A Study of

the Socio-Political Context

of Japanese Archaeology

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ABSTRACT

This thesis uses a study of the relationship between Japanese archaeology and its social, political and economic context to explore the issue of relativism versus positivism in archaeological interpretation. This is done through (1) a historical analysis of the growth of Japanese archaeological work and buried cultural properties administration prior to and after 1945, (2) a description of how Japanese political and business elites have used archaeological sites and information from the Asuka area to create a symbol of the Japanese people's national identity and (3) a presentation of opinions of archaeologists working in the buried cultural properties administrative system, during the mid-1980s, about the role of archaeology in contemporary Japan. This analysis of the history of Japanese archaeology shows that archaeological data have been used to rewrite a new Japanese history from 1945, but that archaeologists, while retaining control of the organization of archaeological research, may not control how archaeological information is used by the society as a whole. The study concludes that neither an extreme positivist nor an extreme relativist position is valid when discussing the relationship between archaeology and its social context.

RÉSUMÉ

Par le biais d'une analyse de la relation entre l'archéologie japonaise et son contexte social, politique et économique, cette thèse approfondit la question du relativisme en opposition au positivisme en matière d'interprétation archéologique. Ce résultat est obtenu par (1) une analyse historique de la croissance des travaux archéologiques au Japon et de l'administration des biens culturels enfouis antérieurement tout comme postérieurement à 1945, (2) la description de la façon par laquelle les élites politiques et d'affaires japonaises ont utilisé les sites et renseignements archéologiques de la région d'Asuka afin de créer un symbole de l'identité nationale pour le peuple japonais et (3) une présentation des opinions d'archéologues oeuvrant au sein de l'administration en charge des biens culturels enfouis durant les années 1985 quant au rôle de l'archéologie pour le Japon d'aujourd'hui. Cette analyse de l'histoire de l'archéologie japonaise démontre que les données archéologiques ont été utilisées afin de réécrire une nouvelle histoire japonaise à compter de 1945, mais que les archéologues, mêmes s'ils conservent le contrôle de la recherche archéologique, ne contrôlent peut-être pas la façon dont les informations archéologiques sont utilisées par la société en général. La conclusion de la présente étude est à l'effet que ni le positivisme absolu non plus que le relativisme absolu ne sont indiqués lors de la discussion de la relation entre l'archéologie et son contexte social.

要旨

本論文は、日本考古学と、その社会的・政治的・経済的なコンテクストとの関係の分析を通じて、考古学的な解釈における相対主義（レラティビズム）と実証主義（ポジティビズム）の問題を考えるものである。具体的には、(1) 戦前～戦後における、日本の考古学的研究と埋蔵文化財行政の発展を歴史的に分析する、(2) 飛鳥地域において、日本の政治界・実業界の有力者が、日本民族のアイデンティティのシンボルとして、考古遺跡および考古学的情報を使用した例を示す、(3) 日本の埋蔵文化財行政にたずさわる考古学者が、現代日本における考古学の役割に関してどのような意見を持っているかを調査する、という三点を通じて、上記の問題を論じる。このような、日本考古学の歴史に関する分析の結果として、(1) 戦後、考古学資料は、戦前・戦中のゆがんだ日本史観を書きかえるために使用されてきたこと、(2) しかしながら、今日の社会において、考古学者は、考古学の研究組織をコントロールしてはいるものの、必ずしも、社会による考古学的な情報の使用をコントロールしてはいないこと、が明らかになった。結論として、本研究では、考古学とその社会的なコンテクストとの関係を論じる際には、極端に実証主義的な立場も、極端に相対主義的な立場も、妥当ではないことを述べる。

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ABBREVIATIONS AND STYLISTIC CONVENTIONS

The Hepburn system has been used to romanize Japanese words used in the text. Long vowels, however, are not marked.

Japanese names in the text are cited in the Japanese order with the surname first. The exception is in the bibliography, where the second and third authors' names are cited with the initial of the first name preceding the surname.

Those Japanese publications cited in the bibliography which had original English titles are indicated by the words "English title" in parentheses following the entry. Entries followed by the words "in English" or "in Japanese with English summary" in parentheses also had English titles supplied in the the original publication. For all of these cases, the bracketed title of the citation was in the original publication and may not be a literal translation. All other English titles are literal translations.

In most cases, Japanese terms have been translated. The exceptions are words such as "samurai" and "kofun", which are commonly used in English language publications on Japan, and specific terms such as "bunkazai", "maizo bunkazai", "chosa kai" and the name of the village, Asuka Mura. These latter were left in the text to lend authenticity to the ethnographic description.

The following abbreviations were used in the text:

ACA: Agency for Cultural Affairs

Ancient Capital Cities Preservation Law: Special Action Law for the Preservation of Historical Environments in Ancient Capitals

CAO: Center for Archaeological Operations

Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center: Cultural Properties Center of Chiba Prefecture

CPCP: Committee for the Protection of Cultural Properties

CRM: Cultural Resource Management

DCHE: Deliberative Council on Historical Environments

DCPCP: Deliberative Council on the Protection of Cultural Properties

The Federation: Federation of Diet Members for the Preservation of the Asuka Ancient Capital

The Foundation: Asuka Preservation Foundation

Humanities Research Committee: Ministry of Education's Humanities Research Committee

JCP: Japan Communist Party

JSP: Japan Socialist Party

JAA: Japanese Archaeologists Association (translated as Japanese Archaeological Association from 1990)

Kashiwara Archaeological Institute: Nara Prefecture Kashiwara Archaeological Institute

Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center: Kumamoto Prefectural Cultural Properties Center

The Law: Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties

LDP: Liberal Democratic Party

Miyagi Cultural Properties Division: Miyagi Prefectural Board of Education Cultural Properties Division

Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center: Nara City Buried Cultural Properties Center

Nabunken: Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute

Officers: Officers in charge of cultural properties

Sakura National Museum: National Museum of Japanese History

SCAP: Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers

1919 Preservation Act: Law for the Preservation of Commemorative Historic Sites, Scenic Spots and Natural Monuments

1970 Asuka Area Plan: Measures Concerning the Conservation of Historical Landscape and Cultural Heritages in the Asuka Area

All abbreviations of Japanese terminology are found in "Appendix C: Glossary of Japanese Terminology".

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Over the past ten years, archaeology has been transformed from a discipline which attempted to emulate the physical sciences and maintain "objectivity" to a discipline with many practitioners who accept the inherent subjectivity of their work. These archaeologists point out that archaeological research is always done within a specific social, cultural and historical context. The kind of work archaeologists do is influenced by the availability of funding and by what meets with approval by non-archaeologists. Consequently, archaeological results and interpretations are affected by broader social, political and economic trends external to the discipline. The purpose of the thesis is to examine what effect the social milieu has had on the practice of Japanese archaeology.

The problem of archaeological objectivity is not new. Collingwood (1946) addressed himself to this issue when he put forth the idea that historians need imagination to create a past since the past always uses the present as evidence. He pointed out that, in history, no achievement is final. Historical evidence changes with methodological innovations and interpretations change with accumulated knowledge. Thus, archaeological knowledge has a social basis which cannot be ignored.

During the 1950s and early 1960s a number of archaeologists adopted this relativist stance. Daniel, for example, pointed out that "...the prehistory of man has varied very much with the prehistorian and with the state of the development of our knowledge, and with the preconceptions brought to bear on the archaeological record as it is being translated into historical context" (1962: 4). For Daniel, archaeology was not a science but a technique which could be used to obtain facts. These facts

were used to construct history and prehistory, both of which he considered humanities rather than sciences (1950: 311). Piggott (1959) agreed with Daniel's assessment of archaeology as a discipline which could produce accurate facts through its technical expertise but which could not be certain of producing absolute truths of interpretation. Thus, both of these scholars separated facts from interpretation. They believed that facts produced using archaeological techniques could be known with certainty but that the interpretation of these facts changed constantly depending on the opinions of individual scholars or groups of scholars.

