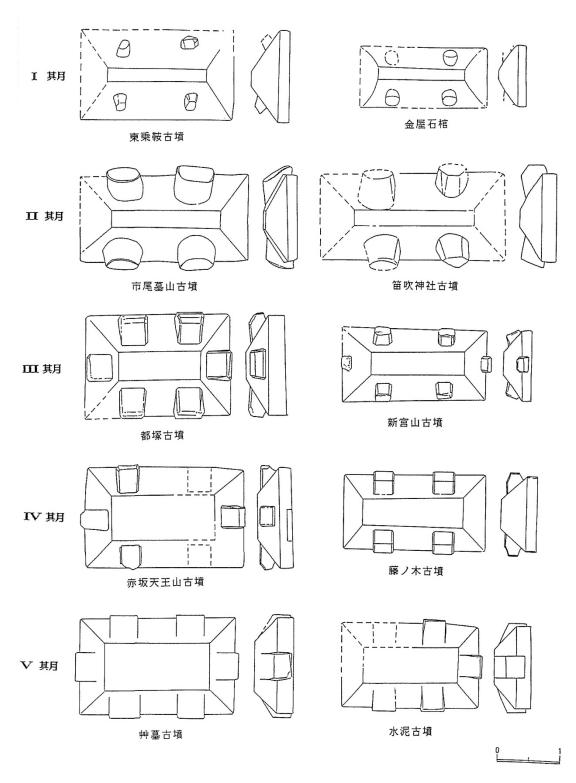


Figure 221. Chronology of Yamato house-shaped stone sarcophagi. (Sekigawa, "Kofun no katachi to sekishitsu • sekkan (ni)," 48)



Figure 222. House-shaped *haniwa* with gable roof and finial billets. Late Kofun period. Ceramic. Akabori-Chausuyama Kofun. Isesakishi, Gunma Prefecture. Tokyo National Museum. (Miki, *Haniwa*, 55)



Figure 223. Gold Crown from Geumgwan Chong (Tomb of the Gold Crown). Fifth century. Gold and jadeite. Silla kingdom. Gyeongju National Museum. (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, *Overview of Korean Cultural Heritage: National Treasures – Metal Craft* (Seoul: Munhwajaech'ŏng Tongsan Munhwajaekwa, 2008), 122)



Figure 224. Inscribed swords from Sakitama-Inariyama Kofun (left) and Eta-Funayama Kofun (right). Late fifth-early sixth century. Iron with silver inlay. Gyodashi, Saitama Prefecture (left); Nagomimachi, Kumamoto Prefecture (right). (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, ed., *Shunki tokubetsuten: 5 seiki no Yamato ~mahoroba no sekai~* (Kashihara: Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, 2013), 82-83)



Figure 225. Detail, Bird and boat motif from the Fujinoki Kofun crown. Gilt-bronze. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 136)

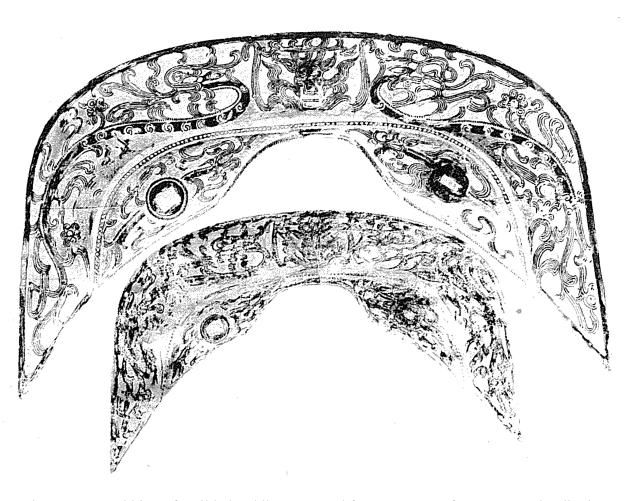


Figure 226. Rubbing of a gilded saddle excavated from Kyoto Prefecture's Sōraku district. (Umehara Sueji, 249)



Figure 227. Saddle. Fifth century. Gilt-bronze. Konda-Maruyama Kofun. Habikino, Osaka. (Katsube and Suzuki, *Kodai no Waza*, pl. 4)

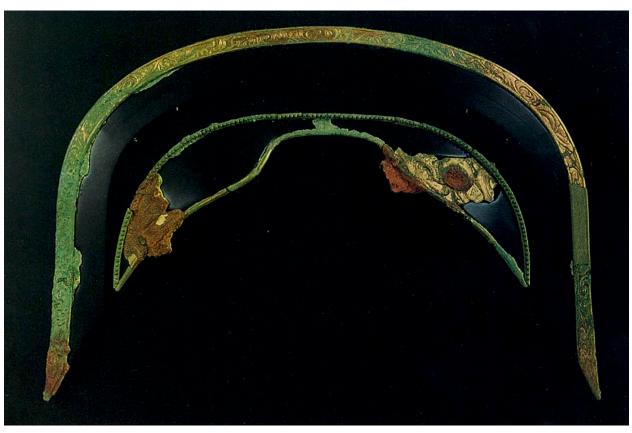


Figure 228. Saddle cantle. Seventh century. Gilt-bronze. Miyajidake Kofun. Fukutsu, Fukuoka Prefecture. (Miyajidake Jinja, pl. 2)

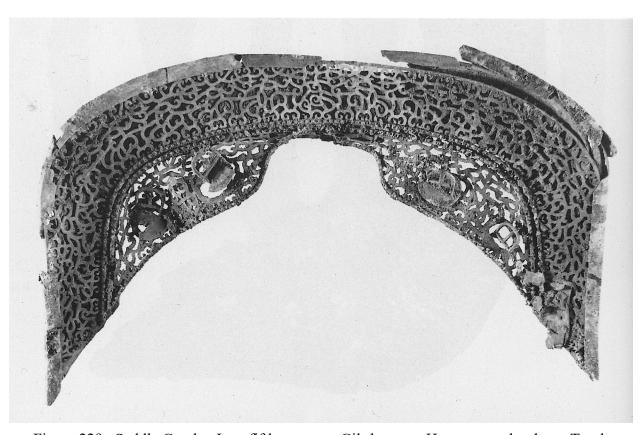


Figure 229. Saddle Cantle. Late fifth century. Gilt-bronze. Hwangnam-daechong Tomb south mound. Silla kingdom. Gyeongju, North Gyeongsang Province, Korea. (Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, *Hwangnam Daechong*, vol. 2, pl. 262-2)

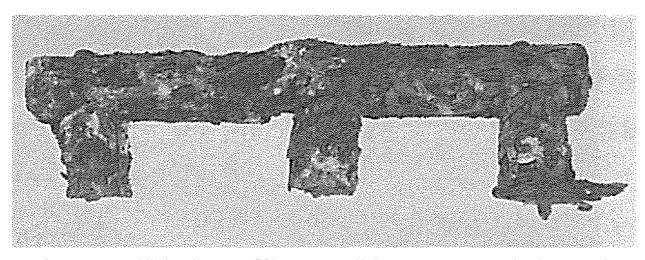


Figure 230. Saddle handle. Late fifth century. Gilt-bronze. Hwangnam-daechong Tomb north mound. (Kamiya, pl. 7-5)



Figure 231. Saddlebow and cantle. Fourth century. Gilt-bronze. 88M1 Tomb. Chaoyang City, Liaoning Province, China. (Watt, 125)

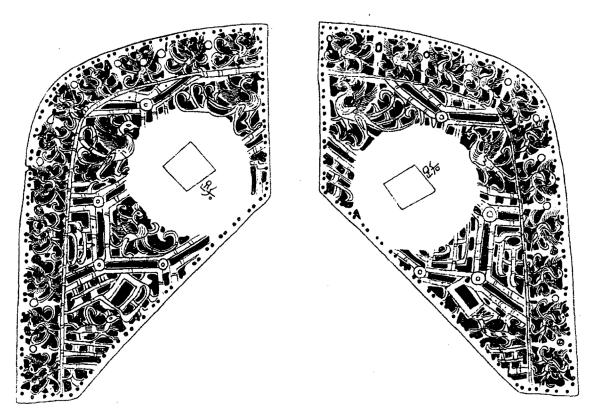


Figure 232. Diagram of the 88M1 saddlebow iso. (Bradford, 354)

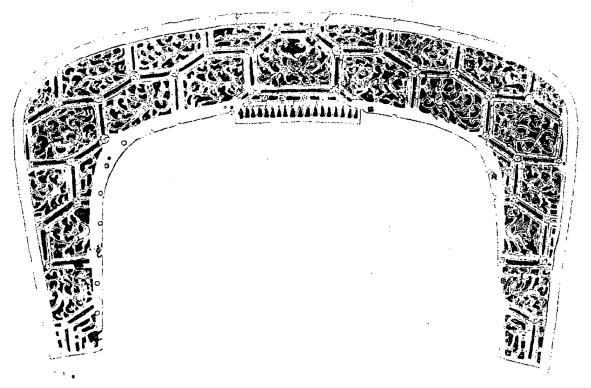


Figure 233. Diagram of the 88M1 saddlebow umi. (Bradford, 354)



Figure 234. Saddle. Fourth century. Giltbronze. Excavated near Chaoyang City. (Yu, 44)

Figure 235. Diagram of saddle remains excavated near Chaoyang City. (Yu, 43)



Figure 236. Mirror bearing a *chokkomon* relief pattern. Fifth-sixth century. Bronze. Shinyama Kofun. Kōryōchō, Nara Prefecture. (Gina Barnes, "Chokkomon and the Art of Death," *East Asia Journal* 1, no. 2 (2003): 44)





Figure 237. Detail, set A saddle tortoise shell motif with firebird (saddlebow, above) and elephant (cantle, below). (Katsube and Suzuki, *Kodai no Waza*, pl. 2)



Figure 238. Saddle. Sixth century. Iron with silver inlay. Suketo Kofun. Ashikaga, Tochigi Prefecture. ("Kura kanagu," Tokyo National Museum, accessed August 29, 2018, https://webarchives.tnm.jp/imgsearch/show/C0030868)

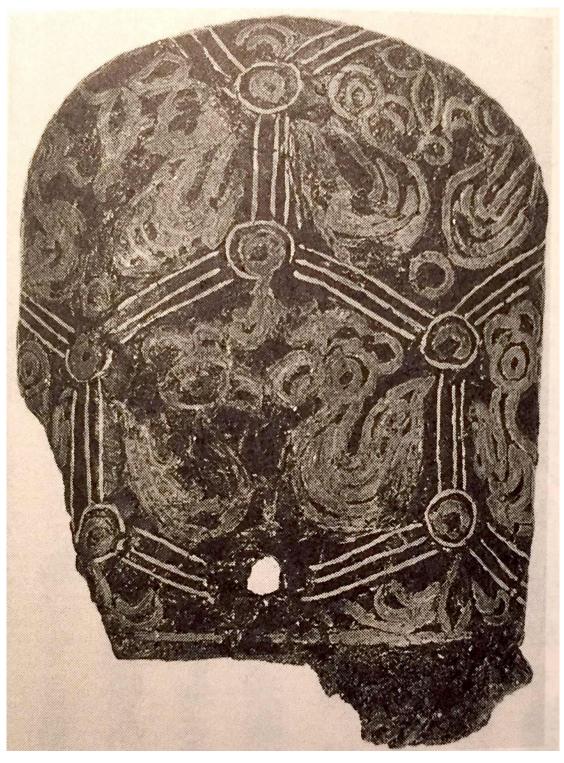


Figure 239. Sword pommel. Early sixth century. Iron with silver inlay. Hoshizuka Kofun. Tenri, Nara Prefecture. (Tanaka Shinsaku, "Buki • bugu," 116)

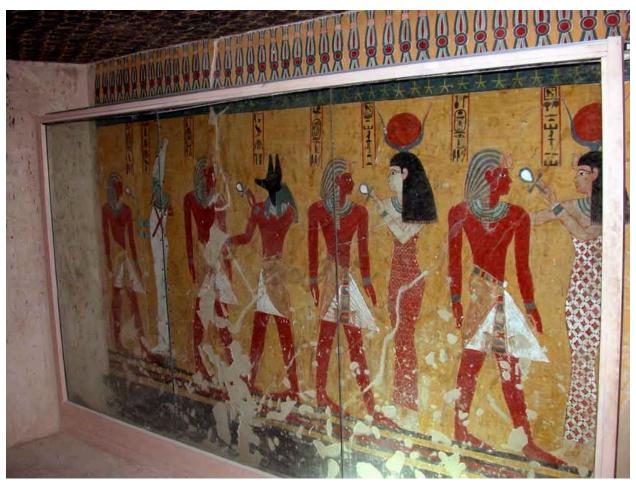


Figure 240. Mural from the Tomb of Thutmose IV with depiction of Hathor wearing a hexagon motif (center). Fourteenth century BCE. Valley of the Kings. Luxor, Egypt. (Thierry Benderitter and Christian Mariais, "Thutmosis IV – 43," *Osirisnet: Tombs of Ancient Egypt*, last modified 2018,

https://osirisnet.net/tombes/pharaons/thoutmosis4/e_thoutmosis4_01.htm)



Figure 241. Cylinder seal showing Ishtar. 720-700 BCE. Garnet. Neo-Assyrian. The British Museum. ("Cylinder seal," The British Museum, accessed August 28, 2018, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?obj ectId=369250&partId=1&images=true)

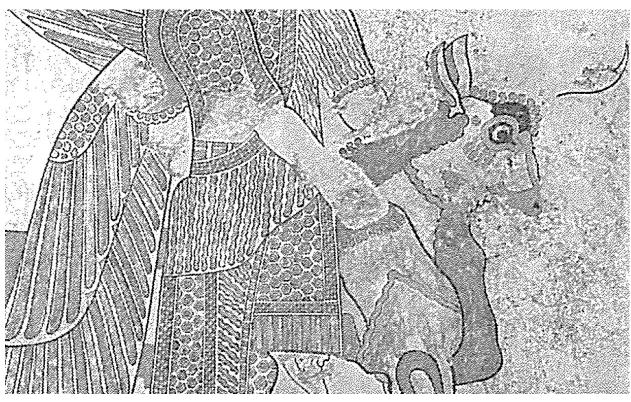


Figure 242. Wall painting from the palace at Til Barsip. Ninth-eighth century BCE. Neo-Assyrian. Aleppo Governorate, Syria. (Uehara, 83)

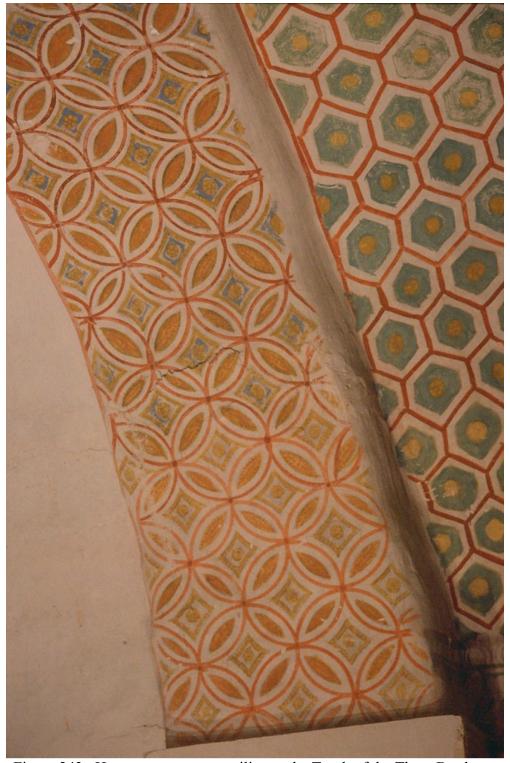


Figure 243. Hexagon pattern on ceiling at the Tomb of the Three Brothers. Second century BCE. Pigments on plaster. Palmyra, Syria. (Buisson et al., "The Tomb of the Three Brothers in Palmyra: The Use of Mimetite, a Rare Yellow Pigment, in a Rich Decoration," *Archaeometry* 57, no. 6 (2015): 1029)

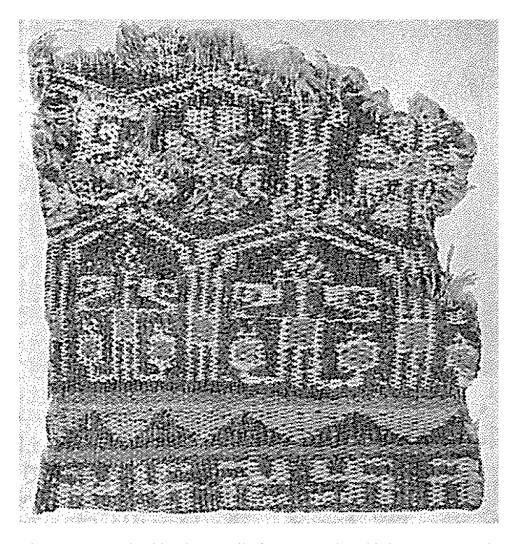


Figure 244. Loulan kingdom textile fragment. First-third century. Wool. Xinjian Province, China. (Uehara, 84)



Figure 245. Amitāyus Buddha statue from Cave 169 at Bingling Temple. Ca. 420 CE. Gansu Prefecture, China. (Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon," 433)



Figure 246. Diagram of a tortoise shell motif from the antechamber of Yungang Cave 12. (Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai," 557)



Figure 247. Front support for a mortuary couch. Early sixth century. Limestone. Northern Wei Dynasty. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photograph by Author.