Another archaeologist to discuss archaeological objectivity was Childe who approached the problem from a Marxist position in contrast to the historical idealism of Collingwood. In the first chapter of Man Makes Himself Childe (1941, first published in 1936) pointed out that historians (and, by extension, archaeologists) are influenced by the economic situation of their society. He argued that scholars are influenced by attitudes of optimism or pessimism found in the population at large. These "moods" are related, in turn, to changes in economic prosperity. According to Childe, the solution to the dilemma of subjectivity in archaeology lies in taking an impersonal, scientific view of history. The essence of such a view is "... the abandonment of personal prejudices and the subordination of private likes and dislikes... The scientific attitude is shown in the habit of forming judgments on the facts unbiased by personal feeling" (Childe 1941: 2).

Childe was well aware of how easily archaeological research could become embroiled in political debate, yet he claimed that a scientific approach to archaeological research could eliminate personal and societal influences from the study of the past. Two decades later, archaeologists developing the "new archaeology" expressed a

similar faith in science as the only way of making archaeology an objective discipline. Archaeologists such as Binford (1972a), Clarke (1968) and Watson et al. (1971) argued that archaeology must become a science. Science, furthermore, was not equated merely with traditional empiricist approaches to knowledge but was defined in terms of logical positivist theories of explanation and hypothesis testing (Patterson 1986a: 46). What is clear in hind-sight is that science was declared the goal of processual archaeology in reaction to the sterility of a culture-historical tradition of research in which conclusions and fundamental principles based on the views, opinions and prejudices of established scholars were accepted on the shaky grounds of personal reliability and reputation (Binford 1972a; Clarke 1973). The new archaeologists of the 1960s and 1970s gave the same reasons as Childe to justify their move towards making archaeology a science. The difference was that they rarely linked the much criticized subjective opinions of individual scholars to broader social, political or economic trends. Ford (1973) was one of the first adherents of the new archaeology who openly discussed the political implications of the discipline. The philosophical implications of adopting science for neutralizing contemporary socio-political influences on archaeological interpretation thus remains largely implicit rather than explicit in the scientism of the new archaeology.

The "new archaeologists" argued that science, the systematic integration of theory with data, could eliminate individual and societal influences and consequently set themselves the task of developing robust middle-range theory. Binford and other processual archaeologists came to view their work as a Kuhnian shift in paradigm, a leap into another worldview of archaeological science, in which cultural phenomena could be understood in materialist terms. Researchers began to develop a set of explanatory principles

which could be verified independently of the archaeological record by linking material remains with specific human and natural causes. These principles were seen as hypotheses which could be systematically tested. By following such rigorous procedures, archaeologists hoped to develop an objective understanding of past social, economic, technological and ideational systems.

In the 1980s Binford and other processual archaeologists were challenged in their most basic assumption: that the theoretical framework within which they worked--the scientific worldview--was ideologically untainted. Authors such as Trigger (1980; 1985, 1989) and Hodder (1982a; 1984; 1985; 1986; 1987a), using sociological and historical critiques of archaeological work, showed the dependence of processual archaeology on specific cultural and historical contexts. Binford responded by reasserting his belief in the possibility of "...productive paradigm change through rational means..." (Binford 1982: 150). His arguments, however, were undercut by critics who pointed out that "...the claim or conviction that the insecurity of archaeological testing can be eliminated by actualistic research depends very heavily on Binford's own paradigm-specific conception of the subject matter" (Wylie 1985a: 6).

This change in attitudes toward archaeological objectivity has occurred for several reasons. First was a general disillusionment among social and physical scientists with the idea of objectivity and neutrality in science and technology (B. Barnes 1974; Mulkay 1979; Rose and Rose 1976). Anthropologists were particularly affected by this disillusionment and with them archaeologists (Spriggs 1984a: 1-2). Some argued that, since historically these disciplines had both been shaped by industrial capitalism and international imperialism, there was a danger that archaeology would continue to uphold reactionary or at least conservative political stands (Asad 1973; Gero and Root 1990: 19). The advent and rapid growth of archaeological

cultural resource management in North America and Europe and, as we shall see, Japan provided a second viewpoint from which to criticize the idea of archaeological neutrality (Bintliff 1988: 3-4; Cleere 1984; 1989; McBryde 1985; Shanks and Tilley 1987: 24-26). The management of archaeological and other cultural resources is codified in national and international law and organized through state bureaucracies. Decisions about which archaeological properties should be preserved, which sites should be excavated or how artifacts and sites should be displayed involve debates between various groups within national and international communities. That estimations of the value of cultural properties can be questioned denied a neutral position for archaeological resources in relation to society as a whole. Third was the emergence of the formal study of archaeology in developing countries. In contrast to earlier research, which had usually been done by Europeans or North Americans and was often international in scope and conceptualization, in many post-colonial situations archaeological research was used explicitly to create a national identity and history for countries that had no written record before colonization (Hall 1984; Lorenzo 1981; Miller 1980; 1984; Miller and Rowlands 1985; O'Regan 1990; Posnansky 1981: Ray 1986; Sinclair 1986 Trigger and Glover 1981). A similar trend was seen in developed countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, where archaeology has the potential to become a means of creating and maintaining ethnic identity for native peoples with no written history prior to colonization by Europeans (Creamer 1990; Trigger 1980: 672-673; Ucko 1983; 1987). Finally, archaeology has links with wider social and political trends at the theoretical level. As Patterson has shown "...the underlying premises and ideas of the postwar theoretical tendencies of U.S. archaeologists are features of broader intellectual movements or paradigms that are

incorporated in similar ways in other disciplines" (1986a: 43).

Questions of relativism and positivism, subjectivity and objectivity have become central to modern archaeological theory and practice. Discussions of research methodology and archaeological presentation show that archaeologists are worried about justifying their work to a public and to governments often sceptical of its value (Foanaota 1990; Nzewunwa 1990). Furthermore, cultural resource management has tied archaeology to the bureaucratic structure of the modern state and to market forces (Blakey 1983: 8; Lacy and Hasenstab 1983; Shanks and Tilley 1987: 24).

Although many archaeologists recognize the influence that social and cultural context has on their work, most are reluctant to dismiss completely the concept of the objectivity of empirical data. The premise that what we know about the past is merely one story, one version of many realities, is difficult to accept when faced with the material remains on which archaeological interpretations are based. There are archaeologists who cling to the ideal of objectivity, reiterating that concrete theory building, attention to details of the empirical data and the development of strong, middle-range theory linking these two are the only ways in which archaeologists can avoid individual and societal biases. But, as Grayson (1986: 78) has shown, the need for middle-range theory expands constantly as the range of archaeological settings whose meaning is seen as ambiguous broadens. Others believe that it is valid to interpret archaeological finds in what they consider "politically correct" ways without worrying about "reality" or "truth" (Shanks and Tilley 1987). For these people, archaeology is inherently ideological, and it is the job of the archaeologist to implant the correct value system in their work. Lewthwaite (1988: 96-97) warns that both positivist and relativist archaeologists are influenced by the "presentism" of the contemporary world since they either

interpret archaeological data using "...the 'timeless' certainties of the covering-law theorists..." or they construct prehistories "...'meaningful' in terms of present-day issues, oriented towards some deeply desired future...". He urges archaeologists to break away from the certainties of the present and take on the difficult task of meeting and interpreting the past on its own terms.

From the above discussion, we can identify three groups of scholars. The first contains archaeologists who are strongly positivist. They believe that the "real past" is empirically knowable if the correct procedures are applied during the excavation, analysis and interpretation of archaeological sites. Their goal is to define these procedures by means of an explicitly scientific method and theory. Second are scholars who take a relativistic approach. These contextualists accept ideology as inevitable and unavoidable. Some take a phenomenological position, viewing ideology as a framework structuring our understanding of the world. Without ideology, they argue, we would be incapable of categorization and hence unable to comprehend our natural and social environments. Other contextualists interpret dominant ideologies as false consciousness hiding contradictions and conflicts within a society. They believe, however, that alternative points of view can and should be expressed. In this way, the dominant ideology and the power inequalities which sustain it can be actively challenged. In both cases, ideology is considered inevitable and unavoidable. The extension of this position is that archaeological sites and research results can and should be used for attaining well-defined political ends.

The third group contains archaeologists who fall along the continuum between these two extremes. These scholars believe that archaeological data derived using standardized procedures can generate a range of explanations. They are aware of the contextual constraints impinging on these explanations, but qualify their relativism by arguing that

the data base will limit and control for socio-political distortions. Since the worldview of the people doing research and the society which sponsors it can never be eliminated totally, the main issue for these scholars is determining the limits on the objectivity of explanation. This they do by attempting to detail the range of contextual constraints on explanation and by determining which kinds of archaeological data are more robust and hence less influenced by socio-political constraints.

In the following section, I will discuss the assumptions that the members of each of these groups hold regarding the goals and purpose of archaeology. I will ask how these assumptions influence the researchers' perceptions of the relationship between archaeology and the broader society. Finally, I will illustrate how these perceptions affect the planning and implementation of excavation, analysis and the presentation of research results to other archaeologists and to the public.

Positivists-Realists

Unearthing a real past was one goal defined by processual archaeologists. In Explanation in Archeology: An Explicitly Scientific Approach, a work outlining many issues of concern to American archaeologists during the 1960s and 1970s, the authors state that archaeologists should take a positivist stand toward their discipline and their data. "The information is there, it is the investigator's task to devise means to extract it" (Watson et al. 1971:113). As Patrik (1985 38) points out, the model of the archaeological record used by processual archaeology "...attributes two very important features to archaeological evidence: it has been formed by law-determined processes, and it records its causes in a way that a fossil records a past living organism." Processual archaeologists argue that if the underlying natural and behavioral laws which create specific

kinds of physical remains can be identified in the present, the past can be known.

Most of today's archaeologists were schooled in the theory and procedures of processual archaeology. They, nevertheless, continue to tackle questions of culture history which still have to be answered before the "processual" questions can be considered or, alternatively, they work on cultural resource management or contract projects (Watson 1986: 443). All of these fields assume that a real past can be discovered and described. Archaeologists are joined by interested members of the public who demand from archaeology a "true" picture of what happened in prehistoric and ancient times. Developments in method and theory since 1962 have led away from the naive empiricism of normative archaeology, but not away from empiricism. Believing that what we want to know about the real past is encoded in the archaeological record and decipherable through scientific means, processual archaeologists have merely created a new and more sophisticated form of empiricism (Dunnell 1986: 38; Miller and Tilley 1984: 3).

Central to processual archaeology is the belief that the prehistoric and historic archaeological records were created by people interacting with their environments and with each other in patterned and, hence, predictable ways. Clues allowing archaeologists to recreate these behavioral patterns are thought to have been retained in the ground over centuries or even millennia. Processual archaeology aims at developing methods and theories which permit archaeologists to identify and decipher these clues. Ideally, archaeologists can then describe and try to understand past behavioral systems. A central task of processual archaeology is therefore methodological. The goal of new archaeologists is to develop methods that will elicit a real past.

Accompanying this emphasis on understanding changes in human culture over time has been the development of functional explanations about all spheres of past and present human behavior. Taking a materialist stand, facilitated by the discipline's stress on material remains and consistent with their general theoretical approach, processual archaeologists have argued that cultures can be understood as specifically human "extra-somatic means of adaptation" (Binford 1962: 218). This idea is linked to a systemic approach. Cultures are seen as systems made up of technological, social and ideational subsystems that work together, ideally, in equilibrium. The materialist assumptions of processual archaeology mean that scholars using a systems approach believe that understanding human economic and technological adaptation will lead to a clearer understanding of social and cultural adaptation.

This functionalist view of culture has several implications. First, processual archaeologists view phenomena from an international and universal perspective (Trigger 1984b). Their interest is not in describing and understanding particular historical events, but in uncovering laws which explain cultural change. Ideally, these laws will be applicable to all cultures through prehistoric and historic times. Second, processualists tend to assume that ideal cultural systems are balanced and unchanging. The focus of their research thus becomes the explanation of observed systemic change through time using models which see this change as an attempt to adjust the system to deal with disequilibrium created by internal or external ecological pressures. As Patterson points out "...their theory of change was, in fact, a theory of how social order or stability was disturbed or disrupted" (1986a: 47). This perspective can be contrasted with that of Marxist scholars who argue that social conflict, particularly class conflict, is the inevitable and necessary force behind all societal change (Spriggs 1984a).

A consequence of the positivist stance of processual archaeology is that the discipline has been classified as a science and, hence, as inherently objective by many of its practitioners. Binford was an early advocate of an explicitly scientific approach to archaeological research. In one of his seminal articles, he argued that the double aim of archaeology is "...to explicate and explain the total range of physical and cultural similarities and differences of the entire spatial and temporal span of man's existence" (1962: 217). According to Binford, explanation, which consists of delineating general and universal laws explaining the process of culture change, is, by definition, scientific. Because Binford and other processual archaeologists see science as the antithesis of ideology, they argue that moving beyond the subjectivity of external interests to attain the goal of objective truth is possible. Science will neutralize the effects of interests linked either to broad social trends or to individual idiosyncrasies. Processual archaeologists thus deny the link between contemporary politics, social processes, and the interpretation of archaeological data. Many archaeologists continue to believe that they can produce a true version of the past unaffected by politics.

Several other goals and assumptions of processual archaeology affect archaeologists' impressions of the relationship between their discipline and the rest of society. Processualist archaeologists' interest in developing general laws of cultural change gives the discipline an internationalist flavor which denies the relevancy of local history or studying the history of colonized peoples (Trigger 1980). It also reflects the belief held by Euroamerican archaeologists that their approach to archaeology is inherently superior to that of other archaeologists. What these archaeologists fail to understand is that processual archaeology is itself specific to a particular historical time and place. The notion of

archaeology as a world discipline devoted to the study of universalistic laws of culture change can be tied to the liberal image of a "world of man" in vogue throughout the western world during the 1960s and 1970s. Systems theory, a key component of processual archaeology, denied the possibility of internally generated change. In doing so it stressed stability and the maintenance of social order over conflict and dislocating social change. This is appropriate to a paradigm which "...was born and nurtured in the optimism and confidence of the New Frontier and Great Society years" (Patterson 1986a: 47). The above discussion leads us to the conclusion that there is no inherent and absolute truth in processual archaeology.

Processual archaeologists were never completely divorced from the world around them. They saw their discipline as an important source of models to illustrate the effect that human groups may have on the natural environment. It has been argued by some archaeologists that, by studying the results of the alteration of the environment by humans in prehistory, we may be able to avoid equally maladaptive behavior ourselves (Fritz 1973: 81). Such a goal seems rather idealistic in the late twentieth century.

A major criticism of processual archaeology leveled by Hodder and other archaeologists is that it denies the possibility that human action can change the world by arguing that ecological factors mold the sociocultural system to such a degree that they limit choice of action. Although society and culture do structure human perceptions and actions, this control is not absolute. The individual actor and interest groups within a society can change the world in significant ways. Our actions are patterned, but these patterns are constantly being redefined. Critics argue that processual archaeology engenders apathy to contemporary social and political problems in its followers

since its underlying philosophy mitigates against the possibility that people can change their own societies.