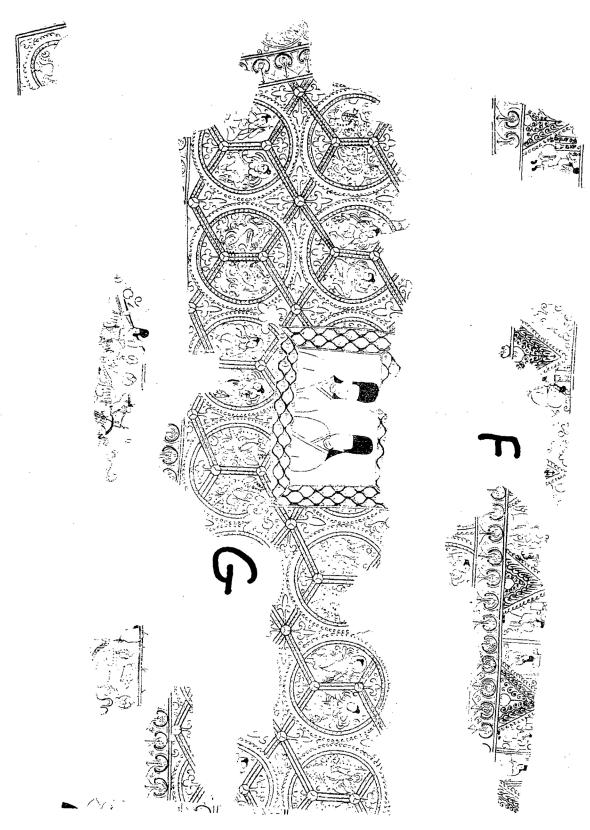


Figure 248. Drawing of side 1 of the Guyuan Sarcophagus. (Bradford, 310)

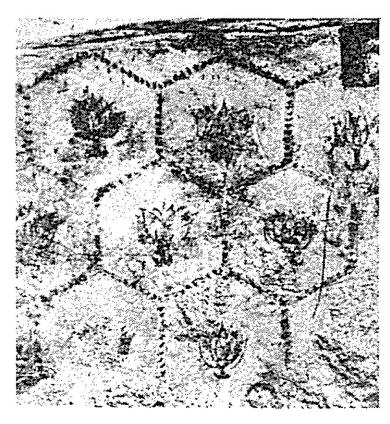


Figure 249. Tortoise shell motif wall mural. Fifth-sixth century. Pigments on plaster. Cheonwangjisin-chong Tomb. Koguryo kingdom. Suncheon City, Pyeongan Province, Korea. (Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no sekai," 557)

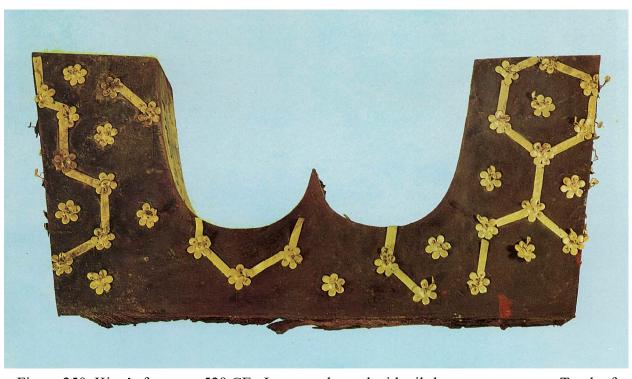


Figure 250. King's footrest. 529 CE. Lacquered wood with gilt-bronze ornaments. Tomb of King Muryeong. Paekche kingdom. Gyeongju National Museum. (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, *Bunei Ōryō*, pl. 10-1)



Figure 251. Queen's headrest. 529 CE. Lacquer on wood. Tomb of King Muryeong. Gyeongju National Museum. (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, *Bunei Ōryō*, pl. 10-2)





Figure 252. Ring-pommeled sword. 529 CE. Iron with silver ornamentation. Tomb of King Muryeong. Gongju, South Chungcheong Province, Korea. (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, *Bunei Ōryō*, pl. 44-2)

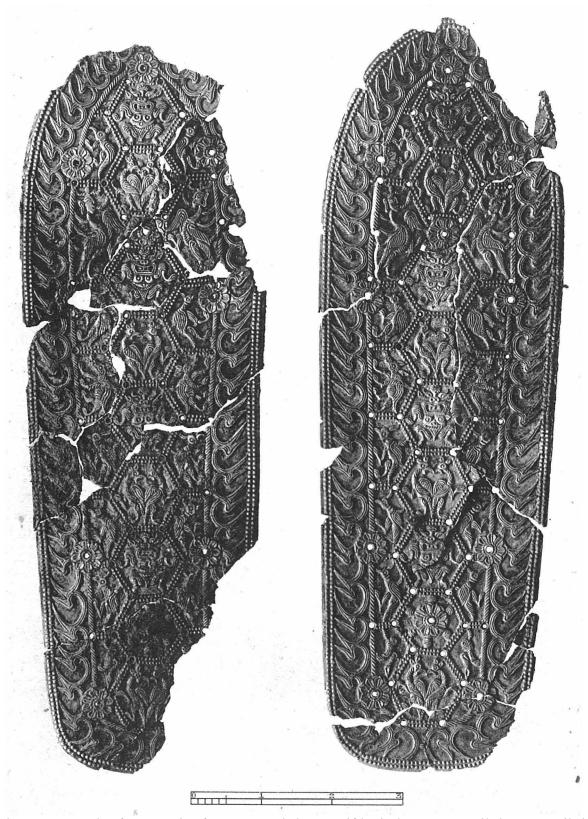


Figure 253. Soles from a pair of ornamented shoes. Fifth-sixth century. Gilt-bronze. Sikrichong Tomb. Silla kingdom. Gyeongju, Korea. (Umehara Sueji, pl. 171)



Figure 254. Cup with relief ornamentation. Late fifth century. Silver. Hwangnam-daechong tomb north mound. (Susan Bush, "Some Parallels between Chinese and Korean Ornamental Motifs of the Late Fifth and Early Sixth Centuries A.D.," *Archives of Asian Art* 37 (1984): 61)

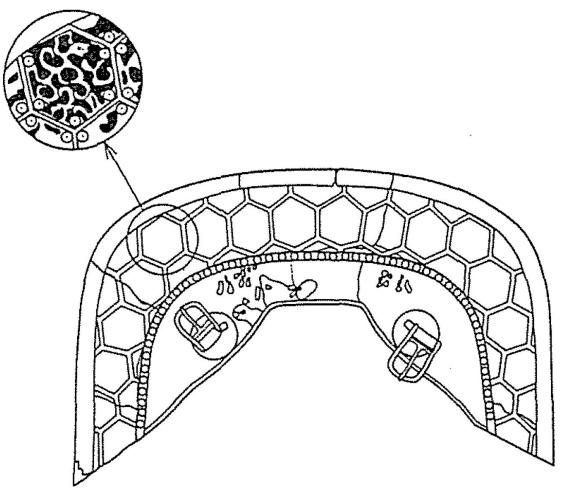


Figure 255. Diagram of a gilt-bronze saddle from the Cheongma-chong tomb. (Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon no Sekai," 561)

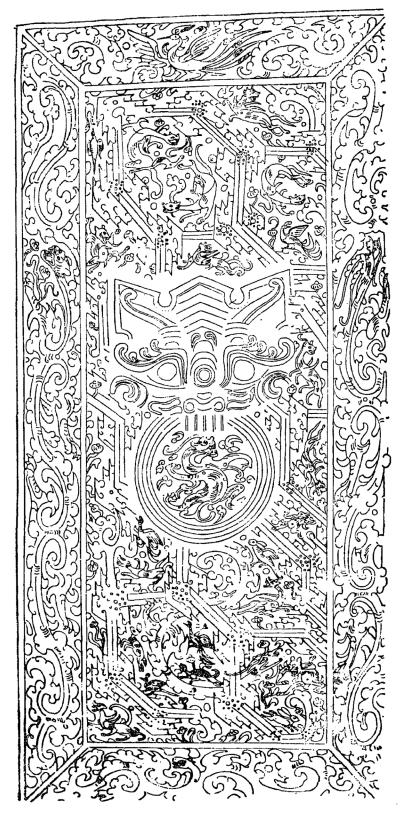


Figure 256. Drawing of design from the stone doorway of a side chamber at Dahuting Tomb no. 2. (Bradford, 813)

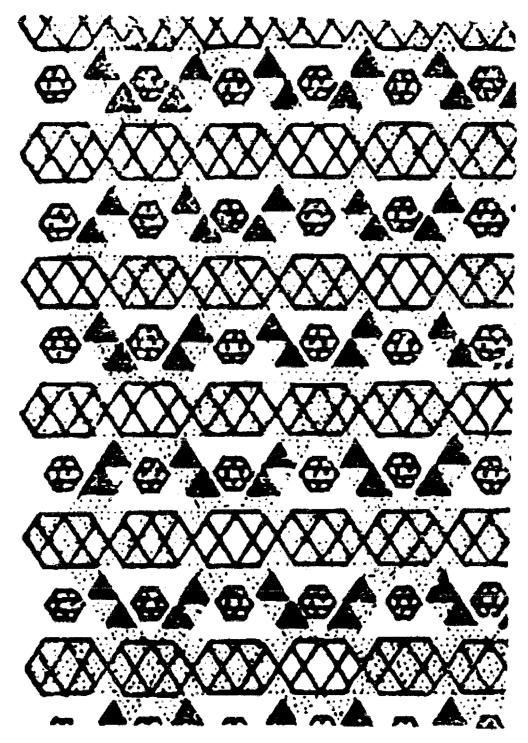


Figure 257. Drawing of a woven fabric design from the Warring States Chu Tomb of Mashan. (Bradford, 352)



Figure 258. Celestial map on the ceiling of a Western Han tomb at Xi'an Transportation University. (Wu, *The Art of Yellow Springs*, 49)

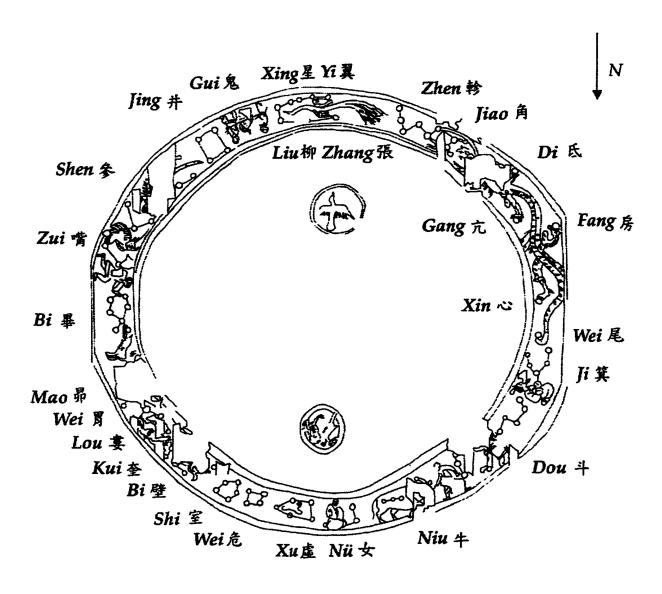


Figure 259. Diagram of the star chart on the ceiling of the tomb at Xi'an Transportation University. (Tseng, 202)

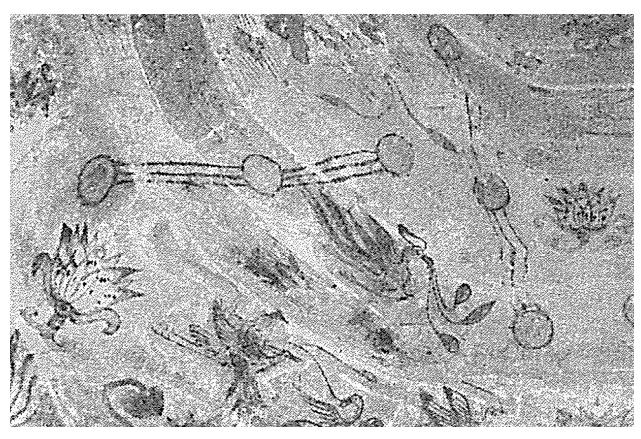


Figure 260. Detail, ceiling mural. Fifth century. Pigments on plaster. Muyong-chong tomb. Koguryo kingdom. Ji'an City, Jilin Province, China. (Uehara, 92)



Figure 261. Detail, wall painting. Early sixth century. Pigments on stone. Chibusan Kofun. Yamagashi, Kumamoto Prefecture. (Kumamoto Kenritsu Sōshoku Kofun Kan, ed., *Yomi no kuni no irodori: jōsetsu tenji zuroku* (Yamaga, Kumamoto: Kumamoto Kenritsu Sōshoku Kofun Kan, 2009), 17)

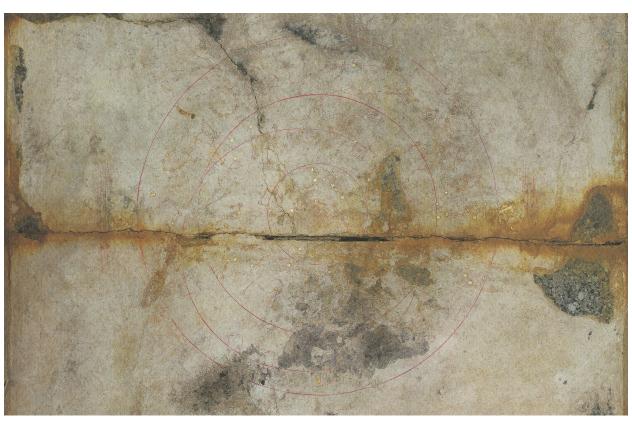


Figure 262. Star map. Eighth century. Pigment and gold leaf on plaster. Kitora Kofun. Asuka-mura, Nara Prefecture. (Asuka Shiryōkan, *Kitora Kofun hekiga hakken 30 shūnen kinen: Byakko Genbu Suzaku Seiryō* (Asuka-mura: Asuka Shiryōkan, 2010), 14)

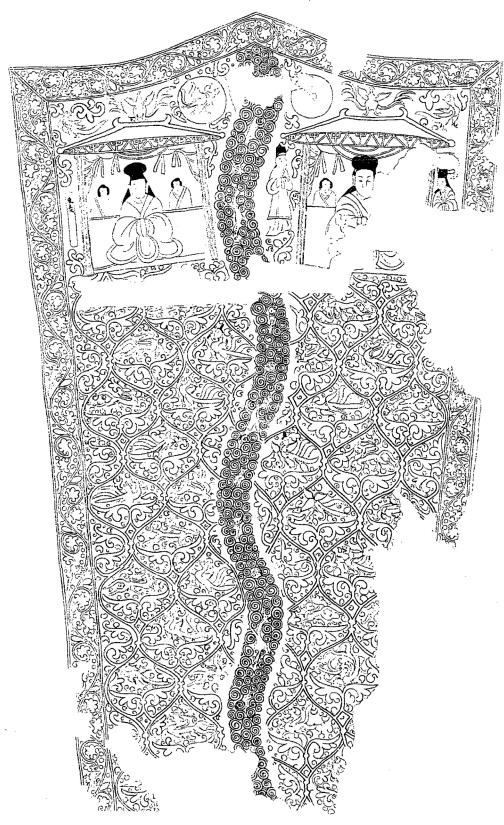


Figure 263. Drawing of the lid of the Guyuan Sarcophagus. (Bradford, 295)