Relativists-Contextualists

In contrast to positivist archaeologists who believe in the possibility of delineating and describing a real past, relativists argue that our view of the past is inextricably linked to our view of the present. Hodder recognizes this when he says that "Any representation of the past is a social statement in the present. It orders experience and creates social positions. The past is used as an effective structuring principle in many walks of contemporary life" (1985: 18). Thus, not only does the present affect our view of history and prehistory but our representations of the past help us structure our understanding of contemporary reality. The relationship between past and present is one of dialogue; it is dialectical with the arrows of determination pointing in both directions (Hodder 1986).

In a recent article, Hodder (1987a: 2) defines the meaning of the term "contextual" as it applies to archaeology. "Context", he says, refers to the context in which the production and use of archaeological objects takes place; the temporal and spatial network of relations within which the object acquires meaning; and the concern archaeologists have with particular data over general theory. This last meaning includes "...the context of the archaeologist and the relationship between that context and the interpretations that are made of the archaeological data." It is this last meaning of "context", that of the historical context of the archaeologist, which I shall refer to in the following pages.

Contextualists see the archaeological record as a historical record created by past human authors (Patrik 1985: 33). It is a text created in accordance with codes or rules that form an unconscious "grammar" of behavior. This "grammar" can and does change over time. It is not

applicable cross-culturally. Consequently, there is no possibility that universal laws governing human behavior will be found. Behavioral codes will always be historically specific and undecipherable by people, such as archaeologists, from outside the system. The archaeological record, furthermore, is active. It can communicate data "...that may transform the reader's ideas or behavior, they may even be used as part of an educational or political strategy to shape social structures" (Patrik 1985: 34). Finally, the archaeological record as a historical text may mask the truth through a deliberate or an unconscious choice of its author, the archaeologist. The record of the past can act as ideology.

For contextualists, there is no real past, or at least no real past that can be known absolutely. Rather, there is a series of different "pasts", each one potentially as useful for interpreting the past as the next. Ultimately, the acceptability of these interpretations is not determined through any absolute claim to truth but through an evaluation of the role each plays in current social and political debate.

Two approaches to contextualist archaeology can be identified. One, the phenomenological approach, argues that we create and structure reality through culturally bound perceptions (Hodder 1982b; Leone 1986: 418). This happened in the past and continues in the present. Consequently, we can never truly understand the lives of past peoples. Their perceptions of the food they ate, the territory within which they lived, their religious beliefs and all other aspects of their lives will always be different from ours and, hence, inaccessible to us. Furthermore, as Hodder (1986) points out, we understand the present as it is structured by our understanding of the past. We weave our perceptions of the past into a web of meaning which defines our lives and actions today. The past defines us as we define it.

The other approach to contextualist archaeology is derived from Marxist theory (Leone 1982; 1986; Spriggs 1984b). Its adherents argue that since most archaeological research is sponsored by the state and carried out by archaeologists who represent economically and politically powerful interest groups, research results tend to present a vision of the past which supports and confirms the currently dominant ideology. Olsen (1986), for example, shows how the reality of ethnic pluralism in present-day Norway is denied by a myth of ethnic uniformity propagated by the modern bourgeois nation-state. This is done archaeologically by stressing a model of cultural evolutionism which sees a sedentary society, such as that of the majority Norwegians, as superior to the hunting and gathering lifestyle of the minority Saami peoples. Some Marxist-oriented scholars argue that such interpretations are a manifestation of false consciousness and that they can be unmasked or debunked using scientific methods which expose the role of ideology in maintaining and justifying the position of the dominant elite. There are as many potential versions of the past as there are interest groups. The goal of the archaeologist should be to help individuals and groups express alternative visions of the past. This can be done by using rigorous archaeological techniques, methods and procedures coupled with the various interpretations of social reality offered by alternative groups (Hodder 1984: 30-31; Shanks and Tilley 1987). The validity of these interpretations will be judged on two levels. First, the investigation, that is the excavation and analysis, must be conducted using standard, up-to-date archaeological techniques. Second, the interpretation of the data should challenge the dominant ideology by offering a new perception of present social reality. This will be done through novel and original interpretations of the past. Archaeology will become a means of justifying and legitimizing the creation of alternative versions of history.

Contextualist archaeologists see the goals and purpose of archaeology as (1) understanding and interpreting the archaeological record in terms of a specific social, political and economic context, (2) providing opportunities for individuals and groups to express interpretations of the past which do not follow automatically from the premises of the dominant ideology and (3) using alternative interpretations of the past to undermine ideologies which institutionalize inequalities and hinder progressive social change. Such goals reflect a view of society that differs significantly from that of positivist processual archaeologists. Contextualists acknowledge the structures of human society, but do not consider them determinant of human action. They stress the need for active involvement in social change by individuals. For archaeologists, this includes the ability to create a rendition of the past that is a reflection of a potential rather than an actual social reality.

These goals are accomplished in a number of ways. In all cases research methodology in the field and the laboratory remains rigorous. The difference between positivist and contextualist archaeology is that, in the latter, the neutrality of scientific methodology is no longer taken for granted. Decisions about where and what to excavate, which artifacts to analyze and which to display are all considered within the context of the broader society. Recent debates about the excavation of native North American burial sites and the analysis of skeletal materials demonstrate that where to dig and what to analyze are not decisions made simply on the basis of random sampling and construction projects. Instead, they involve consideration of the impact that archaeological research has on native peoples' claims to an independent spiritual and political existence outside mainstream North American culture.

Hand-in-hand with this concern for contextualizing archaeology comes a concern with adapting archaeological research and research results to the needs of local communities. In the past, archaeology has been an elitist discipline. Scholars, most of them white, middle-class men trained in the universities of Europe and North America, travelled to distant parts of the world to excavate sites which could provide insights into human development (Ucko 1987). Little effort was made to explain to the local people why the excavation was necessary or to help them understand the significance of the results. Often, local residents were seen as cheap dirt-moving labor or quaint models of traditional culture who could provide raw material for ethnographic analogies. Contextualist archaeologists have tried to explode this dichotomy between expert and layperson. In Mozambique, for example, Swedish and Mozambican archaeologists have encouraged local involvement in the excavation of a site near a rural village. Through site tours, and a small site museum they have given local people an opportunity to ask their own questions about the past (Sinclair 1986).

This focus on education goes beyond the locale where excavation takes place. Like many of their colleagues, contextualist archaeologists are interested in education in a more general sense. In Britain, Japan and North America they have considered the value of teaching school children about the methods and results of archaeological research (Stone and MacKenzie 1990). They have attempted, furthermore, to assess how the public perceives archaeology and the results of archaeological investigation (Fowler 1981; Hodder et al. n.d.; Hodder 1986: 161-164). Scholars are eager to develop ways to popularize their work and make it accessible to a broader audience without vulgarization or inaccuracy (Addyman 1990; Kuttruff 1990). Such a goal is difficult to accomplish since archaeological knowledge, like any other kind of knowledge, is in constant flux. It

changes daily as new data are uncovered, new methodologies developed and new perspectives call for a reassessment of archaeological goals.

With the publication of Shanks and Tilley's Re-constructing Archaeology (1987), we have the most sophisticated exposition to date of this relativist-contextualist position. Using theory derived from post-structuralist philosophers and social theorists, Shanks and Tilley argue that by substituting "... a view of the discipline as an hermeneutically informed dialectical science of past and present unremittingly embracing and attempting to understand the polyvalent qualities of the socially constructed world of the past and the world in which we live...", we can get beyond "...the subjective idealism of scientistic archaeology...." They continue (1987: 243):

> We sustain throughout a rejection of the past as presented in archaeological texts as objective or, alternatively, as subjective. There is no question of choosing one or the other. Archaeological theory and practice as labor in the present completely transcend this artificial division, labor which draws past and present into a fresh perspective, a perspective which serves to rearticulate their relationship.

What Shanks and Tilley ask is that archaeologists write neither a pretense at "...an account of what the past was really like..." nor "...analytical narratives or 'stories'..." which are "...a pure figment of our imagination." Rather, they urge us to create works that "... tie together past and present through a political interpretation of the materials, an interpretation which ultimately aims to write our lived present into a past. Archaeology is a particular and active relation between past and present" (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 243). In doing so they hope to get beyond the subjectivity-objectivity/ relativist-positivist dichotomies that have dominated

theoretical debate in archaeology and, indeed, the social sciences for decades.

Shanks and Tilley give us a thorough critique of the notion of objectivity in archaeological research and presentation. They declare the language of cultural resource management to be the language of cultural capitalism. "It is a practice in which a series of individuals assert a hegemonic claim to the past and organize the temporal passage of this cultural capital from its historical context to the present of spectacular preservation, display, study and interpretation" (1987: 24). Thus they argue that history and archaeology are defined by elite professionals who produce an account of the past which alienates rather than informs the uninitiated public. The past is commodified, it is "...available to purchase while mysterious in its origin, in the technology of its production" (1987: 25). Most people have no idea how to interpret the past. They must leave this job to specialists.

According to Shanks and Tilley, the solution to this problem of alienation from the past lies in the "...active reworking ..." of the past "...in the present by archaeologists who do not assert themselves as the managers of some unspecified general heritage, a mythical landscape worn with time" (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 25). Archaeologists will be responsible for undercutting authoritarian impulses and pinning down the past. This will entail "...a radical pluralism, an unceasing reworking of the past (1987: 28). It will mean that all people and groups with an interest in the present and in the past will be free to interpret the archaeological data base as they wish. Hodder (1984) has presented a similar argument.

But is such a notion really so distant from the relativism and subjectivity Shanks and Tilley have criticized throughout their work? I would say that, despite assertions to the contrary, the argument these authors

present is relativist. Shanks and Tilley state that, by keeping science as a goal, archaeologists can avoid the irrationality of subjectivism or relativism. But, for these authors, science entails a merging of subject and object. Thus, while they believe that facts exist and that these facts constantly affect and change theory through "the dialectic of practice", they also claim that facts can only be known through theory (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 110). It is this theory, furthermore, which is open to a variety of interpretations. Hence Shanks and Tilley conclude that, because anything archaeologists say about the past "...will either challenge or help sustain the present social order" (1987: 110), archaeologists and other individuals and groups must take a political or ethical position in their interpretation of the past. I find this conclusion profoundly relativist.

Between Realism and Contextualism

Standing between these extremes of realism and contextualism are the majority of archaeologists who strive for objectivity but recognize the vulnerability of their discipline to social and political pressures. Scholars such as Conkey and Spector (1984), Fowler (1987), Gero et al. (1983), Hall (1984; 1990), Leone (1981; 1982; 1984; 1986), Leone et al. (1987), Patterson (1986b), Trigger (1984b; 1985; 1986a; 1989), Wilk (1985) and Wylie (1983; 1985a; 1985b; 1989), to mention only a few, have discussed the interaction between archaeology and society in an attempt to identify the limits of archaeological objectivity and, if possible, to extend these bounds. The underlying premise in the works of all these scholars is that, although our interpretations of the past often mirror our understanding of the present, there is a reality underlying archaeological interpretation. This reality can be understood by refining methodologies, that is, by improving physical methods of recovery and analysis, and by developing new means of

interpretation, for example, by reassessing the use of analogy (Wylie 1985b). It can also be understood by recognizing and delineating the ways in which specific worldviews or ideologies affect archaeological research and interpretation.

Unlike the extreme realists, these middle-of-the-road scholars do not exalt scientific interpretations as inherently objective and hence beyond social and political pressures. Although they seek rigor in their analyses of archaeological data, they realize that ignoring or dismissing the question of the influence of external socio-political factors on archaeological knowledge will not make the issue disappear. Consequently, they face the problem head-on with detailed studies outlining the impact of society on archaeological interpretation. Unlike the contextualists, they recognize a level of archaeological knowledge which is objective, a reality to our knowledge of the past that is not dependent on contemporary categorization and cannot, except by denying basic canons of reason and observation, be manipulated and used for political purposes. This position draws on those philosophical arguments against relativism which oppose the idea that all interpretations should be considered valid even when they uphold ideologies created and propagated to serve the interests of limited groups. It is upheld by historical studies which show archaeology to be a discipline in which changes in our knowledge of the past challenge a society's view of itself.

In the following section, I will examine ways in which the socio-political and economic framework of archaeologists and archaeology affect (1) the results of academic and research archaeology, (2) the presentation of archaeologically derived knowledge through the media, systems of formal education and museums and (3) information derived from cultural resource management (CRM) projects.

Academic Archaeology

For many years academic archaeology, that is, work carried out by professional scholars affiliated with museums and universities, was considered to be the ideal form of archaeological inquiry. Although the results of such research were eventually presented to the public, the main audience for academic archaeology was and still is found among a small group of specialists. These scholars do "pure research" which is commonly thought to result in objective and neutral scientific knowledge. The questions asked, the analytical techniques used and the areas excavated by academic archaeologists are chosen in a seemingly dispassionate way, the criteria for selection being an assessment of the amount and quality of information that the site may produce or the strength of the theoretical framework. Recently, CRM, which is tied closely to market forces and is more obviously influenced by socio-political and economic factors, has become a key source of archaeological funding (Cleere 1984; 1989). Doubts about the objectivity of CRM research has led scholars to question not just CRM but the entire archaeological enterprise. In the following section, I will discuss the validity of the notion of untainted academic research.

Trigge is an archaeologist who has discussed the impact of social, political and economic trends on archaeology. In a series of works published since the early 1980s (1980; 1984a; 1984b; 1986a 1986b; 1989), he has used historical analyses of archaeology in North America and abroad to illustrate the degree to which academic archaeological research is linked to national and pan-national worldviews. He relates these worldviews to the economic and political world system and to the place each nation-state sponsoring archaeological research has within this system.

Trigger shows the political contingency of archaeology but also argues for objectivity in archaeological

interpretation using a historical analysis that demonstrates how an accumulation of data and, more crucially, methodological advances, have given archaeologists a base upon which to develop a critique of prevalent but falsifiable "common sense" worldviews. In an article on archaeology and the image of the North American Indian, for example, Trigger (1980) shows how archaeologists, assuming that native North Americans were inherently unprogressive, overlooked or attempted to explain away clear evidence of the indigenous cultural change through time that they were able to collect evidence for in the archaeological record. It was not until the archaeological evidence for change became overwhelming and the myth of the unchanging native was brought into question by shifting relations between native peoples and the majority population that archaeologists began to reassess and, eventually, come to terms with evidence of internal cultural change and differentiation within prehistoric native cultures.

Trigger analyses the effects of social and political pressures on archaeology at the level of large social groups or classes rather than individuals. Arguing that archaeological interpretations must be understood as reflections of group worldviews, he points out that:

> ...social stereotypes influence the interpretation of archaeology in significant ways, without archaeologists necessarily being aware that this is happening. They affect the questions that archaeologists ask and the answers they are predisposed to accept, with less rigorous standards of proof being required for interpretations that seem to be in accord with what is believed to be axiomatic or common sense (Trigger 1986a: 3).

The demonstration of this statement through historical analyses of archaeological work is one of Trigger's major contributions to the discussion of objectivity and subjectivity in archaeology.