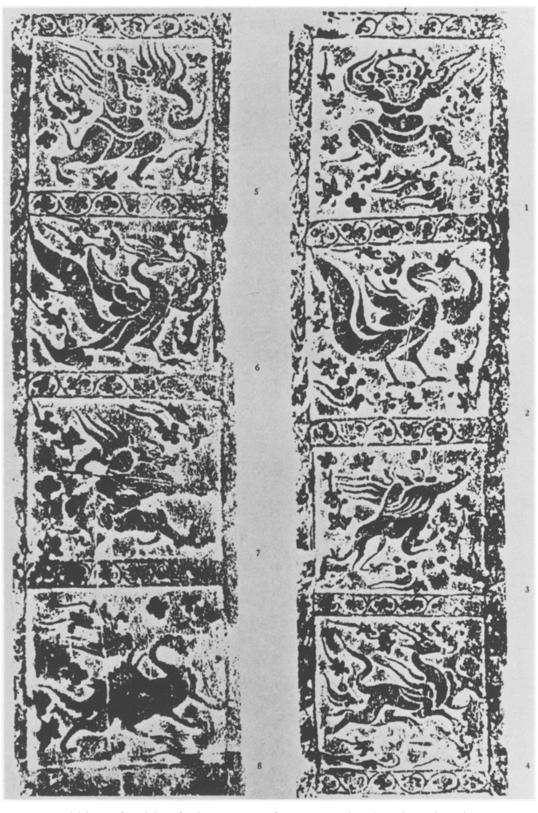


Figure 264. Rubbing of a side of Xiao Hong's funerary stele. (Bush, "Thunder Monsters and Wind Spirits," 42)

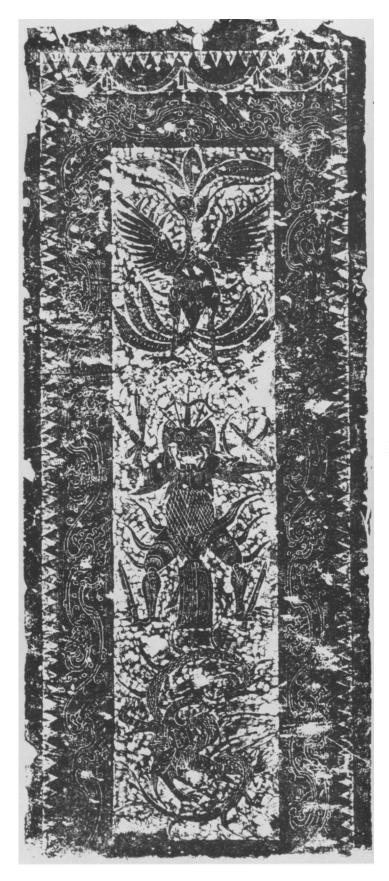


Figure 265. Rubbing of a tomb pillar relief at I-nan depicting *Chiyou* (center). (Chaves, 14)



Figure 266. Rubbing of the upper section of the rear of Xiao Hong's stele. (Bush, "Thunder Monsters and Wind Spirits," 43)

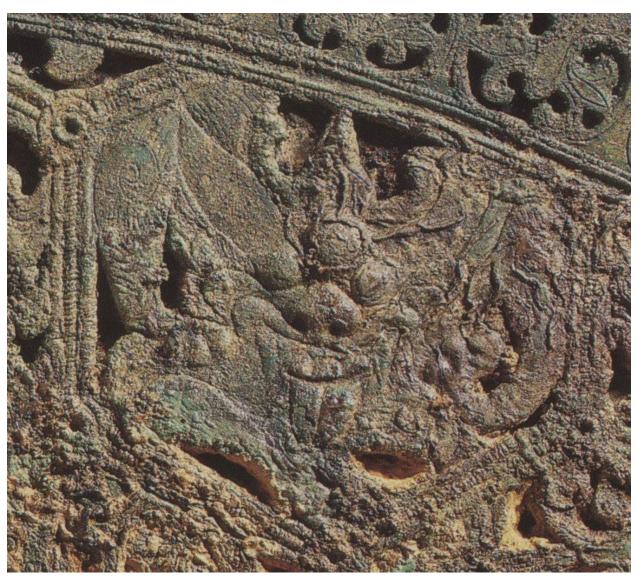


Figure 267. Detail, ogre mask from the right side of the set A cantle umi. (IFK 1, pl. 11-28)



Figure 268. Replica of painting from the Deng Xian tomb's entrance. (Juliano, fig. 56)



Figure 269. Detail, wall mural depicting an ogre mask. Fourth century. Pigments on plaster. Anak Tomb no. 3. Koguryo kingdom. Anak, South Hwanghae Province, North Korea. (Lee Junghee, "The Evolution of Koguryo Tomb Murals," *Korean Culture* 3, no. 2 (1992): 13)

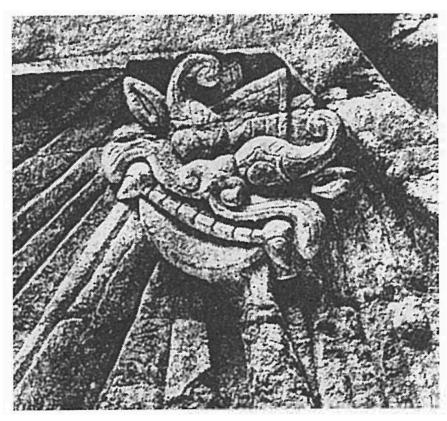


Figure 270. Ogre mask relief. Fifth century. Stone. Yungang Grottoes, Cave 6. Shanxi Province, China. (Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru, 397)



Figure 271. Detail, dragon from the right side of the set A saddlebow *umi*. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 33)

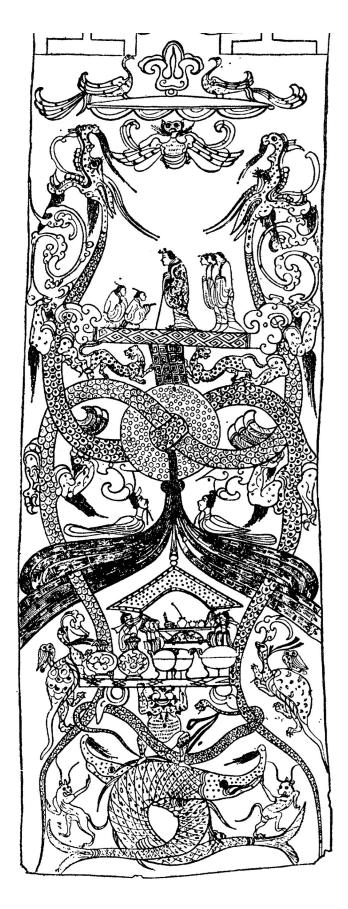


Figure 272. Diagram of the lower section of the spirit banner from Mawangdui Tomb no. 1. (Buck, 38)



Figure 273. Tile with Blue Dragon of the East motif. Fifth-sixth century. Ceramic. Deng Xian tomb. Henan Province, China. (Juliano, fig. 22)

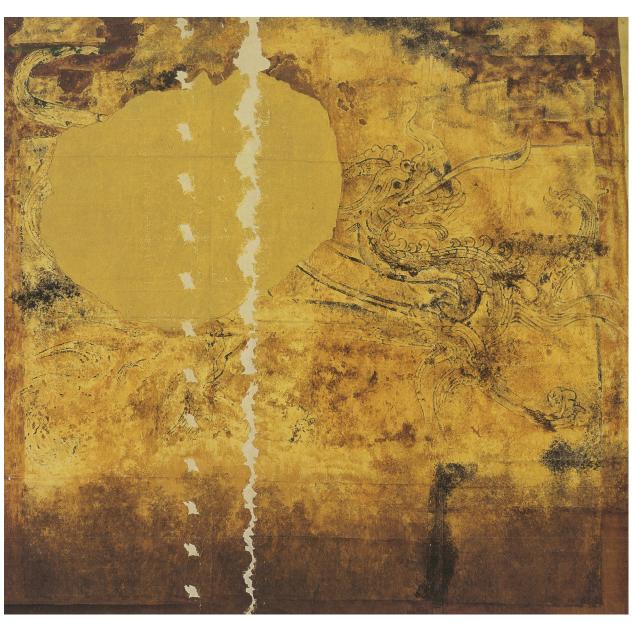


Figure 274. Replica of a painted Blue Dragon motif from wall murals at Ssangyeong-chong. National Museum of Korea. (National Museum of Korea, *Goguryeo Tomb Murals: Replicas in the National Museum of Korea*, 96)



Figure 275. Wall mural depicting the Blue Dragon of the East. Sixth century. Pigments on plaster. Jinpa-ri tomb no. 1. Pyongyang, Korea. (National Museum of Korea, *Goguryeo Tomb Murals: Replicas in the National Museum of Korea*, 173)

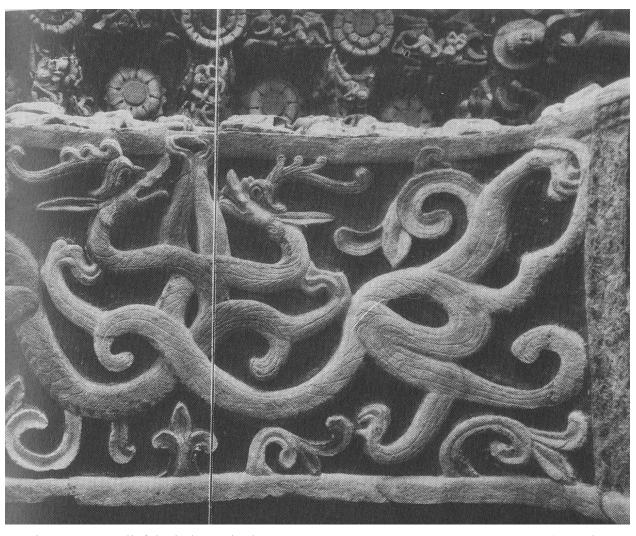


Figure 276. Relief depicting twin dragons. Stone. Yungang Grottoes, Cave 12. (Katsube, "Monyō no sekai," 90)



Figure 277. Tile with Red Bird of the South motif. Fifth-sixth century. Ceramic. Deng Xian tomb. (Juliano, fig. 16)



Figure 278. Detail, motif of a firebird from a wall mural. Pigments on plaster. Fifth century. Ssangyeong-chong tomb. Koguryo kingdom. Southern Pyongan Province, North Korea. (Jung, Shin, and Kim, 201)

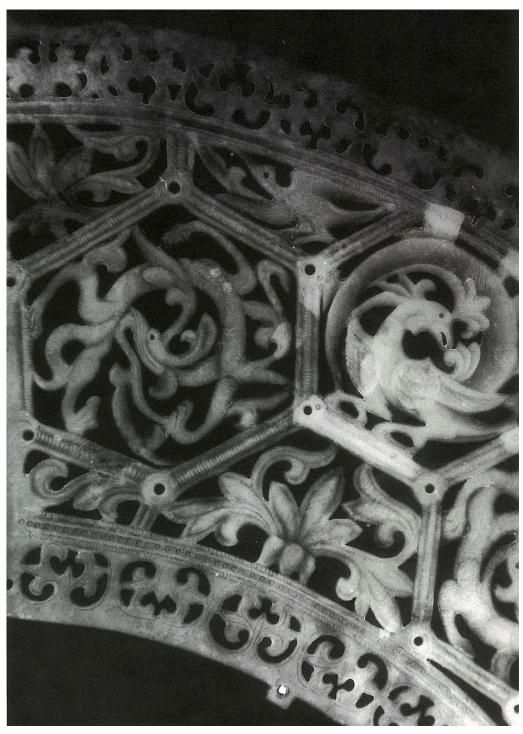


Figure 279. X-ray photograph of right side of the set A saddlebow *umi* with motif of a flying bird (center, top). (Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Fujinoki Kofun: Kodai no bunka kōryū o saguru*, 24)

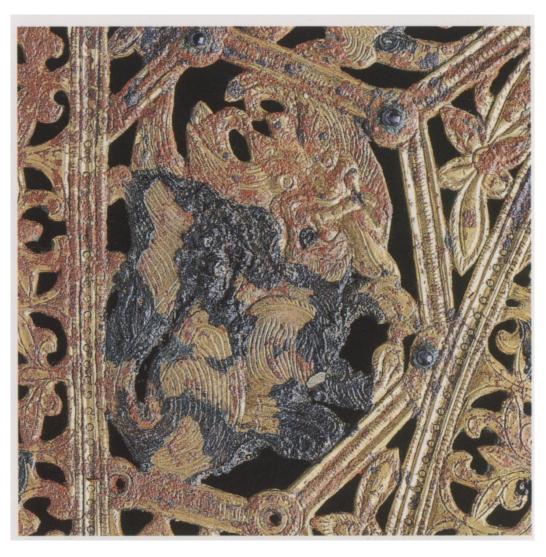


Figure 280. Detail, lion from left side of the set A saddlebow *umi*. (Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo Fuzoku Hakubutsukan, *Kin no kagayaki*, 33)



Figure 281. *Bixie*. Sixth century. Stone. Tomb of Xiao Xiu. Liang Dynasty. Nanjing, China. (Paludan, 57)

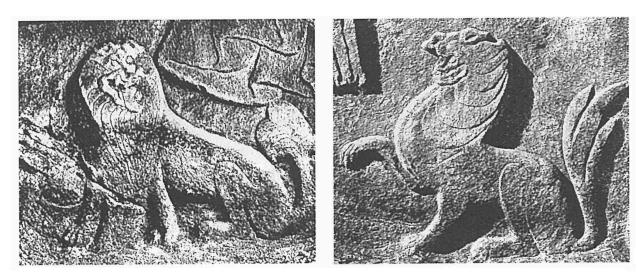


Figure 282. Lion reliefs. Stone. Longmen Grottoes. Henan Province, China. (Katsube and Suzuki, "Fujinoki Kofun shutsudo bagu no genryū o tadoru," 397)

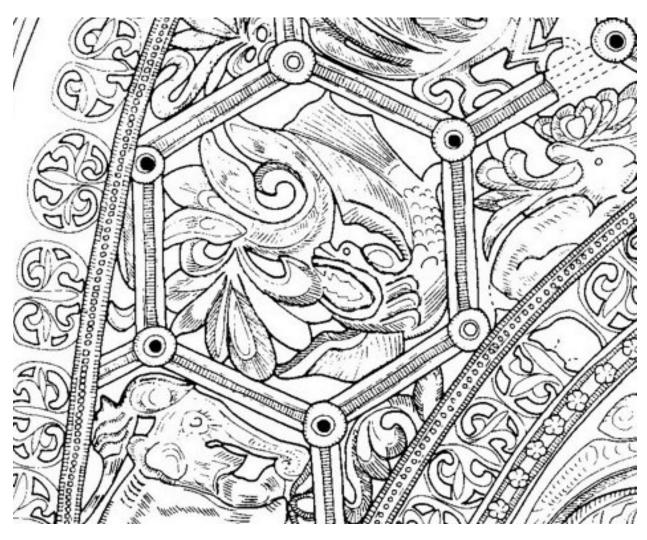


Figure 283. Diagram of the set A cantle *umi* (left) detailing the fish motif. (Katsube, "Kikkōtsunagimon," 437)

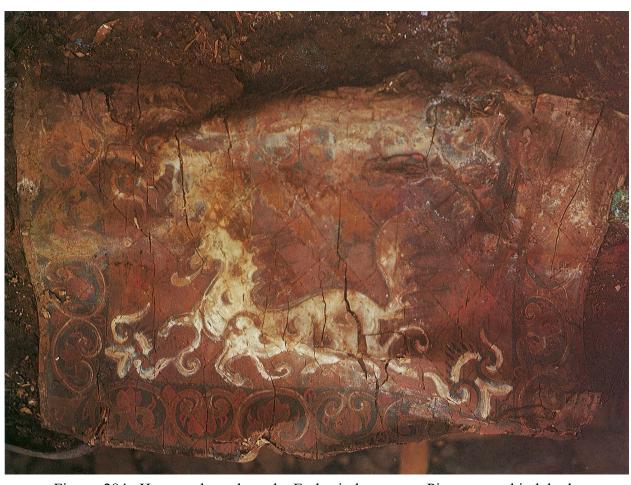


Figure. 284. Horse tack mudguard. Early sixth century. Pigments on birch bark. Cheongma-chong tomb. Silla kingdom. Gyeongju, Korea. (Republic of Korea Ministry of Culture and Information Cultural Property Preservation Bureau, pl. 18)