Examining this same issue in another part of the world, Hall (1984; 1990) discusses archaeology in southern Africa, that is, in historic Rhodesia and contemporary Zimbabwe and South Africa. In his articles, he shows how the dominant ideology of the white minority has affected seemingly neutral archaeological research. Hall says that archaeologists have a dual role in southern African society. On the one hand, they study black history, a subject which, from time to time, has been actively discouraged by the white nationalist governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. On the other hand, all archaeologists belong to the educated elite of South Africa. Consequently, they are mostly white and thus part of the establishment which sustains and benefits from white minority rule. While many archaeologists abhor white nationalism, they fear black nationalism since they recognize in it a threat to their privileged position within South African society. This contradiction is dealt with by a retreat into academic research so specialized that it fails to convey the implications of its conclusions to either the white or black South African public.

On the basis of his analysis Hall concludes that archaeology is deeply affected by ideology since:

> The concerns of the present become the problems of history, and unarticulated assumptions about the nature of human society - 'common sense' understandings of the present - become the links which connect fragmentary archaeological evidence (Hall 1990).

The ideological environment of archaeology affects the questions asked and the answers deemed acceptable to archaeologists and their funding agencies. Of course, these links are extremely complex. This thesis will examine this complexity within Japanese archaeology.

Fowler (1987) is another archaeologist who describes and discusses the impact of social and political factors on the discipline. His article touches on the influence of national ideology on CRM and archaeological presentation but

is general enough to include in this section on academic archaeology. In an analysis of the historical development of archaeology in Mexico, Great Britain and the People's Republic of China, Fowler demonstrates that "...nation-states and their partisans have used archaeology, archaeological remains, and the past generally for purposes of national or chauvinistic ideology, or the legitimation of power, or all three" (1987: 230). The mechanisms by which this happens are diverse. In some cases, archaeologists have interpreted archaeological remains in ways which fit the ideological needs of the state. In others, the ideology is implicit; it is part of the unquestioned "...ideological tenets and values from within the archaeologist's culture" (1987: 241). Fowler argues that either form of ideological input is dangerous. He believes, furthermore, that archaeologists should examine their assumptions carefully and make explicit any nationalistic goals and ideals they find. In this way, they will be able to carry the rigor of the new archaeology one step further in seeking Watson's "real" past.

Patterson (1986b) examines how changes in the economic and political situation of the United States have resulted in the development of alternative forms of archaeological discourse or method and theory in contemporary American archaeological circles. He shows how educational opportunities for archaeologists, professional societies and changes in funding policy all reflect the presence, within US society, of two major power blocs; the "Eastern Establishment" comprised of international monopoly and industrial capitalists and the "Core Culture" made up of national capitalists. In his article, Patterson shows how these two blocs emerged and lost or gained power. He discusses the distinctive discourse of the archaeological communities linked to these blocs and illustrates how each reinterprets the facts presented by the other. He points out that the individuals working within these paradigms

"...are never totally conscious of how their actions, values, or desires are determined by class and culture" (1986b: 20) and concludes that the various communities are linked "...not by the questions archaeologists ask but rather by what they take for granted: the presuppositions or antecedent logical conditions of those questions" (1986b: 21).

Binford (1986) is the final archaeologist I will discuss in this section. In recent years, he has adopted a more moderate view of objectivity in archaeological research. He points out that since scientists are human beings who live and participate in culture they are not exempt from its effects. He disagrees with the empiricist position that we can get beyond culture by merely looking at raw data and building up a picture of reality from pure facts. Nor does he agree with contextualists such as Hodder, since he sees their critique of archaeology as science as leading to a crippling scepticism. He says instead that it is only through science that we can get beyond culture and explore alternative ways of looking at the world. Science provides a framework for questioning our assumptions and constantly bringing our interpretations into question. Although Binford continues to advocate controlled paradigm change, he now accepts the importance of identifying social and cultural input into archaeological interpretation.

The archaeologists discussed above display a range of views on the problem of objectivity and academic archaeology. Patterson's analysis of archaeology and society implies that the social and political forces impinging on archaeological interpretation cannot be eradicated. They are part of the cultural baggage of archaeologists. He examines the underlying economic and political structures which inform archaeological interpretation and appears doubtful that a "real" past can be defined. Hall and Trigger advise caution saying that

archaeologists must look at the reasons why they ask certain questions and accept only some answers. Trigger does this by identifying the interests of archaeologists and the society supporting them. Hall suggests that the source of the problem lies in the social, political and economic systems of the society which funds the research. Identifying the root of the worldviews which affect archaeological research will not eradicate their influence completely but will help scholars move toward a more objective view of the past. What is important is that archaeologists continue to refine their methodology and theory respecting data as well as ideas. Binford seems to agree with this position. He fails, however, to connect his analysis of the ideas which affect and limit archaeological interpretation to a critique of differential control of economic and political power by groups within a society. Instead, he attributes different worldviews to variations in culture. Fowler suggests that nationalist ideology be eradicated through self-conscious archaeology. His goal is to write a version of Watson's "real" past.

Society and Archaeological Presentation

As shown above, archaeological research is not conducted in a vacuum. Once they have produced information about the past, archaeologists usually feel the need and responsibility to present some of their findings in a form that is accessible to a more or less interested public. For non-specialists there are several easily accessible sources of archaeological information. Perhaps the best known are museums, historic monuments and archaeological sites. Television, films, newspapers, magazines and books are another way of learning about the past. Finally, in the classroom, where most people first encounter prehistory and ancient history, textbooks provide a source of archaeological knowledge.

Academic archaeologists often express concern that the kinds of archaeological materials available to the public are at best incomplete and at worst incorrect. Part of the problem with popularization is that the ideas presented must be simplified so that non-specialists and people of varying ages and backgrounds can understand them. Facts and theories, furthermore, are often out of date. An additional problem is that archaeological information must be marketable; hence it often reflects rather than tries to change the preconceptions about the past and the present of its audience. Newspaper articles about archaeology, for example, usually emphasize the antiquity and extreme size, whether it be large or small, of archaeological finds. They say little about the implications of the site in broader historical terms.

In many cases, popularized presentations of archaeological materials reflect implicit assumptions about the present and the past held by members of the society where the research is done. Leone is an archaeologist who has been instrumental in analyzing the impact of ideology on archaeological presentation. His view is less global than that of Trigger; Leone looks at how ideology is created through the excavation, interpretation and presentation to the public of historic archaeological sites in the contemporary United States.

Leone defines ideology as "...the mental 'givens', or 'taken-for-granteds' held unawares by members of a society; things that are taken as being 'obvious' and 'naturally so', not the explicit beliefs of a group" (1982: 748). He ties this definition to the concept of class conflict, saying that ideology hides the reality of conflict between groups by masking contradictions. Ideology denies exploitative relations between classes in any given society. It creates shared viewpoints which are seen as inevitable and natural. In the case of most archaeological sites, ideology is implicit in the uncritical interpretations of the site by

the excavators. Critical archaeology "...subjects the questions, methods, and discoveries of a science or discipline to questions which ask how the scientist's surroundings dictate the questions, influence the method, and predetermine the results or, more usually, their meaning and interpretation" (Leone 1986: 429). In doing so, however, science is not completely denied. "The claim of a critical archaeology is that seeing the interrelationship between archaeology and politics will allow archaeologists to achieve less contingent knowledge" (Leone et al. 1987:284). Like Trigger, Leone assumes that something of a "correct" past can be known once the layers of ideology have been peeled away.

Leone applies the notion of ideology to archaeological research in two ways. First, he searches in the archaeological record for material evidence of the beginning of specific contemporary ideologies, that is, he illuminates the origins of modern ideology. In doing so, he shows how relations between classes within the society were mystified in the past and how historical and archaeological analyses continue this mystification today. Leone's second goal is to expose contemporary ideology. He does this in a pedagogical manner showing visitors to Annapolis, Maryland how one particular picture of the past is created by archaeologists, historians and the tourist industry and how this picture is linked to local and national ideologies.