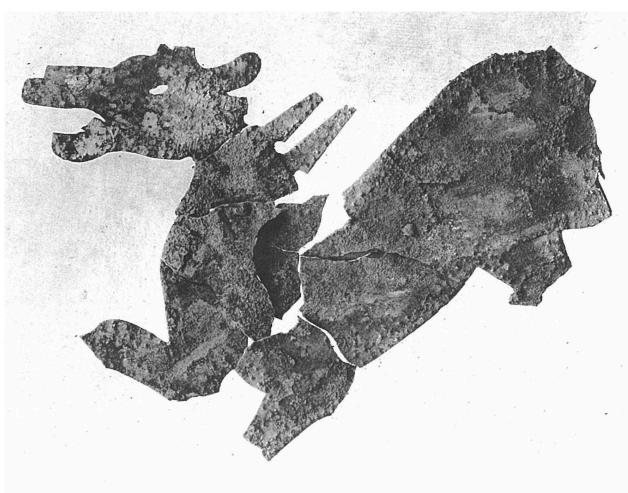


Figure 285. Horse-shaped decoration from a mudguard frame. Sixth century. Gilt-bronze. Geumryeong-chong tomb. Silla kingdom. Gyeongju, Korea. (Umehara Sueji, pl. 132)

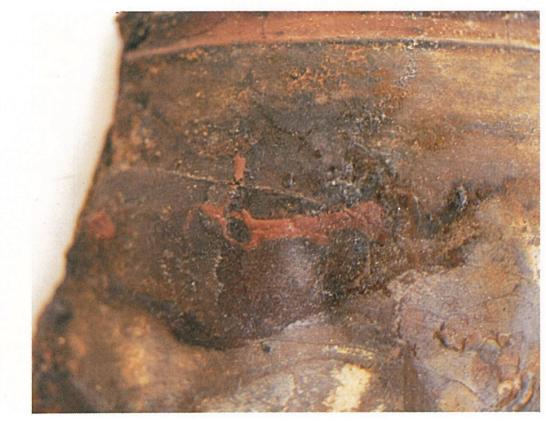


Figure 286. Detail, horse motif painted on a lacquer bowl. Late fifth century. Pigments on lacquer. Hwangnam-Daechong tomb southern mound. (Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 1:119)

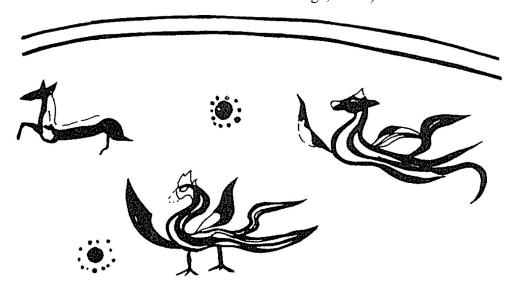


Figure 287. Diagram of painted motifs on the lacquer bowl from the southern Hwangnam-Daechong tomb. (Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 1:121)



Figure 288. Detail, silver inlay horse motif on a sword blade. Fifth-sixth century. Iron with silver inlay. Eta-Funayama Kofun. Tokyo National Museum. (National Institutes for Cultural Heritage, "Objects from the Eta Funayama Tumulus," e-Museum: National Treasures & Important Cultural Properties of National Museums, Japan, accessed March 22, 2016, http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100199)



Figure 289. Wall painting. Sixth century. Pigments on stone. Takehara Kofun. Miyawakashi, Fukuoka Prefecture. (Suezaki, 109)



Figure 290. Han Dynasty tomb tile depicting a winged horse. (Naumann. Fig. 13.b)

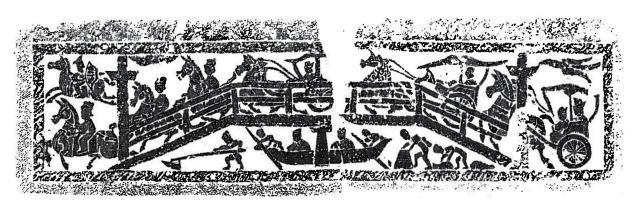


Figure 291. Rubbing of a stone relief carving at the Cangshan tomb depicting a funerary procession. (Wu, "Art in Ritual Context," 160)

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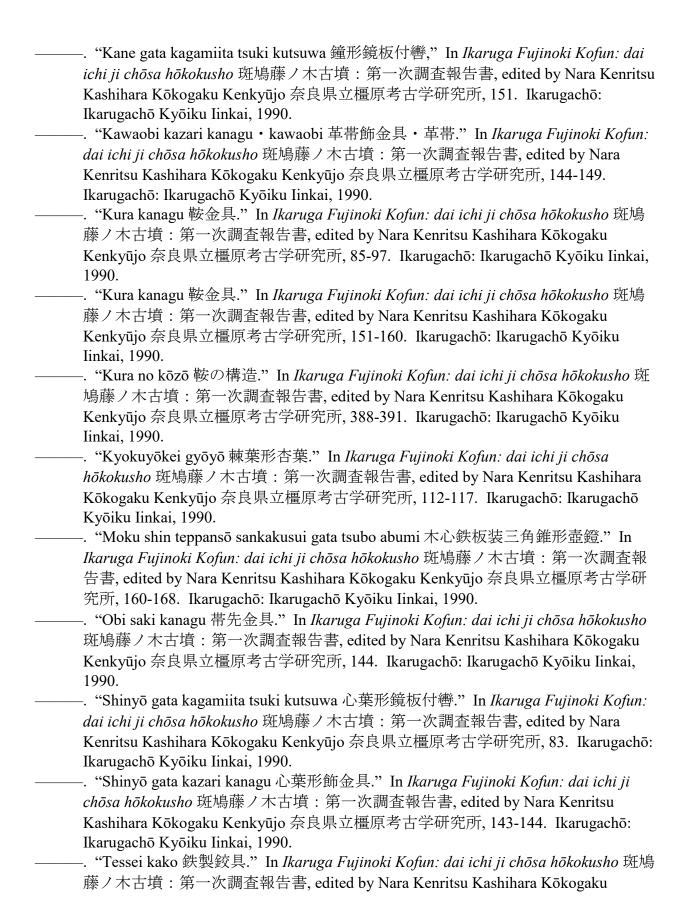
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Glossary of Japanese Terminology

明日香村 Asuka-mura Asuka-mura, Nara Prefecture 平群町 Hegurichō Hegurichō, Nara Prefecture 平群谷 Heguritani Heguri Valley, Nara Prefecture 斑鳩町 Ikarugachō, Nara Prefecture Ikarugachō 生駒山脈 Ikoma-sanmyaku Ikoma Mountain Range Kōryōchō 広陵町 Kōryōchō, Nara Prefecture Nara Bonchi 奈良盆地 Nara Basin, Nara Prefecture

Tatsutagawa 竜田川 Tatsuta River

馬見丘陵 Umamikyūryō Umami Hill, Nara Prefecture 矢田丘陵 Yata Hill, Nara Prefecture Yatakyūryō

Sites

Ekoda-Kikanzuka Kofun

Ikaruga-Ōtsuka Kofun

Akabori-Chausuyama Kofun 赤堀茶臼山古墳 Akabori-Chausuyama Kofun,

Gunma Prefecture

Akasaka-Tennōzan Kofun 赤坂天王山古墳 Akasaka-Tennōzan Kofun, Nara

Prefecture

安土瓢箪山古墳 Azuchi-Hyōtanyama Kofun Azuchi-Hyōtanyama Kofun, Shiga

Prefecture

牧野古墳 Bakuya Kofun, Nara Prefecture Bakuya Kofun Chibusan Kofun

チブサン古墳 Chibusan Kofun, Kumamoto

Prefecture

江子田金環塚古墳 Ekoda-Kikanzuka Kofun, Chiba

Prefecture

江田船山古墳 Eta-Funayama Kofun, Kumamoto Eta-Funayama Kofun

Prefecture

藤ノ木古墳 Fujinoki Kofun, Nara Prefecture Fujinoki Kofun 舟塚古墳 Funazuka Kofun Funazuka Kofun, Ibaraki Prefecture Heguri Kofungun 平群古墳群 Heguri Kofun group, Nara Prefecture 法隆寺 Hōryūji Temple, Nara Prefecture Hōryūji 宝積寺 Hōshakuji Hōshakuji Temple, Nara Prefecture Hoshizuka Kofun 星塚古墳 Hoshizuka Kofun, Nara Prefecture

> 斑鳩大塚古墳 Ikaruga-Ōtsuka Kofun, Nara

> > Prefecture

Ishibutai Kofun 石舞台古墳 Ishibutai Kofun, Nara Prefecture

Iwasesenzuka Kofungun 岩橋千塚古墳群 Iwasesenzuka Kofun group,

Wakayama Prefecture

Iwatoyama Kofun 岩戸山古墳 Iwatoyama Kofun, Fukuoka

Prefecture

鴨稲荷山古墳 Kamo-Inariyama Kofun, Shiga Kamo-Inariyama Kofun

Prefecture

Kawai-Ōtsukayama Kofun	川合大塚山古墳	Kawai-Ōtsukayama Kofun, Nara Prefecture
Kazusa-Kinreizuka Kofun	上総金鈴塚古墳	Kazusa-Kinreizuka Kofun, Chiba Prefecture
Kitora Kofun	キトラ古墳	Kitora Kofun, Nara Prefecture
Konda-Hachiman Jinja	誉田八幡神社	Konda-Hachiman Shrine, Osaka
Š		Prefecture
Konda-Maruyama Kofun	誉田丸山古墳	Konda-Maruyama Kofun, Osaka Prefecture
Konoshita Kofun	木下古墳	Konoshita Kofun, Mie Prefecture
Kunigoshi Kofun	国越古墳	Kunigoshi Kofun, Kumamoto
		Prefecture
Kuwanoyama-Tōnoo Kofun	桑山塔ノ尾古墳	Kuwanoyama-Tonoo Kofun,
•		Yamaguchi Prefecture
Marukoyama Kofun	マルコ山古墳	Marukoyama Kofun, Nara Prefecture
Misato Kofun	三里古墳	Misato Kofun, Nara Prefecture
Mise-Maruyama Kofun	見瀬丸山古墳	Mise-Maruyama Kofun, Nara
		Prefecture
Miyajidake Kofun	宮地嶽古墳	Miyajidake Kofun, Fukuoka
		Prefecture
Miyayama Kofun	宮山古墳	Miyayama Kofun, Hyōgo Prefecture
Mochida 1 gōfun	持田1号墳	Mochida tomb no. 1, Miyazaki
	live to to take	Prefecture
Nikiyama Kofun	新木山古墳	Nikiyama Kofun, Nara Prefecture
Okinoshima 21 gō iseki	沖の島21号遺跡	Okinoshima site no. 21, Fukuoka
=		Prefecture
Ōmori kaizuka	大森貝塚	Ōmori shell midden, Tokyo
Ōtani Kofun	大谷古墳	Ōtani Kofun, Wakayama Prefecture
Sainenji	西念寺	Sainenji Temple, Nara Prefecture
Saitobaru Kofungun	西都原古墳群	Saitobaru Kofun group, Miyazaki prefecture
Sakitama-Inariyama Kofun	埼玉稲荷山古墳	Sakitama-Inariyama Kofun, Saitama
		Prefecture
Sannai-Maruyama iseki	三内丸山遺跡	Sannai-Maruyama site, Aomori
		Prefecture
Sasabara Kofun	篠原古墳	Sasabara Kofun, Aichi Prefecture
Shinyama Kofun	新山古墳	Shinyama Kofun, Nara Prefecture
Shōsōin	正倉院	Tōdaiji Temple's Shōsōin treasure storehouse, Nara Prefecture
Sōgenji	宗源寺	Sōgenji Temple, Nara Prefecture
Takamatsuzuka Kofun	高松塚古墳	Takamatsuzuka Kofun, Nara
		Prefecture

高崎2号墳 Takasaki 2 gōfun Takasaki tomb no. 2, Fukuoka Prefecture Takehara Kofun 竹原古墳 Takehara Kofun, Fukuoka Prefecture 珠城山1号墳 Tamakiyama 1 gōfun Tamakiyama tomb no. 1, Nara Prefecture Tamakiyama 3 gōfun 珠城山3号墳 Tamakiyama tomb no. 3, Nara Prefecture 竜田御坊山古墳群 Tatsuta-Gobōyama Kofungun Tatsuta-Gobōyama Kofun group, Nara Prefecture 東大寺 Tōdaiji Temple, Nara Prefecture Tōdaiji 登呂遺跡 Toro site, Shizuoka Prefecture Toro iseki 塚廻り古墳群 Tsukamawari Kofungun Tsukamawari Kofun group, Gunma Prefecture Tsukayama Kofun 塚山古墳 Tsukayama Kofun, Nara Prefecture Tsukinowa Kofun 月の輪古墳 Tsukinowa Kofun, Okayama Prefecture 鳥土塚古墳 Udozuka Kofun Udozuka Kofun, Nara Prefecture 馬見古墳群 Umami Kofun group, Nara Umami Kofungun Prefecture 山ノ坊古墳 Yama no Bō Kofun Yama no Bō Kofun, Miyazaki Prefecture Yamato-Tenjin'yama Kofun 大和天神山古墳 Yamato-Tenjin'yama Kofun, Nara Prefecture Yoshinogari iseki 吉野ケ里遺跡 Yoshinogari site, Saga Prefecture **Tomb Architecture and Features** 円墳 enfiin circular tomb fukiishi 葺石 small paving stones placed on the exterior surface of tumuli 玄室 burial chamber genshitsu 片袖式石室 katasodeshiki sekishitsu stone burial chamber with one wall of the chamber set in line with the wall of the corridor kofun 古墳 mounded tomb 無袖式石室 naisodeshiki sekishitsu stone burial chamber design where there is no distinction between the walls of the chamber and preceding corridor 両袖式石室 stone burial chamber where both ryōsodeshiki sekishitsu lateral walls are set wider than the preceding corridor

tumulus leading to the burial

chamber

tateanashiki sekishitsu 竪穴式石室 pit-shaft stone burial chamber yokoanashiki sekishitsu 横穴式石室 side-entrance stone burial chamber

zenpōkōenfun 前方後円墳 keyhole-shaped tomb

Artifacts

armor

dōmaru shiki keikō 胴丸式挂甲 tunic-style lamellar armor hiza yoroi 膝甲 armored knee guards

kozane /小札 lamellar armor platelets (lamellae)

shikoro yoroi 錣甲 plates of neck armor shinogote 篠籠手 shinogote-style gauntlets

tankō 短甲 cuirass

beads

kushinashidama 梔子玉 gardenia seed-shaped bead

magatama勾玉coma-shaped beadmiwadama三輪玉three-ringed beadnatsumedama棗玉barrel-shaped bead

sorobandama 算盤玉 bead in the shape of an abacus bead

ceramic vessels

daitsuki tsubo 台付壺 pedestaled jar gaki 瓦器 Ga-ware

kame 甕 pot kidai 器台 jar stand

komochidoki 子持土器 vessel with numerous small bowls

mounted on a pedestaled base

sueki須恵器Sue-waretakatsuki高坏pedestaled dishtankei tsubo短頸壺short necked jartōmyō zara灯明皿lamp dish

haniwa 埴輪 ceramic statues arranged at kofun

朝顔形埴輪 haniwa shaped with a flaring mouth; asagaogata haniwa morning-glory shaped dōbutsu haniwa 動物埴輪 animal-shaped haniwa entō haniwa 円筒埴輪 cylindrical haniwa 家形埴輪 iegata haniwa house-shaped haniwa 人物埴輪 human-shaped haniwa jinbutsu haniwa 盾形埴輪 tategata haniwa shield-shaped haniwa 鞆形埴輪 wrist guard-shaped haniwa tomogata haniwa yoroigata haniwa 甲形埴輪 armor-shaped haniwa 靭形埴輪 yukigata haniwa quiver-shaped haniwa horse tack 障泥 aori mudguard 馬面 frontlet bamen 覆輪 fukurin saddle flange 杏葉 harness pendant gyōyō 銜 mouthpiece (bridle) hami 引手 hitte rein connector 歩揺付尻繋飾金具 pinwheel crupper ornament hoyō tsuki shirigai kazari kanagu igi 居木 saddle seat boards 磯 saddle lower arc iso kagamiita 鏡板 cheekplate (bridle) 鐘形杏葉 kane gata gyōyō bell-shaped pendant 金銅製馬具 kondōsei bagu gilt-bronze horse tack 棘葉形杏葉 kyokuyōkei gyōyō thorny leaf-shaped pendant maewa 前輪 saddlebow ryūmon kazari kanagu 竜文飾金具 dragon motif ornament 三角錐形壺鐙 sankakusui gata tsubo abumi triangular cup stirrup 後輪 shizuwa cantle 立間 tachigiki headstall tetsuji kondō bari bagu 鉄地金銅張馬具 iron horse tack with affixed gilt-bronze tsubo abumi 壺鐙 cup stirrup 计金具 tsuji kanagu strap divider 海 saddle upper arc umi 雲珠 uzu crupper boss 鰐口/州浜 curved indentation/arch along the waniguchi/suhama bottom edge of a saddlebow or cantle kaben gata kazari kanagu 花弁形飾金具 petal-shaped decorative fitting kakefu 掛布 cloth covering 剣菱形飾金具 sword-tip motif pendant kenbishigata kazari kanagu 鼓胴 waist drum kodō 金銅製筒形品 kondōsei tsutsugata hin gilt-bronze cylindrical artifact

家形石棺 iegata sekkan house-shaped sarcophagus

mirrors

bōsei gamontai butsujūkyō 仿製画紋帯仏獣鏡 imitation Buddha and beasts mirror

with image band

仿製神獣鏡 bōsei shinjūkyō imitation deity and beast mirror

gamontai 画紋帯 outer relief band

画紋帯四神四獣鏡 gamontai shishin shijūkyō four-deities four-beasts mirror

獣帯鏡 beast-band mirror jūtaikyō

環状乳画紋帯神獣鏡 kanjōnyū gamontai shinjūkyō

> deity and beast mirror with ringshaped nipples and image band

mirror with four beasts

shijūkeikyō 四獣形鏡 縄掛突起 nawagake tokki lugs on a sarcophagus

盛矢具 arrowcase seishigu

sekiba 石馬 stone horse statue

垂飾金具 suishoku kanagu hanging pendant ornament

swords and knives

魚佩 gyohai fish ornament 勾金 magarigane handguard 鍔 tsuba sword guard

玉鬘 tamakatsura "bead wig" headdress

tools

鎌 sickle kama ミニチュア農工具/雛形品 minichua nōkōgu/hinagatahin

miniature tool

鑿 chisel nomi 斧 ono axe 鋤 suki spade 刀子 knife tōsu

鉇 yariganna spearhead-shaped planning tool

鏃 arrowhead yajiri

Motifs and Manufacturing Techniques

Byakko 白虎 White Tiger of the West chokkomon 直弧文 line and arc pattern

玄武 Genbu Black Tortoise of the North

飛雲文 hiunmon flowing cloud motif

鳳凰 firebird hōō 方相氏 hōsōshi exorcist

怪魚 kaigyo monstrous fish karakusamon 唐草文 arabesque

keribori 蹴彫 keribori engraving kikkōtsunagimon 亀甲繋文 tortoise shell motif

kimen 鬼面 ogre mask kishin 鬼神 ogre

tenba 天馬 heavenly horse

Organizations

Bunkachō文化庁Agency for Cultural AffairsBunkazai Hogo Iinkai文化財保護委員会Committee for the Protection of

Cultural Properties

Ikaruga Bunkazai Sentā斑鳩文化財センターIkaruga Cultural Heritage CenterIkarugachō Kyōiku Iinkai斑鳩町教育委員会Ikarugachō Board of EducationKunaichō宮内庁Imperial Household Agency

Kunaishō宮内省Ministry of the Imperial Householdmaizō bunkazai sentā埋蔵文化財センターburied cultural property center

Monbushō 文部省 Ministry of Education

Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 奈良文化財研究所 Nara National Research Institute for

Cultural Properties (Nabunken)

Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo Maizō Bunkazai Sentā

奈良文化財研究所埋蔵文化財センター

Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties Center for Archaeological Operations

Nara Kenritsu Kashihara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo

奈良県立橿原考古学研究所

Archaeological Institute of Kashihara, Nara Prefecture

(Kashikōken)

Laws and Official Designations

Bunkazai hogohō 文化財保護法 Law for the Protection of Cultural

Properties

kokuhō 国宝 National Treasure

Kokuhō hozonhō 国宝保存法 National Treasures Preservation Law

Jūyō bijyutsuhintō no hozon ni kansuru hōritsu

重要美術品等ノ保存ニ関スル法律

Law Regarding the Preservation of

Important Works of Fine Arts

jūyō bunkazai 重要文化財 Important Cultural Property

maizō bunkazai 埋蔵文化財 Buried Cultural Property mukei bunkazai 無形文化財 Intangible Cultural Property

shiseki 史跡 Historic Site

shiseki meishō tennen kinen butsu 史跡名勝天然記念物 Historic Sites, Places of Scenic

Beauty, and Natural Monuments

Shiseki meishō tennen kinen butsu hozonhō

史跡名勝天然記念物保存法

Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments

Preservation Law

yūkei bunkazai 有形文化財 Tangible Cultural Property

Historic Figures

Heguri uji 平群氏 Heguri clan

Kashiwade no Hasubi 膳臣巴提便

Ki uji 紀氏 Ki clan

Mononobe uji 物部氏 Mononobe clan

Mononobe no Okoshi 物部尾興

Nukatabe uji額田部氏Nukatabe clanSoga uji蘇我氏Soga clanShōtoku taishi聖徳太子Prince Shōtoku

Soga no Iname 蘇我稲目

Other terms:

Dainichidō 大日堂 Buddhist hall for the worship

of Mahavairocana (jp. Dainichi)

Buddha

Dairishiki 内裏式 text compiled in 821 outlining the

annual ceremonies of the Heian

imperial palace

Engishiki 延喜式 tenth-century text describing laws

and customs in Japan

gakujutsu chōsa 学術調査 academic excavation

goma 護摩 Buddhist burnt offering ritual gomadō 護摩堂 building used for conducting

Buddhist burnt offering rituals

gomagi 護摩木 firewood used in *goma* rituals

Hozon undō保存運動Preservation Movementireisai慰霊祭rite for the pacification of a

deceased's spirit

kiroku hozon 記録保存 preservation through excavation

report

kōji ni tomonau hakkutsu chōsa 工事に伴う発掘調査 rescue excavation conducted prior to

construction work

Kojiki 古事記 text compiled in 712 recording

Japan's ancient history

kōkogaku būmu 考古学ブーム archaeology boom

Kokuminteki rekishigaku undō 国民的歷史学運動 People's History Movement Kurahashi no Oka no Misasagi 倉梯岡陵 Name for the grave of Emperor

Sushun provided in the *Chronicles of*

Japan.

mizura 美豆良 hairstyle with hair gathered into side

clumps or forelocks

repair of a building

Nihon Shoki 日本書紀 text compiled in 720 recording

Japan's ancient history

Nihonjinron 日本人論 genre of discourse focused on

the unique characteristics of Japanese culture and society

sange散華ritual practice of scattering flowersTamamaki no Tachi玉纏大刀Beaded sword held at Ise Shrine

Tatsutajinja urayama takuchizōsei 竜田神社裏山宅地造成

Tatsutajinja urayama housing

development

Zenkoku sōgōkaihatsu keikaku 全国総合開発計画 Comprehensive National

Development Plan

Appendix A

Historical Documents Referencing Fujinoki Kofun and Hōshakuji⁶⁰⁰

1. Denchi shobunjō 田地処分状 (1160)

Documentation for the transfer of agricultural land from Hōryūji's holdings to an outside individual. This document notes that the rice paddy is located to the west of Hōryūji and that the temple Hōshakuji is positioned in a corner of the property. The new owner is required to cooperate with Hōryūji monks in the maintenance of Hōshakuji and facilitation of the temple's activities, and is warned that failure to comply will result in the land being reclaimed.

2. Hōryūji terabe kenbata chūshinjō no koto 法隆寺寺辺検畠注進帳事 (1265)

Survives as a transcription from the original, recorded within the *Hōryūji denbata haien nikki* 法 隆寺田畠配宛日記 (1347). This document identifies a parcel of agricultural land owned by Hōryūji. It indicates that within this holding is a tomb (*misasaki* ミササキ), adjacent to which a temple hall had previously been constructed.

3. Kagenki 嘉元記 (1364)

This document records events at Hōryūji and in the surrounding region from 1305-1364. In the entry dated to the fifth month and twenty-ninth day of the third year of Jōwa (1347), it states that a memorial service was held at the "tomb hall 陵堂" located in Nishisato. This building has been interpreted as a reference to Hōshakuji.

4. Hōryūji Nishisato Misasakiyama Hōshakuji hondō munefuda 法隆寺西里陵山宝積寺本堂棟札 (1418)

Based on a surviving transcription of the original work, this *munefuda* plaque records the renovation and rethatching of the roof of Hōshakuji's main hall, completed on the twenty-sixth day of the first month of Ouei 25 (1418). This plaque identifies the hall as a Dainichidō, suggesting Hōshakuji to have been dedicated to the worship of Vairocana Buddha.

5. Jiryō tansen honchō 寺領段銭本帳 (1523)

This document details the land holdings of Hōryūji. It references a tomb, likely Fujinoki, located to the northwest, and it indicates that a road, called the "Misasagimichi 陵道," led east from the tumulus.

6. Hōryūji Nishisato Misasakiyama Hōshakuji hondō munefuda 法隆寺西里陵山宝積寺本堂棟札 (1623)

A surviving transcription of a *munefuda* from the eight month and sixth day of Genwa 9 (1623) documenting the completion of restoration work at Hōshakuji.

⁶⁰⁰ This information is derived from the reproductions and summaries of historical documents provided in Takada, 87-89, 191-201; Maezono, "Bunken ni mieru Fujinoki Kofun," 1:254-260.

7. Jochi no oboe 除地之覚 (1679)

This document records that, during a land survey conducted in 1595, Fujinoki Kofun (referred to as Misasakiyama 陵山) was confirmed to be the tomb of Emperor Sushun and was thus exempt from taxation.

8. Chōchū manroku 廳中漫録 (1697)

An excerpt from the text the Sanryō kiroku 山陵記録, authored by Edo period magistrate Tamui Sadatoki. It claims that the grave of Emperor Sushun is located in close proximity to Hōryūji.

9. Hōshakuji yuzurijō no koto 宝積寺譲り状の事 (1705)

A record for the transfer of Hōshakuji to the jurisdiction of Hōryūji's sub-temple, Sōgenji. The work makes specific reference to the Hōshakuji Dainichidō, stated to be located adjacent to the Misasakiyama tomb.

10. Jimu hikitsuke 寺務引付 (1706)

A record of the activities of Sōgenji created the year following the transfer of Hōshakuji's ownership. The Sōgenji abbot, in an entry regarding maintenance work conducted at Hōshakuji, attributes the Misasakiyama tomb to an unnamed high-ranking woman.

11. Yamato no kuni Hōryūji daigaran zu 大和国法隆寺大伽藍図 (Edo period)

A map of the Hōryūji monastic compound and the surrounding region. To the west of the temple a *kofun* tomb is marked, accompanied by a cartouche labeling the site "misasaki."

12. Hōshakuji keidai zu 宝積寺境内図 (1709)

A map of the Hōshakuji compound. This work places Hōshakuji along the southern side of the Misasakiyama tomb, which it further identifies as the grave of Emperor Sushun.

13. Sōgenji kakochō 宗源寺過去帳 (1854)

A death register from Sōgenji temple. It states that on the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Ansei (1854), the thirty-one year old nun caretaker of Hōshakuji died in a fire at the temple.

14. Junryō kiji 巡陵記事 (1856)

Created by scholar Tomobayashi Mitsuhira recording his research of tombs located in Yamato and Kawachi. This document states that a small tumulus known simply as misasaki is located to the west of Hōryūji, in Nishisato village. A small hermitage, the "Misasaki no an," had previously been constructed adjacent to the site, but was destroyed in a fire. Tomobayashi further notes that although the tomb had originally been "fish-shaped," the destruction of the hermitage and subsequent transformation of the land into rice paddies had altered the tumulus to its current circular form.

15. Igasa no shizuku 藺笠のしづく(1857)

A record by scholar Tanimori Yoshio based on his studies of *kofun*. It indicates that a round tomb named Mishiyasaki $\stackrel{>}{\sim} \stackrel{>}{\sim} \stackrel{+}{\rightarrow} \stackrel{+}{\rightarrow}$ is located among the rice paddies to the west of Hōryūji and that it serves as the grave of an unknown emperor.

16. Hōryūjimura no zu 法隆寺村の図 (ca. 1872-1876)

Map of the area surrounding Hōryūji. Fujinoki, identified as Misasakiyama, is included, and is labeled as un-taxable land, an indication that the site had reverted to governmental ownership following the destruction of Hōshakuji.

17. Sushun tennō gobyō zu 崇峻天皇御廟図 (1872)

A drawn map of Fujinoki (Misasaki) that is near identical to the earlier 1709 diagram of the site. The tomb is again attributed to Emperor Sushun, but diverges from the earlier work by labeling the Hōshakuji compound as no longer extant and indicating that the site is now government owned land.

18) Yamato no kuni kofunbo torishirabesho 大和国古墳墓取調書 (1893)

This three volume work, crated by Nobuchi Ryōsen, records sketches and summaries of various Nara Prefecture tombs. This record states that the Misasaki tomb is located near Hōryūji, in an area called Fujinoki.

19) Hōryūji nikki 法隆寺日記 (1899)

This work discusses historic sites located in Hōryūji-mura. It indicates that a tomb named Misasakiyama is located in the Fujinoki district and that the tomb belongs to a member of the imperial line.

Appendix B Materials Excavated from Fujinoki Kofun

Tumulus exterior

Haniwa

- 1) Cylindrical haniwa 4
- 2) Shield-shaped haniwa 1
- 3) Asagao-shaped haniwa 1
- 4) Horse-shaped haniwa 1

Burial chamber and corridor

Ceramic vessels

- 1) Sue-ware
 - a. Pedestaled dishes 16
 - b. Jar 1
 - c. Pedestaled jars -3
 - d. Wine servers -2
 - e. Jar stand 1
 - f. Vessel lids 17
- 2) Haji-ware
 - a. Pedestaled dishes -5
 - b. Jars 5
 - c. Pot 1
- 3) Haji-ware lamp dishes 25

Sarcophagus

1) House-shaped stone sarcophagus – 1

Horse tack

- 1) Gilt bronze horse tack 1 (set A)
 - -Saddle
 - a. Saddlebow 1
 - b. Cantle 1
 - c. Mudguard frame -2
 - d. Cup stirrups 2
 - -Headstall
 - a. Snaffle bit with attached heart-shaped cheekplate 1
 - b. Ring-shaped bridle ornament (frontlet) 1
 - c. Strap dividers 2

-Crupper

- a. Thorny leaf-shaped harness pendants 17
- b. Strap dividers with attached pinwheel ornament 46
- -Misc.
 - a. Dragon motif ornaments -8
 - b. Decorative strap covers 10
 - c. Buckles with attached heart-shaped decorative fittings 4
 - d. Gilt-bronze buckles 10
 - e. Decorative belt fittings and belt remains 21

- 2) Iron horse tack with gilt-bronze plating 2 (sets B and C)
 - Horse tack set B
 - -Saddle
 - a. Saddlebow 1
 - b. Cantle 1
 - c. Decorative fittings from saddle seat bars -2
 - d. Wooden triangular cup stirrups with attached iron bands -2

-Headstall

- a. Snaffle bit with attached bell-shaped cheekplates 1
- -Crupper
 - a. Bell-shaped harness pendants 10
 - b. Gilt-bronze coated iron strap dividers 13
 - c. Gilt-bronze coated iron crupper boss -1
- -Misc.
 - a. Decorative belt fittings 50

Horse tack set C

- -Saddle
 - a. Saddlebow 1
 - b. Cantle 1
- -Headstall
 - a. Snaffle bit with attached iron ring-shaped cheekplates 1
- -Cantle
 - a. Gilt-bronze coated iron strap dividers 2
 - b. Gilt-bronze coated iron crupper boss -1