In summary, Leone examines several issues relating to the way in which archaeological interpretations are affected by contemporary society. He explores the important influence of unconscious ideologies or worldviews on archaeological interpretation and presentation. He links these ideologies diffusely to capitalism by assuming that they work to maintain inequalities inherent in the capitalist society of the contemporary United States.

On a more pragmatic level, Leone recognizes that museums and archaeological presentations, including his own,

are limited by their social context (Leone et al. 1987). In most cases, the ideology influencing museum exhibits remains unconscious. In critical archaeology projects, however, this ideology and its sources are brought to the surface. Nevertheless, critical archaeology remains inherently political since it seeks to understand the role of archaeology in masking conflict and contradictions. Once these contradictions are uncovered, they can be ignored, they can be reenacted and replicated or they can be understood and eventually changed. Leone's project, like all archaeological projects, is limited by its social context. It is part of an institutional framework which includes funding agencies and academic departments of anthropology, institutions that provide archaeologists with money and other resources to carry-out their research. The dilemma for critical archaeology is that it seeks to undermine and transform the institutional framework which sustains it. Herein lies the contradiction of critical archaeology.

Other archaeologists have also pointed out that the views of the groups dominant in a society usually influence popular presentations of archaeology. Price (1986) argues that sites can never be restored to their original state since the restoration is always influenced by values of the society. In modern nation-states these dominant values are often national cultural values or worldviews. Fowler (1987) and Hunter (1981) agree that a nation's past can be presented using archaeological sites and materials as symbols of national unity. Jones and Pay (1990) point out that museum displays usually present versions of reality which suit dominant groups and uphold a specific social order. In their analysis they demonstrate the gender orientation of museums that often display a male rather than a female past. In an analysis of the National Geographic Magazine, Gero and Root (1990) find that "Geography and archaeology in 'fact' deliver moral lessons of progress and

of national and racial hierarchies as the social relations of domination are frozen into the logics of technology." Textbooks are equally capable of affirming and reproducing dominant ideologies. In some cases, such as in Japan, where educational standards are carefully controlled and national unity stressed, this is done consciously (Fawcett and Habu 1990); in others, it is the result of implicit beliefs (Vincent and Arcand 1979).

In conclusion, it is evident that the impact of societal values on archaeological presentation is strong and, in many cases, obvious. One reason for this is that popular archaeology often caters to an audience which accepts presentations as "true", especially when they confirm seemingly obvious beliefs and worldviews. Science is rarely questioned; the specialist being considered objective and beyond prejudice or preconception. Furthermore, the presentation of archaeology to the public is often done through the auspices of a national government which uses archaeological sites and resources to create national unity.

Society and Cultural Resource Management

It is in cultural resource management that we see the greatest impact of societal and political pressures on archaeological work. Wylie points out that archaeology today can be seen as "...a technology of data collection (an industry in the business of producing raw materials requisite for historical, anthropological research)..." (Wylie 1983: 122). This is because CRM archaeology is more closely controlled by governmental regulations, market-oriented competition and the bureaucratic structure found both in government and in private CRM teams than is academic archaeology. Bureaucracy in CRM results in a departmentalization of the archaeological research process to a point where it loses its creativity. Although this is an efficient way of excavating and cataloguing data, it is

not conducive to creative archaeological research (Paynter 1983: Wylie 1983).

CRM is affected by political, economic and cultural factors (Cleere 1989). Cultural resource protection laws are passed by the governments of nation-states. They reflect the attitudes towards the past of those who create the dominant ideology and they determine broader societal attitudes toward the past. In most cases money for excavation is provided by government or private developers. As Lipe has noted "...individual and societal decisions that affect cultural resources - decisions to preserve, study, restore, display, neglect or destroy - will have an economic dimension" (1984: 8). While certainly not the case for all North American archaeologists, some archaeologists are less interested in helping to stabilize or preserve sites than in providing data so that government bureaucrats can decide which sites are to be used as "ideological symbols". Thus, "Archaeology has a social function as an industry in the production of ideology" (Blakey 1983: 14). Trigger agrees saying that CRM seeks to achieve goals for preserving the national heritage set through the political process. For this reason it is inherently partisan rather than scientific. He, nevertheless, believes that some scientific findings can come out of this kind of research (Trigger 1986b: 203).

In recent years, CRM has become a central feature of archaeological work. Consequently, it has been in CRM that the influence of groups which question the right of archaeologists to excavate and analyze sites has had the greatest effect. There are many examples in North America and Australia of excavations which have been stopped or curtailed because of objections from native people. As Trigger (1986b: 207) points out, national governments in the United States and Canada backed by the white majority are able to side-step responsible treatment of native people in real economic and political terms by conceding their right

to curtail the excavation of native sites, a purely symbolic gesture.

The Effect of Archaeological Research on Society

I have discussed above ways in which archaeological research and presentation are affected by economic and socio-political trends. The other side of the equation is the effect archaeology has on the society which funds and sponsors research. This question has been addressed in a global sense by Trigger, who has illustrated the extent to which archaeological research molds the views that people around the world hold concerning human nature. He points out that:

> New discoveries have the greatest impact on archaeology when they contradict established views of the past and hence require archaeologists to rethink the assumptions on which these views were based. Archaeological data do not rule out creationism or similar supernatural views of human origins and history, but those who do believe in such concepts must now reject not merely archaeological evidence but also all scientific methodology. These transformations of humanity's view of its history are clearly a significant manifestation of archaeology on an international scale (Trigger 1986a: 14).

By viewing the history of archaeological research on a global scale, Trigger has shown that the discipline has defined and molded modern attitudes toward human physical and cultural development.

Leone's work suggests other ways in which archaeology can influence the society in which research is done. In his analysis of outdoor history museums, he implies that the reason archaeologists must be more self-conscious about the ideology implicit in their work is that, presently, non-critical archaeology is merely reproducing the ideological framework of the contemporary United States. He argues, in other words, that presentations of archaeological research will inevitably influence the worldviews of the people

visiting museums. Archaeologist should, therefore, make ideological premises explicit. In this way they may change present and future ideology by describing history in a less ideological form today (Leone 1982). Although this thesis deals implicitly with the problem of how archaeological research affects society, I will concentrate on the opposite question, that is, how does the social milieu affect archaeologists and archaeology in Japan.

Working within Socio-Political Constraints

Over the past decade, archaeologists have clearly delineated the impact of society and politics on archaeological research and presentation. The archaeologists whose work I have discussed argue that their observations and critiques do not lead them to a skepticism which denies the possibility of objective archaeological research. Most conclude that an understanding of the past is possible after the societal influences on that knowledge are recognized. Trigger (1986a), Gero (1987), Merriman (1987), Wobst and Keene (1983) and Wylie (1989) all agree that while archaeological paradigms change in response to political and economic pressures, the analytical methods and data of archaeology are cumulative and have international significance. They are not limited to one culture or one period.

This "top-down" approach to the question of archaeological objectivity is clearly seen in the work of Wylie. She points out that some scholars react to the acknowledgement of ideological input into archaeology by either reverting to technical research and empiricism or by adopting a cynical attitude which leads them to use their insights about the political economy of archaeology to further their own interests. The latter do not even pretend to look for a "correct" interpretation of archaeological data, but assume that any interpretation is a construct of the present. Wylie believes that this is the wrong

approach. She says that, because we have been able to specify points where social and political factors impinge on archaeological interpretation, we can put up a strong argument against this sort of skepticism. She calls for an optimistic treatment of archaeological research which aims at gradually eliminating ideological biases.