Misc. fittings from tack sets B and C

a. Iron buckles – 11

Armor

- 1) Lamellar armor 1 set (consisting of 2,721 individual lamella)
 - -Body armor
 - -Armored skirt/tuille
 - -Neck guard
 - -Gauntlets with attached armored sleeves
 - -Leg (knee) armor

Weaponry

- 1) Iron arrowheads 809
- 2) Arrowcase 1 (2 metal fittings from a single case)
- 3) Decorative metal fittings for a bow -10
- 4) Iron sword -1

Miniature tools

- 1) Spear-style planning tools -20
- 2) Axes -19
- 3) Small knives 21
- 4) Chisels -27
- 5) Sickles 7
- 6) Spades -2

Beads

- 1) Abacus-shaped talc beads 38
- 2) Mortar-shaped talc bead 166

Other metal objects

- 1) Gilt-bronze decorative fitting 1
- 2) Double headed iron rivets -2
- 3) Iron hooks -6
- 4) Pins 17
- 5) Nails 11
- 6) Iron rods -6

Other archaeological materials

- 1) Wood artifact 1
- 2) Human teeth -7

Sarcophagus interior

Metal personal ornaments

- 1) Gilt-bronze crown 1
- 2) Gilt-bronze shoes 4 (2 pairs, sets A and B)
- 3) Large gilt-bronze belt 1
- 4) Gilt-bronze cylindrical artifact 1
- 5) Gilt-bronze half-cylinder artifacts 2
- 6) Gilt-bronze sword-tip motif ornaments 11
- 7) Silver sword-tip motif ornament 22
- 8) Silver pendant ornaments -2 (1 pair)
- 9) Silver ornaments -25
- 10) Gilded silver earrings 2 (1 pair)
- 11) Gilded bronze earrings 2 (1 pair)
- 12) Segmented oval beads resembling gardenia seeds made from gilded silver 54
- 13) Large spherical beads made from gilded silver 24
- 14) Stepped beads made from gilded silver 48
- 15) Half spherical beads made from silver 55
- 16) Small spherical beads made from gilded silver 47
- 17) Comma-shaped beads made from gilt-bronze 127

Glass beads

- 1) Small glass beads 11,058 or more
- 2) Glass beads associated with the north body -4,000 or more
- 3) Small spherical glass beads 36
- 4) Large spherical glass beads 34
- 5) Glass millet beads 103
- 6) Glass beads associated with the south body 864 or more
- 7) Barrel-shaped glass beads 10
- 8) Glass anklet beads 18

Round or petal-shaped gilt bronze artifacts

- 1) Gilt-bronze petal-shaped ornament 1
- 2) Large gilt-bronze petal-shaped pendants 463
- 3) Small gilt-bronze petal-shaped pendants 340

4) Round ornaments made from gilt-bronze – 139

Bronze mirrors

- 1) Beast-band mirror 1
- 2) Deity and beast mirror with ring-shaped nipples and image band -1
- 3) Buddha and beast mirror with image band (imitation of Chinese work) -1
- 4) Deity and beast mirror (imitation of Chinese work) -1

Decorative swords, daggers, and knives

- 1) Large swords -5
- 2) Short sword -1
- 3) Knives -6

Other archaeological materials

- 1) Tube-shaped beads made from organic materials 11
- 2) Plectrum-shaped wood artifacts 2
- 3) Textile remains
- 4) Partial skeletal remains 2 bodies

Appendix C Fujinoki Artifact Measurements

1. Edo Period Lamp Dishes

Plate Number	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Location
1	2.5	11.0	corridor
2	2.3	11.6	corridor
3	2.1	10.6	corridor
4	1.7	11.4	burial chamber, next to stone sarcophagus
5	2.2	10.8	within debris at tomb's entrance
6	2.3	12.1	corridor
7	2.1	10.2	corridor
8	2.2	10.5	corridor
9	2.0	9.5	burial chamber, next to stone sarcophagus
10	1.9	8.6	corridor
11	2.1	9.3	corridor
12	2.0	9.2	corridor
13	2.0	9.0	corridor
14	1.9	9.0	burial chamber, within assemblage of Sue and Haji ceramics
15	1.9	8.7	within debris at tomb's entrance
16	1.9	8.3	corridor
17	1.5	7.1	within debris at tomb's entrance
18	1.3	7.0	corridor
19	1.5	6.5	corridor
20	1.5	6.4	corridor
21	1.8	6.9	corridor
22	1.9	6.7	corridor
23	1.9	6.5	corridor
24	1.4	6.3	corridor
25	1.6	6.3	corridor

2. Sue Ceramics

Vessel Number	Type	Height (cm)	Mouth Width (cm)	Base Width (cm)	Typological Classification
1	lidless pedestaled dish	9.6	8.8	6.9	TK43
2	lidless pedestaled dish	15.7	12.1	11.3	TK43
3	lidless pedestaled dish	16.2	12.4	11.2	TK43
4	lidless pedestaled dish	17.0	12.3	9.9	TK43
5	lidless pedestaled dish	15.8	12.2	10.7	TK43
6	lidless pedestaled dish	19.4	13.4	11.3	TK43
7	lidless pedestaled dish	20.0	13.6	11.5	TK43
8	lid	6.2	15.9	-	TK43
9	lid	6.0	15.5	-	TK43
10	lid	5.7	14.5	-	TK43
11	lid	5.3	15.9	-	TK43
12	lid	5.3	16.4	-	TK43
13	lid	4.7	15.8	-	TK43
14	lid (possibly for vessel 23)	5.8	17.3	-	MT85
15	lid (possibly for vessel 23)	6.3	16.7	-	MT85
16	lid	4.9	14.6	-	TK209
17	lid	5.1	14.7	-	TK209
18	lid	5.3	15.3	-	TK209
19	lid	5.4	15.0	-	TK209
20	lid (possibly for vessel 29)	6.1	16.3	-	TK209
21	lid (possibly for vessel 30)	5.8	16.0	-	TK209
22	lidded pedestaled dish	pedestal section lost	13.7	pedestal section lost	TK43
23	lidded pedestaled dish	pedestal section lost	15.4	pedestal section lost	TK10 or MT85
24	lidded pedestaled dish	21.2	13.3	16.1	TK43
25	lidded pedestaled dish	20.0	14.0	16.2	TK43
26	lidded pedestaled dish	21.2	13.9	16.2	TK43
27	lidded pedestaled dish	21.5	13.6	16.0	TK43
28	lidded pedestaled dish	22.5	13.9	16.9	TK43
29	lidded pedestaled dish	17.5	13.7	14.0	TK209
30	lidded pedestaled dish	17.8	13.9	14.1	TK209
31	wine server	17.5	15.6	4.2	TK43
32	wine server	15.3	13.7	4.2	TK43
33	lid (for vessel 34)	4.5	8.8	-	TK43
34	lidded pedestaled jar	28.1	10.6	13.4	TK43
35	lid (for vessel 36)	4.0	8.4	-	TK43
36	lidded pedestaled jar	30.1	10.1	13.1	TK43
37	lid (for vessel 37)	3.7	7.8	-	TK43
38	lidded pedestaled jar	31.4	9.6	13.9	TK43
39	jar	25.4	15.7	-	TK43
40	jar stand (for vessel 39)	39.9	26.3	23.4	TK43

3. Haji Ceramics

Vessel Number	Туре	Height (cm)	Mouth Width (cm)
1	pedestaled dish	14.2	15.2
2	pedestaled dish	15.6	15.2
3	pedestaled dish	13.9	15.6
4	pedestaled dish	17.7	26.2
5	pedestaled dish	19.2	26.2
6	jar	14.6	9.8
7	jar	13.5	9.3
8	jar	bottom half missing	10.4
9	jar	21.0	16.7
10	jar	5.9	8.7
11	pot	15.0	11.7

4. Horse Trappings

Artifact	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (mm)	Material
Saddlebow (Set A)				
iso	17.1	34.8	1.0-4.0	gilt-bronze
umi		1	4.3-4.6 (1.3-1.6 gilt-bronze, 3.0 iron)	gilt-bronze over iron
fukurin	41.7	51.9	2.0-4.0	
Cantle (Set A)				
iso	18.6	42.4	1.0-4.0	gilt-bronze
umi	ı		4.3-4.6 (1.3-1.6 gilt-bronze, 3.0 iron)	gilt-bronze over iron
fukurin	43.2	58	2.0 - 4.0	
Headstall (Set A)				
snaffle bit	1	~5.0		iron
heart-shaped cheekplate	10.0	12.1	4.5 (2.5 gilt-bronze, 2.0 iron)	gilt-bronze over iron
leather strap from cheekplate	6.0	4.4	1	leather with gilt-bronze cap
rein connector	16.7	1	12.0	gilt-bronze
strap divider (1)	7.6	7.2	6.0	gilt-bronze
strap divider (2)	7.7	7.4	6.0	gilt-bronze
frontlet	1.05	9.3	4.5 (2.4 gilt-bronze, 2.0 iron)	gilt-bronze over iron
Mudguards (Set A)				
aori frame A top (estimated)	23.3-23.5	78.0 (4.1-4.5 frame alone)	0.8-1.5	gilt-bronze
aori frame A bottom (estimated)	26.9 (left), 27.0 (right)	71.0 (2.4 frame alone)	1.0	gilt-bronze
aori frame A top flange (estimated)	26.0 (left), 26.5 (right)	26.0 (left), 26.5 (right) 80.0 (1.0-1.1 flange width)	4.2-4.7 (overall), 6.5 (left tip), 8.0 (right tip) gilt-bronze) gilt-bronze
aori frame B right fragment (estimated)	24.1	4.2-4.4 (frame)	1.0-1.5	gilt-bronze
aori frame B bottom (estimated)	indeterminate	indeterminate	1	gilt-bronze
aori frame B top flange, right side (estimated)	26.2	,	4.5-5.0 (overall), 7.5 (lower tip)	gilt-bronze
circular fitting with buckle 1 (A, left)	0.95	6.93	1.4-1.8	gilt-bronze
circular fitting with buckle 2 (A, right)	0.93	96'9-6'9	1.6-2.3	gilt-bronze
circular fitting with buckle 3 (B, indeterminate)	1.0	6.9	1.4-2.3	gilt-bronze
circular fitting with buckle 4 (B, indeterminate)	1.0	0.96-7.0	1.1-2.2	gilt-bronze
Crupper fittings (Set A)				
firebird pendant 1	13.2	10.2	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 2	13.1	9.5	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 3	13.2	9.7	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 4	13.6	6.9	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 5	13.4	9.7	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 6	13.7	9.8	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 7	13.7	10.2	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 8	13.9	6.9	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 9	13.1	9.7	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 10	13.4	9.7	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 11	13.5	10.1	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 12	13.6	9.6	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron

Artifact	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (mm)	Material
firebird pendant 13	13.6	9.8	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 14	13.5	9.6	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 15	13.4	9.5	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 16	13.2	10.0	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
firebird pendant 17	12.9	9.9	2.0	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 1 (complete)	11.51 (total with rod)	6.48 (at base)	1.4 (at domed base)	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 2 (complete)	11.46	09.9	1.3	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 3 (complete)	11.76	6.56	1.5	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 4 (complete)	12.22	6.49	1.3	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 5 (complete)	11.93	~6.49	4.8	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 6 (complete, w/ palmette)	12.0	6.51	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 7 (complete)	12.10	6.74	-	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 8 (complete)	12.14	6.52	-	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 9 (complete)	11.90	6.59	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 10 (complete)	12.03	6.62	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 11 (complete)	11.81	09.9	-	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 12 (complete)	11.23	6.52	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 13 (complete)	11.89	6.42	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 14 (complete)	11.89	6.39	-	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 15 (complete)	12.09	6.43	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 16 (complete)	12.15	6.64		gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 17 (complete)	~10.4	6.51	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 18 (complete)	12.04	6.51	ı	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 19 (complete)	11.96	1	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 20 (complete)	12.14	6.47	ı	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 21 (complete)	~10.63	~6.40	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 22 (rod)	12.46	1.27 (at ring projection)	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 23 (rod)	~10.09	1.44	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 24 (rod)	~10.59	1.49	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 25 (rod)	~10.47	1.39	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 26 (rod)	~8.60	1.41	ı	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 27 (fragment, rod)	2.19	1.35	,	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 28 (base)	2.50	6.49	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 29 (rod)	12.15	1.60	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 30 (rod)	11.69	1.53	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 31 (rod)	12.09	1.58	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 32 (rod)	~10.31	1.69	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 33 (rod)	~10.87	1.36	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 34 (rod)	~12.03	1.38	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 35 (rod)	~10.68	1.36		gilt-bronze over iron

Artifact	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (mm)	Material
pinwheel crupper ornament 36 (rod)	~11.81	1.39	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 37 (rod)	~11.88	1.40	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 38 (rod)	~10.86	1.98	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 39 (rod)	~10.32	1.48	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 40 (rod)	11.94	1.50	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 41 (fragment, rod)	3.67	1.29 (at cap base)	-	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 42 (fragment, rod)	record missing	1	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 43 (rod)	12.13	1.44	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 44 (base)	2.46	6.61	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 45 (base)	2.36	6.19	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 46 (base)	2.46	6.43	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 47 (base)	2.34	6.51	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 48 (fragment, base)	2.29	5.61	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 49 (fragment, base)	2.42	~5.73	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 50 (fragment, base)	2.35	1	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 51 (fragment, base)	2.38	1	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 52 (fragment, base)	2.36	ı	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 53 (base)	2.30	6.37		gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 54 (fragment, base)	~2.67	1	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 55 (fragment, base interior)	1.39	3.86	1	cork
pinwheel crupper ornament 56 (fragment, base interior)	~1.69	4.04	1	cork
pinwheel crupper ornament 57 (fragment, base interior)	1.48	3.91	1	cork
pinwheel crupper ornament 58 (fragment, base interior)	~1.56	4.49	1	cork
pinwheel crupper ornament 59 (fragment, base interior)	1.68	4.08	ı	cork
pinwheel crupper ornament 60 (fragment, base interior)	1.43	3.97	,	cork
pinwheel crupper ornament 61 (fragment, base interior)	1.20	3.42	1	cork
pinwheel crupper ornament 62 (fragment, base interior)	~1.31	3.08	1	cork
pinwheel crupper ornament 63 (fragment, complete)	~9.85	4.22	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 64 (complete)	12.40	99.9	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 65 (complete)	11.86	6.71	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 66 (complete)	12.23	6.42	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 67 (base)	2.29	6.36		gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 68 (base)	ı	6.34	-1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 69 (fragment, base interior)	1.60	4.13	1	cork
pinwheel crupper ornament 70 (base)	2.39	6.52	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 71 (base)	2.42	6.32	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 72 (palmette fitting)	ı	4.18	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 73 (complete, w/ palmette)	2.40	6.59		gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 74 (palmette fitting)	1	3.95		gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 75 (base)	2.45	6.52	-	gilt-bronze over iron

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pinwheel crupper ornament 76 (base)	2.64	7.79	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 77 (complete)	~10.45	6.50	1	gilt-bronze over iron
pinwheel crupper ornament 78 (complete)	12.31	1	1	gilt-bronze over iron
Stirrups (Set A)				
stirrup 1	23.9	18.5 toe cup depth; 18.7 lateral	1	gilt-bronze over iron, wood fragments
stirrup 2	29.1	19.1 toe cup depth; 19.0 lateral	,	gilt-bronze over iron, wood fragments
Misc. (Set A)				
dragon motif ornament 1	8.0 (at center)	15.3-15.8	3.0	gilt-bronze over iron
dragon motif ornament 2	8.0	15.3-15.8	3.0	gilt-bronze over iron
dragon motif ornament 3	8.0	15.3-15.8	3.0	gilt-bronze over iron
dragon motif ornament 4	8.0	15.3-15.8	3.0	gilt-bronze over iron
dragon motif ornament 5	8.0	15.3-15.8	3.0	gilt-bronze over iron
dragon motif ornament 6	8.0	15.3-15.8	3.0	gilt-bronze over iron
dragon motif ornament 7	8.0	15.3-15.8	3.0	gilt-bronze over iron
dragon motif ornament 8	8.0	15.3-15.8	3.0	gilt-bronze over iron
decorative strap cover 1	16.8	2.6	1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 2	16.9	2.5	1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 3	16.9	2.5	1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 4	16.9	2.7	1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 5	16.9	2.5	1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 6	16.8	2.6	1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 7 (fragment)	8.4		1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 8 (fragment)	4.9	1	1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 9 (fragment)	4.0	1	1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 10 (fragment)	4.2	-1	1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 11	8.3	3.6	1.6	gilt-bronze
decorative strap cover 12	8.5	3.5	1.6	gilt-bronze
pointed half-oval belt fitting 1	3.0	2.8	1.7	gilt-bronze
pointed half-oval belt fitting 2	3.0	2.8	1.7	gilt-bronze
pointed half-oval belt fitting 3	3.1	2.7	1.7	gilt-bronze
pointed half-oval belt fitting 4	3.0	2.7	1.7	gilt-bronze
pointed half-oval belt fitting 5	3.1	2.8	1.7	gilt-bronze
pointed half-oval belt fitting 6	3.1	2.7	1.7	gilt-bronze
pointed half-oval belt fitting 7	3.0	3.0	1.7	gilt-bronze
pointed half-oval belt fitting 8	3.0	2.7	1.7	gilt-bronze
pointed half-oval belt fitting 9	3.2	2.8	1.7	gilt-bronze
decorative belt fitting 1 (oval shaped)	3.4	1.9		gilt-bronze
decorative belt fitting 2 (oval shaped)	3.3	1.8		gilt-bronze
decorative belt fitting 3 (oval shaped)	3.4	1.9		gilt-bronze
1	,	1.8		wilt become

Artifact	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (mm)	Material
decorative belt fitting 5 (hemisphere shaped)	2.4	2.6	1.5	gilt-bronze
decorative belt fitting 6 (hemisphere shaped)	2.4	2.6	1.5	gilt-bronze
decorative belt fitting 7 (petal shaped)	2.4	2.3	1	gilt-bronze
decorative belt fitting 8 (square shaped)	3.0	2.6	1	gilt-bronze
decorative belt fitting 9 (square shaped)	3.0	2.6	1	gilt-bronze
decorative belt fitting 10 (square shaped)	2.9	2.5	1	gilt-bronze
decorative belt fitting 11 (leather belt remnant)	$\sim \! 10.0$	2.6-2.8	4.0	leather
decorative belt fitting 12 (square shaped)	2.9	2.6	1	gilt-bronze
buckle with heart-shaped fitting 1	8.0	6.8	0.8-1.0	gilt-bronze
buckle with heart-shaped fitting 2 (fragment)	8.3	4.0 (at buckle)	0.8-1.0	gilt-bronze
buckle with heart-shaped fitting 3	8.5	6.8	0.8-1.0	gilt-bronze
buckle with heart-shaped fitting 4 (fragment)	5.0 (missing buckle)	1	0.8-1.0	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 1 (buckle only)	8.9	5.9	7.0 (buckle)	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 2 (buckle only)	8.8	6.0	7.0 (buckle)	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 3 (with bulbous petal-shaped fitting)	11.4	5.2	5.0 (buckle); 0.8-2.0 (fitting)	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 4 (with oblong fitting)	5.8	3.2	4.0 (buckle)	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 5 (with pointed half-oval fitting)	8.2	4.9	5.0 (buckle)	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 6 (buckle only)	1	4.6	6.0	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 7 (pointed half-oval fitting for buckle 6)	4.2	1	1	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 8 (pointed half-oval fitting only)	8.7 (error?)	1	1	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 9 (with oblong fitting)	4.2	2.3	4.0 (buckle)	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 10 (with oblong fitting)	4.3	2.3	4.0 (buckle)	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 11 (buckle only; no measurements)		1	1	gilt-bronze
gilt-bronze buckle 12 (buckle only; no measurements)		1	1	gilt-bronze
Headstall (Set B)				
bell-shaped cheekplate 1	19.8	18.8	4.0 (2.0 lower sheet; 2.0 upper)	iron with gilt-bronze coating
bell-shaped cheekplate 2	19.5	18.7	4.0 (2.0 lower sheet; 2.0 upper)	iron with gilt-bronze coating
rein connector	1	1	10.0	iron
rein connector fragment 1	,	1	1	iron
rein connector fragment 2	1	1	ı	iron
mouthpiece fragment 1		1	10.0	iron
mouthpiece fragment 2	1	1	10.0	iron
mouthpiece fragment 3		1	1	iron
Headstall (Set C)				
ring-shaped cheekplate	10.1	8.5	4.0-5.0	iron (attached gilt-bronze and iron fitting)
ring-shaped cheekplate (fragmented)	1	1	4.0-5.0	iron
rein connector 1	21.4	1	1	iron
rein connector 2	19.9	1	1	iron
mouthpiece	1	19.3 (each segment: 10.8 and 10.4)		iron

Artifact	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (mm)	Material
Saddlebow (Set B)				
iso	14.3	29.2	1.5-3.0 (2.5 at sides; 1.5-3.0 suhama)	iron with gilt-bronze coating
umi (fragments)		0.5 (width of rivet bands)	0.5 (gilt-bronze surface)	gilt-bronze
fukurin	35.5	46.0	2.0	iron with gilt-bronze coating
Cantle (Set B)				
OSI.	16.4	42.7	1.5 (at suhama)	iron with gilt-bronze coating
umi (fragments)		0.5 (rivet bands)	-	gilt-bronze
fukurin	34.7	53.3	2.0	iron with gilt-bronze coating
Igi (Set B)				
ornamental fitting 1	5.4 (straight edge)	7.2	1.1	iron with gilt-bronze coating
ornamental fitting 2	5.7 (straight edge)	ı	1.1	iron with gilt-bronze coating
Saddlebow (Set C)				
iso osi	16.0	13.7	3.0-3.5	iron with gilt-bronze coating
Cantle (Set C)				
iso osi	19.3	41.2	3.5	iron with gilt-bronze coating
Stirrups (Set B)				
pyramid-shaped cup stirrup 1 (right)	33.1	20.6 toe cup depth; 19.5 lateral	1.5-3.0	iron
pyramid-shaped cup stirrup 2 (left)	33.9	20.3 toe cup depth; 19.1 lateral	1.5-3.0	iron
stirrup chain 1 (right)	25.5	1	6.0	iron
stirrup chain 2 (right)	25.5.	1	0.9	iron
Crupper (Set B)				
bell-shaped pendant 1	17.7	13.4	4.0 (2.0 iron backing; 2.0 openwork sheet)	gilt-bronze coated iron over iron backing
bell-shaped pendant 2	1.5 (error?)	12.9	4.0 (2.0 iron backing; 2.0 openwork sheet)	gilt-bronze coated iron over iron backing
bell-shaped pendant 3	17.9	13.4	4.0 (2.0 iron backing; 2.0 openwork sheet)	gilt-bronze coated iron over iron backing
bell-shaped pendant 4	17.5	13.1	4.0 (2.0 iron backing; 2.0 openwork sheet)	gilt-bronze coated iron over iron backing
bell-shaped pendant 5	17.5	13.2	4.0 (2.0 iron backing; 2.0 openwork sheet)	gilt-bronze coated iron over iron backing
bell-shaped pendant 6	22.7	17.1	4.0 (2.0 iron backing; 2.0 openwork sheet)	gilt-bronze coated iron over iron backing
bell-shaped pendant 7	22.1	18.0	4.0 (2.0 iron backing; 2.0 openwork sheet)	gilt-bronze coated iron over iron backing
bell-shaped pendant 8	21.2	17.3	4.0 (2.0 iron backing; 2.0 openwork sheet)	gilt-bronze coated iron over iron backing
bell-shaped pendant 9	23.1	18.1	4.0 (2.0 iron backing; 2.0 openwork sheet)	gilt-bronze coated iron over iron backing
bell-shaped pendant 10 (attached to crupper boss)	21.2	17.1	4.0 (2.0 iron backing; 2.0 openwork sheet)	gilt-bronze coated iron over iron backing
strap divider 1	1.4 (dome height)	4.4 (dome); 2.9 (arms)		gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 2	1.35	4.8 (dome); 2.8 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 3 (fragmented)	1.35	- (dome); 2.8 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 4	1.5	4.7 (dome); 2.9 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 5	1.5	4.4 (dome); 2.8 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 6	1.9	6.9 (dome); 3.5 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 7	2.0	6.7 (dome); 3.5 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 8	2.2	7.1 (dome); 3.7 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 9	1.9	6.8 (dome); 3.7 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron

Artifact	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (mm)	Material
strap divider 10	2.0	7.0 (dome); 3.9 (arms)		gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 11	1.9	7.0 (dome); 3.8 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 12	1.8	7.2 (dome); 3.5 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 13 (fragmented)	1	- (dome); 3.7 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
uzu (attached to bell-shaped pendant 10)	3.4	12.0 (dome); 3.5 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
Crupper (Set C)			1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 14	2.8	5.2 (dome); 2.8 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
strap divider 15	3.0	5.4 (dome); 2.9 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
nzn	3.7	7.0 (dome); 2.7 (arms)	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
Misc. Fittings (Set B)				
decorative strap fitting 1	3.9	3.5	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 2	3.7	3.5	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 3 (fragment)		1	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 4	1	3.3	ı	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 5	3.6	3.4	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 6	5.8	3.6	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 7	6.5	4.0	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 8	6.2	4.1	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 9	5.8	3.7	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 10	6.3	3.8	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 11 (fragment)	6.1	3.9	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 12 (fragment)	9.9	4.0	ı	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 13 (fragment)	6.2	3.8	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 14	5.0	3.8		gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 15	5.0	3.5	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 16	5.2	3.7	ı	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 17	4.6	3.6	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 18 (fragment)		3.5	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 19 (fragment)	7.5	2.8	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 20	7.5	3.9	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 21	7.1	3.7	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 22 (fragment)	8.4	3.2	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 23 (fragment)	10.0	3.7	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 24	9.3	3.7	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 25 (fragment)	8.9	3.6	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 26 (fragment)	8.0	3.5	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 27 (fragment)	5.1	2.7	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 28 (fragment)	1	3.3	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 29 (fragment)	1	2.8	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 30 (fragment)		3.5		gilt-bronze coated iron

Artifact	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (mm)	Material
decorative strap fitting 31 (fragment)	1	3.7	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 32 (fragment)		1	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 33 (fragment)		3.3	-	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 34 (fragment)		3.8	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 35 (fragment)		3.3	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 36 (fragment)	-	1		gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 37 (fragment)			1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 38 (fragment)		1	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 39 (fragment)			1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 40 (fragment)		1	-	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 41 (fragment)	-			gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 42 (fragment)		3.4	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 43 (fragment)	-	1	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 44 (fragment)		1	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 45 (fragment)	1	1	1	gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 46 (fragment)		1		gilt-bronze coated iron
decorative strap fitting 47 (fragment)	-	1		gilt-bronze coated iron
Misc. Fittings (Sets B and C)				
buckle 1	9.1	5.8	7.0	iron
buckle 2 (fragment)	6.9	5.4	8.0	iron
buckle 3 (fragment)	6.5	4.5	0.9	iron
buckle 4 (fragment)	6.3	4.9	7.0	iron
buckle 5	5.5	5.6	7.0	iron
buckle 6	6.7	6.2	7.0	iron
buckle 7 (fragment)	6.2	2.2	7.0	iron
buckle 8 (fragment)		2.8	1	iron
buckle 9 (fragment)		1		iron
buckle 10 (fragment)		1	-	iron
buckle 11 (fragment)		1	1	iron

5. Arrowheads

Arrowhead Type	Number Excavated	Head Length (cm)	Head Width (cm)	Head Thickness (mm)	Shaft Length (cm)	Shaft Width (mm)	Shaft Thickness (mm)
type 1	621	2.5-2.6	0.9	3.0	9.8	6.0-7.0	4.0
type 2	121	3.5	1.0	4.0-5.0	5.0	6.0-7.0	4.0
type 3	43	1.7	1.1	2.5	6.3	6.5	3.0
type 4	6	5.2	2.2	3.5	5.3	7.0	3.5
type 5	18	5.2	2.6	3.0	2.8	-	-

6. Miniature Tools

Tool Type	Length (cm)	Width (cm)
planning tools	3.1-3.8	0.7-0.9
axes	4.5-5.5	1.5-1.6 at blade edge; 1.1-1.2 at reverse
small knives	4.0 (2.9 blade; 1.1 tang)	0.6-0.7
chisels	3.95 (3.0 blade; 0.95 tang)	0.3-0.4
sickles	2.9 (wood handle)	0.5
spade 1	3.8	3.9
spade 2	2.9	3.1

7. Beads

Artifact	Quantity	Height (mm) Width (mm) Material	Width (mm)	Material	Use
Burial chamber					
abacus-shaped beads	38		4.7-6.8	talc	unknown
mortar-shaped beads	166		4.0-6.35	talc	unknown
Sarcophagus Interior					
Northern body					
small glass beads (orange)	6,236	1.8-2.8	2.8-3.8	glass	headdress; forelock bindings; forehead draping
small glass beads (green)	3,945	1.8-2.8	2.8-3.8	glass	headdress; forelock bindings; forehead draping
small glass beads (blue)	588	1.8	3.0	glass	headdress; forelock bindings; forehead draping
small glass beads (yellow)	289	2.4	3.7	glass	headdress; forelock bindings; forehead draping
glass beads (blue and yellow)	$\sim \! 4,000$	4.3	6.2	glass	lower hanging section of headdress
small round glass beads (blue)	36	7.9-10.9	10.2-11.6	glass	top headdress loop
large round glass beads (blue)	34	14.1-18.1	16.5-19.4	glass	top headdress loop
gilt-bronze coma-shaped beads	127	13.1-14.3	77.0-88.0	gilt-bronze; glass bead (2 x 3 mm) forelock hair decorations	forelock hair decorations
hemispherical silver beads	55	3.78-6.37	6.97-11.75	silver	possibly included in forelock hair decorations
gilt-silver stepped beads	48	8.38-9.95	11.86-12.28	gilt-silver	necklace (upper)
large gilt-silver spherical beads	24	21.40-23.74	21.06-22.12	gilt-silver	necklace (middle)
gilt-silver beads resembling gardenia seeds 54 (30 8-lobed and 24 9-lobed) 19.86-23.54	54 (30 8-lobed and 24 9-lobed)	19.86-23.54	20.31-22.50	gilt-silver	necklace (lower)
tube-shaped bead ornaments	11	6.5-11.0	13.0-27.0	organic material (unidentified)	possibly included in upper necklace
Southern body					
glass beads (green)	717	4.0	5.0	glass	headdress
glass beads (yellow)	147	4.0	5.0	glass	headdress
glass millet beads (red-brown)	103	0.72-2.39	1.16-2.17	glass	lower hem of headdress or separate waist ornament
barrel-shaped glass beads (brown)	10	1.38	1.25	glass	lower hem of headdress or separate waist ornament
glass anklet beads (blue)	18	2.33-2.75	2.32-2.90	glass	anklets
small oilt-silver spherical heads	47	11.05-12.70	11.87-13.50	gilt-silver	necklace

8. Miscellaneous Metal Artifacts

Artifact	Length (cm)	Width (cm)
gilt-bronze cone-shaped fitting	1.8	4.6
double-headed iron rivet 1	13.4	1.4
double-headed iron rivet 2	13.1	0.8
iron hook (6)	20.6	10.5
pins (17)	3.2-3.5	_
nails (11)	1.9-2.4	0.3
curved iron rods (6)	10.9	0.2-0.5

9. Mirrors

Artifact	Diameter (cm)	Thickness at rim (cm)	Weight (g)	Classification
mirror 1	17.9	0.81	532.9	Beast-band mirror
mirror 2	21.6	0.77	1,094.8	Deity and beast mirror with ring-shaped nipples and image band
mirror 3	16.0	0.81	601.4	Imitation Buddha and beasts mirror
mirror 4	16.7	-	417.2	Imitation deity and beast mirror

10. Gilded Personal Ornaments

Artifact	Height (cm)	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Width (cm) Thickness (mm)	Materials
Gilt-bronze crown					
crown	35.0	52.0		9.0	gilt-bronze
petal-shaped pendants	2.35-2.5	1.49-1.5		0.3	gilt-bronze
fish-shaped pendants	3.0	4.3		0.25	gilt-bronze
Gilt-bronze shoes (pair A)					
shoe body	11.6	38.4	12.4	0.4-0.6	gilt-bronze
circular pendants	1.2-1.4 (diameter)	1		0.5-0.6	gilt-bronze
fish-shaped pendants	4.1-4.4	2.0-2.2		0.4-0.6	gilt-bronze
Gilt-bronze shoes (pair B)					
shoe body	13.2	41.7	15.2	0.3-0.6	gilt-bronze
leaf-shaped pendants	1.9	1.5		0.4	gilt-bronze
Gilt-bronze cylindrical artifact					
cylindrical body	3.0 (center diameter) - 6.0 (end diameter)	36.0		1.0-2.0 body; 12.0 central band gilt-bronze	gilt-bronze
pendants	1.9	1.7		~0.27-0.49	gilt-bronze
Earrings					
earring 1 (north body)	2.87	3.41	0.76	ı	silver core wrapped in gold leaf
earring 2 (north body)	3.38	3.00	0.75		silver core wrapped in gold leaf
earring 3 (south body)	3.04	3.51	1.07	ı	bronze core wrapped in gold leaf
earring 4 (south body)	3.16	3.52	0.95	ı	bronze core wrapped in gold leaf
Gilt-bronze half-cylindrical artifacts					
body (artifact 1)	35.6	9.4; 12.0		0.5	gilt-bronze
body (artifact 2)	36.0	9.4;12.0	-	0.5	gilt-bronze
bow-shaped ornaments	3.3 (sides); 2.0 (center band)	8.5		ı	gilt-bronze
circular pendants	1.2-1.4 (diameter)			0.5-0.6	gilt-bronze
fish-shaped pendants	4.1-4.4	2.0-2.2		0.4-0.6	gilt-bronze
Gilt-bronze floral ornament	10.0				gilt-bronze
Gilt-bronze belt	12.6 (center); 11.0 (left edge); 11.3 (right edge) 106.8; 38.0 (folded)	106.8; 38.0 (folded)	ı	0.89	gilt-bronze
Gilt-bronze pendants and spangles					
circular spangles	2.984-3.496 (diameter)	1	1	0.3-0.72	gilt-bronze
petal-shaped pendants (small)	2.215-2.506	1.418-1.677		0.31-1.05	gilt-bronze
petal-shaped pendants (large)	3.279-3.678	2.015-2.266	1	0.48-1.60	gilt-bronze

11. Decorated Swords and Knives

4				
Artifact	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (mm) Materials	Materials
Sword 1	136.0			
pommel	12.3 (diameter)	6.0 (diameter)	18.0	wood core; silver plating with blue glass bead inlay
pommel semi-circular ring	7.8 (diameter)	3.6 (height)	0.6	iron wire with gold coating
handle	measurements not recorded	ı	1	wood core, wrapped in gilt-bronze wire and covered with a sheet of silver
top of hilt	2.7	5.5	1	wood core; silver plating with blue glass bead inlay
blade (fragmented)	23.5 (tang)	3.5 (tang); 4.8 (blade)	14.0	iron
scabbard		6.0 (base); 8.6 (tip)	50.0 (at tip)	wood core, wrapped in cloth; gilt-bronze with laid blue glass beads; wood cap with silver plating and blue glass inlay
miwadama 1	3.415	2.978	17.74 (height)	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay
miwadama 2	3.391	3.274	16.43	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay
miwadama 3	3.409	3.738	20.19	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay
miwadama 4 (upper)	3.602	3.459	23.68	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay (consists of three beads affixed to a handguard fragment)
miwadama 4 (middle)	3.444	3.297	22.62	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay (consists of three beads affixed to a handguard fragment)
miwadama 4 (lower)	3.210	3.495	20.47	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay (consists of three beads affixed to a handguard fragment)
miwadama 5 (upper)	3.095	3.307	23.35	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay (consists of two beads affixed to a handguard fragment)
miwadama 5 (lower)	3.627	3.456	22.13	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay (consists of two beads affixed to a handguard fragment)
miwadama 6	3.628	3.397	24.51	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay
miwadama 7	3.279	3.592	22.92	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay
fish ornament 1A (fragment)	19.5	11.0	1	gilt-bronze
fish ornament 1B	measurements not recorded	1		gilt-bronze
Sword 2	92.0			
pommel	5.5	3.7 (base); 4.3 (tip)	22.0	wood core; gilt-bronze plating
handle	measurements not recorded	ı	-	wood core, wrapped in silver wire
blade (fragmented)	~84 (overall estimate); 19.0 (tang) 2.7 (tang); 3.0 (blade)	2.7 (tang); 3.0 (blade)	8.0	iron
scabbard	-	3.8	19.0	lacquered wood; gilt-bronze fittings at mouth and tip (fragmented)

Artifact	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (mm) Materials	Materials
Sword 3	130.0	()		
pommel	9.1 (diameter)	6.4 (diameter)	23.0	wood core; silver plating
handle	measurements not recorded	,		wood core, wrapped in cloth and silver sheeting (fragmented)
top and bottom of hilt	1.9	6.7	1	wood core with silver plating
blade (fragmented)	119 (overall); 21.5 (tang)	3.3 (tang); 4.3 (blade)	ı	iron
scabbard		6.8 (base); 9.4 (tip)	ı	wood core, likely wrapped in cloth; attached bands of silver; wood cap with silver plating
fish ornament 2A	27.3	12.0	ı	gilt-bronze
fish ornament 2B	measurements not recorded	ı	1	gilt-bronze
Sword 4	122.0			
				wood core; silver plating; attached sheet of gold on pommel bottom; 1.3 cm band of gold with arabesque may have attached to
pommel	8.3 (diameter)	5.7 (diameter)	48.0	side
handle	measurements not recorded	1	1	wood core, wrapped in cloth and silver sheeting
sword guard (tsuba)	1.5	6.5	1	wood core with silver plating
blade (fragmented)	\sim 105 (overall estimate); 21.0 (ta	estimate); 21.0 (tang) 3.3 (tang); 4.5 (blade)	12.0	iron
			1	wood core, likely wrapped in cloth; attached bands of silver; silver
scabbard (fragmented)		5.0	3.8	cap
attached knife (fragmented)	19.2	1	ı	1.9 x 1cm wood pommel with gold plating; handle wrapped in silver sheet
Sword 5	136.5			
pommel	12.3 (diameter)	6.0 (diameter)	1.8	wood core; silver plating with blue glass bead inlay
pommel semi-circular ring	7.5 (diameter)	3.0 (height)	9.0	iron wire with gold coating
handle	14.5		ı	wood core, wrapped in gilt-bronze wire and covered in a sheet of silver
top of hilt	2.2	1	ı	wood core; silver plating with blue glass bead inlay
blade (fragmented)	123.0 (overall); 21.5 (tang)	3.8 (tang); 4.6 (blade)	1	iron
scabbard		6.0 (base); 9.0 (tip)	ı	wood core, wrapped in cloth; gilt-bronze with inlay blue glass beads; wood cap with silver plating and blue glass bead inlay
miwadama 8 (fragmented)	3.470	3.009	13.43	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay
miwadama 9 (fragmented)	3.483	2.907	18.32	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay
miwadama 10	3.623	3.450	20.56	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay

Artifact	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Thickness (mm) Materials	Materials
miwadama 11 (upper)	3.983	3.239	21.21	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay (consists of three beads attached to a handguard fragment)
miwadama 11 (middle)	3.983	3.410	20.54	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay (consists of three beads attached to a handguard fragment)
miwadama 11 (Iower)	3.899	3.320	21.43	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay (consists of three beads attached to a handguard fragment)
miwadama 12	4.008	3.404	20.55	gilt-bronze with blue glass inlay
fish ornament 3A	20.4	11.0	ı	gilt-bronze
fish ornament 3B	21.3	11.5	ı	gilt-bronze
Short sword	78			
pommel	7.3 (diameter)	6.3 (diameter)	1	wood core; gilt-bronze plating; silver plating with blue glass bead inlay
handle	19.5	2.5 (center); 3.8 (bottom)		wood core, wrapped in wire and covered with a sheet of silver
cylindrical hilt projection	6.0	4.0	1	wood core; gilt-bronze plating; silver plating with blue glass bead inlay
blade (fragmented)	64.0 (overall); 16.5 (tang)	2.8 (tang)	ı	iron
scabbard		7.7 (base); 9.0 (tip)	52.0 (at tip)	wood core, wrapped in cloth; gilt-bronze with inlay blue glass; Bands of silver; wood cap with gilt-bronze, silver, blue glass bead inlay
Misc. Sword Fragments				
silver-pated wood ornament (sword 1, 2, or 3)	0.9	3.5	0.5	wood with attached silver plate and cloth
unidentified wood artifact 1 (likely sword 5)	8.9	1.5	3.0	poom
unidentified wood artifact 2 (fragment; sword 5) 6.6	9.9	1.7	2.5	poom
Knives				
knife 1	34.0	1.9 (pommel); 2.2 (scabbard) -	-(wood with silver plating; silver scabbard fittings
knife 2	34.7	2.2 (pommel); 2.4 (scabbard) -	-(wood with silver plating; silver scabbard fittings
knife 3 (fragmented)	~34.0	2.0 (pommel)		wood with silver plating
knife 4	33.5	1.7 (pommel)	-	wood with silver plating
knife 5 (fragmented)	~33.5	1	-	wood with silver plating
knife 6 (fragmented; under sword 3)	21.0	1.5 (scabbard)	ı	wood, likely originally plated with silver; silver scabbard and pommel fittings

Appendix D Artifacts Excavated from Udozuka Kofun

Tumulus exterior

Haniwa

- 1) Cylindrical haniwa
- 2) Human haniwa
- 3) Armor-shaped haniwa
- 4) House-shaped haniwa

Ceramic vessels

- 1) Sue-ware
 - a. Pot 1
 - b. Komochidoki 1
 - c. Pedestaled dish, dish, jar, wine server, and jar stand fragments
- 2) Ga-ware
- 3) Celadon ceramics

Personal ornaments

1) Bronze earring – 1

Burial chamber and corridor

Haniwa

- 1) Musician haniwa 1
- 2) Shamaness haniwa 1

Ceramic vessels

- 1) Sue-ware
 - a. Pedestaled dishes 8
 - b. Dishes -4
 - c. Pedestaled jars -3
 - d. Jars 3
 - e. Wine servers -3
 - f. Large pot -1
 - g. Vessel lids 7
- 2) Haji-ware
 - a. Pedestaled dish 1
 - b. Pedestaled jar -1
 - c. Jar 1
- 3) Earthenware kettle 1
- 4) Ga-ware bowls
- 5) Haji-ware lamp dishes

Sarcophagi

1) House-shaped stone sarcophagi – 2

Horse tack

- 1) Saddle
 - a. Gilt-bronze coated iron cantle iso -1
 - b. Cup stirrups 1 pair (fragments)
 - c. Stirrup chains 2

- d. Buckle fittings with flower-shaped heads -5
- e. Decomposed mudguard remains 1
- 2) Headstall
 - a. Bit with gilt-bronze cheekplates and rein connectors 1 set
 - b. Iron ring-shaped cheekplates 2
 - c. Rein connector 1
- 3) Crupper
 - a. Palmette motif gilt-bronze harness pendant -1
 - b. Gilt-bronze coated iron strap dividers 9 fragments
 - c. Gilt-bronze coated iron crupper bosses 2
- 4) Misc.
 - a. Square-shaped iron fittings 4
 - b. Buckles 17
 - c. Circular gilt-bronze decorative fittings 11
 - d. Iron clamp-shaped fitting 1
 - e. Bronze clamp-shaped fitting 1
 - f. Iron rivets -6

Weaponry

- 1) Iron spearheads 3
- 2) Spearhead-shaped lithic 1
- 3) Iron arrowheads 118 or 138
- 4) Arrowcases -2
- 5) Starburst-shaped buckles from an arrow case 2
- 6) Wood bow fragments -2
- 7) Sword with gold and silver fittings -1
- 8) Iron Sword -1

Tools

- 1) Saw 1
- 2) Spear-style planning tool 1
- 3) Knives -2

Personal ornaments

- 1) Gilded bronze earring 1
- 2) Small glass beads 66

Bronze mirrors

1) Mirror with four beasts -1

Other archaeological materials

- 1) Coin 1
- 2) Arc-shaped rod fragments 2
- 3) Burnt offering platform 1

Appendix E Artifacts Excavated from Misato Kofun

Burial chamber and corridor

Ceramic Vessels

- 1) Sue-ware
 - a. Pedestaled dishes 24
 - b. Dishes -22
 - c. Pedestaled jars 5
 - d. Jars 8
 - e. Pots 3
 - f. Wine servers -5
 - g. Jar stands 3
 - h. Vessel lids 27
 - i. Unidentified fragmented vessels 25
- 2) Haji-ware
 - a. Pedestaled dishes 5
 - b. Dishes -9
 - c. Pots 4
 - d. Unidentified fragmented vessels 5
- 3) Flanged kettles -3
- 4) Ga-ware 6
- 5) Gōshi ceramic 1
- 6) Clay bell -1

Sarcophagi

- 1) House-shaped sarcophagus 1
- 2) Rectangular sarcophagus 1

Horse tack

- 1) Saddle
 - a. Gilt-bronze coated iron saddlebow iso 1
 - b. Gilt-bronze coated iron cantle iso -1
 - c. Cantle buckle 1
 - d. Triangular cup stirrups -2
- 2) Headstalls
 - a. Snaffle bit with gilt-bronze bell-shaped cheekplates and rein connectors 1 set
 - b. Gilt-bronze heart-shaped cheekplates 2
- 3) Crupper
 - a. Gilt-bronze bell-shaped harness pendants 9
 - b. Gilt-bronze coated iron strap dividers 17
 - c. Gilt-bronze coated iron crupper bosses 2
- 4) Misc.
 - a. Buckles 4
 - b. Gilt-bronze decorative fittings 4

Weaponry

- 1) Iron arrowheads 10 or more
- 2) Sword with gilt-bronze fittings -1

Tools

- 1) Axe 1
- 2) Knives 5

Personal ornaments

- 1) Gilded bronze earrings 2 (1 pair)
- 2) Small glass beads 67
- 3) Barrel-shaped agate beads 2

Other archaeological remains

1) Copper coins – 2

Appendix F Artifacts Excavated from Bakuya Kofun

Tumulus Exterior

Haniwa

1) Cylindrical haniwa

Ceramic vessels

1) Sue-ware

Horse tack

- 1) Cup stirrup 1
- 2) Strap divider 1

Weaponry

1) Iron spearhead – 1

Personal ornaments

- 1) Small glass beads
- 2) Mortar-shaped talc beads

Burial chamber and corridor

Ceramic vessels

- 1) Sue-ware
 - a. Pedestaled dishes 31
 - b. Pedestaled jars 4
 - c. Jar 1
 - d. Wine servers -6
 - e. Vessel lids 13
- 2) Haji-ware
- 3) Flanged kettles
- 4) Ga-ware

Sarcophagi

1) House-shaped sarcophagi – 2

Horse tack

- 1) Saddle
 - a. Gilt-bronze coated iron saddlebow iso -2 (separate saddles)
 - b. Gilt-bronze coated iron mudguard frame fragments from 1 pair
 - c. Gilt-bronze coated iron petal-shaped mudguard ornaments 7
 - d. Mudguard buckles -3
 - e. Gilt-bronze coated iron triangular cup stirrups 2
- 2) Headstall
 - a. Gilt-bronze coated iron heart-shaped cheekplate 1
 - b. Rein connector 1
- 3) Crupper
 - a. Gilt-bronze coated iron heart-shaped harness pendants 11 (7 type A; 4 type B)
 - b. Gilt-bronze coated iron strap dividers 7 (3 type A; 4 type B)
 - c. Gilt-bronze coated iron crupper boss 1
- 4) Misc.
 - a. Gilt-bronze coated iron clasp fittings 16 (9 type A; 7 type B)

- b. Decorative belt fittings 87
- c. Buckles 16
- d. Iron fittings 9

Weaponry

- 1) Iron spearhead 1
- 2) Iron arrowheads 380 or more
- 3) Sword with silver fittings -1
- 4) Sword with untempered blade 1
- 5) Sword with deer antler handle -1
- 6) Knives -8

Personal Ornaments

- 1) Gilded bronze earring 1
- 2) Segmented oval beads resembling gardenia seeds made from gilt-bronze 11
- 3) Small and millet sized glass beads 13,000 or more

Other archaeological materials

- 1) Wood bowl with attached gilt-bronze 1
- 2) Peach pit -1
- 3) Haniwa sherds used as burial facility flooring