Wylie has also looked at the issue of objectivity in archaeology from the "bottom-up" by defining methodological responses for archaeologists to make when confronted by ideological constraints. She critiques the positivism of the new archaeology while searching for a way of avoiding relativism. She argues that archaeologists need to develop a limited objectivism in which the bounds of empirically derived objective knowledge are clearly stated. One way of doing this, she asserts, is to develop a "ladder of inference" based on empirical observations of those human actions which create archaeological remains. Wylie points out that Binford is using actualistic research to link human behavior directly to unique and diagnostic archaeological "effects". She thinks, however, that his work is flawed because he fails to realize that there are many aspects of the human past which will always remain hidden from the archaeologist. It is, in fact, those elements of human behavior that are the most distinctively human, that is, those linked to the social and ideological spheres of culture, which often fail to leave impressions in the archaeological record (Hawkes 1954 :162). Wylie argues that archaeologists need to use actualistic research, ethnoarchaeology and experimental archaeology, to determine the limits of archaeological inference. This use of actualistic research contrasts with the use made of ethnoarchaeology and experimental archaeology by the new archaeologists, who try to formulate laws linking dynamic behavioral systems and static remains. Wylie believes that, through actualistic research, we can determine "...in concrete terms, what specific aspects of the past and what

range of problems about cultural systems archaeologists can profitably investigate, given the nature of the specific record and subject in question" (Wylie 1989: 107). Thus, Wylie accepts that archaeological knowledge is dependent on its social context up to a point, but she argues that the degree of this dependence can be controlled using (1) methodological and theoretical innovations, (2) an explicit statement of ideology and (3) the identification of the ideology's source. Such a position represents the moderate stance taken by many archaeologists today.

Archaeologists who take the middle-of-the-road approach debate among themselves the problem of positivism and relativism. They have been been criticized by contextualists, furthermore, for the positivist implications of their work. Leone, for example, claims that his approach produces knowledge which is less dependent on economic, social and political factors than the work of archaeologists who fail to acknowledge the impact of contemporary ideology on their interpretations. It has been argued, however, that Leone's interpretations are not less dependent on political, economic and social factors than those of other archaeologists, they are merely dependent in a different way (Blakey 1987: 292). Critics comment that knowledge acquired using critical archaeology does not go beyond ideology. It is supported, rather, by a different series of premises. These premises should be articulated since, while they remain hidden, they form yet another layer of ideology. Even in critical archaeology, self-reflexivity is necessary (Hodder 1987: 295).

In her reply to Leone et al. (1987), Wylie offers a possible solution to this problem of self-reflexivity. She points out that Leone wants to adjust "...positivist standards to the realities of the archaeological data" and that positivism is, by definition, "...antithetical to the critical, reflexive awareness of plural possibilities for constructing knowledge". She then concludes that Leone must

turn to a more relativistic position if he is to keep his program of critical knowledge (Wylie 1987: 298). Wylie and Gero (1987: 295) both argue that, within a relativistic, that is, a contextual paradigm, there are criteria for deciding what sorts of data are important and for evaluating the fit of the data to the interpretative framework. Admitting that knowledge is dependent on socio-political factors does not mean that we need abandon all critical assessment of knowledge claims. Scientific methodology can be used and trusted even within a relativist framework. As Blakey (1987: 292) points out, science can be ideological and simultaneously "scientific", that is, it can be affected by political, social and economic factors and still follow rigorous methods of data collection and analysis. Merriman (1987: 115) argues that we need "...to assess any arguments concerning the past by their internal logical consistency and by their fit to the evidence which is brought to bear, i.e. by their internal coherence and their correspondence to the data....Although the past will be rewritten continually as the focus of archaeological questioning changes, there are rules of logical and rigorous argument by which we can assess different interpretations of the past." Lowther (1962: 503) presents an early discussion of this same point. Trigger (1989) similarly argues that the relativist influences on specific interpretations of archaeological data must be distinguished from the broader question of the objectivity or subjectivity inherent in the scientific method as a whole.

Using the "Top-down" Approach to Understand Japanese Archaeology

In the following chapters, I will use some of these theoretical insights to examine the postwar development and current practice of archaeology in Japan. Taking the "top-down" approach, I will discuss the political, social and economic contexts of Japanese archaeology and its

practitioners. Rather than discussing how the socio-political context shapes archaeological knowledge itself, I will focus on the influence the social, political and economic contexts have on the organizational structure of archaeology and on the role postwar Japanese archaeologists believe their discipline plays within Japanese society.

The premise underlying my discussion will be that postwar Japanese archaeological work done by administrative and academic archaeologists has been performed within the framework of a broadly shared paradigm. I take the term paradigm to mean a worldview or global set of ideas accepted by a group of people, in this case Japanese archaeologists, as principles around which they can organize their work.

Paradigms are formal statements that usually depict ideal rather than actual situations. They are a public statement of what a group of people feel should be rather than what necessarily is. Thus, they are a statement of how an in-group, in this case Japanese archaeologists, wants to present itself to the rest of the world. Paradigms are expressions of what is called in Japanese tatemae, a term defined as "...the language which is used in public as a matter of 'principle'" (Moeran 1989: 18).

My use of the term paradigm is similar to that of Kuhn (1962) in that, like him, I see paradigms as sets of ideas or concepts that are structured primarily (although not exclusively) in relation to the social or institutional context of a scientific discipline rather than in relation to a set of empirical facts. Thus, I agree with Kuhn when he points out that knowledge considered by the scientific community to be legitimate during a period of "normal science"--a period during which scientists accept the premises and implications of a paradigm based on past scientific achievements--is passed down in the form of these paradigms. The main difference in my use of the term, at least for the purposes of this thesis, is that my discussions of paradigms and paradigm change do not stress

the relationship of paradigms to the way that Japanese archaeologists interpret specific findings. Rather, I will limit the use of the term paradigm to refer to a set of generally accepted ideas about the purposes of the discipline and the way in which work is best carried out. I also differ with Kuhn in his conception of paradigm change, a point I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 9.

But if the paradigm expresses a public face, what is the private reality understood by Japanese archaeologists? I would argue that, while many archaeologists advocate the postwar paradigm of archaeology at a superficial level, they are constantly reinterpreting the meaning of this paradigm within the context of their changing discipline. Thus, beneath the formal expression of the paradigm is a changing layer of private meaning which is constantly discussed and debated among archaeologists. This is the honne or "... words that 'come from the heart' and express the individual's innermost, private feelings" (Moeran 1989: 19). This is the arena of debate between members of the in-group. Although pregnant with discord and contradictions, it is in this arena that the formal paradigm is reinterpreted within the changing socio-political context of the discipline.

In the Japanese case, archaeologists defined the paradigm underlying contemporary research during the late 1940s and 1950s, in the aftermath of World War II and, hence, at a time when intellectuals were rejecting nationalist and imperialist values. The Japanese archaeological paradigm had and continues to have two parts. First, archaeologists see their discipline as a means of writing Japanese history for the Japanese people rather than for elites. Second, they believe that an understanding of Japanese prehistory and early history should be based on the detailed excavation and analysis of material remains rather than on the study of documents.

In the following chapters, I will argue that, when it was originally created, this paradigm was an ideal defined

within the context of a set of specific socio-political conditions characteristic of early postwar Japan. If these conditions had remained static, the paradigm would have continued to match the context of archaeological work in meaning as well as in form. Contradictions between the ideal and the reality, the words and the meaning, the form and the content, the tatemae (ideology) and the honne (actuality) (Moeran 1989: 3) appeared soon, once the context of archaeological research began to change.

This is not to say that archaeological practice is determined completely by the discipline's social, political and economic context. Although archaeologists work within a structure and their actions are, to some extent, limited by that structure, they are capable of taking actions that may eventually change the framework of archaeological practice often in unanticipated ways (Giddens 1979). An important element of my work is to show that, although Japanese archaeologists worked to create a system of administrative archaeology which would allow them to avoid ideological interpretations of history, they have not been able to retain complete control of the interpretation and use of archaeological information. Consequently, archaeology and buried cultural properties are now used by Japanese politicians, the mass media and business elites to reinforce a growing consciousness of Japanese national identity.

The purpose of this dissertation is to discuss the relationship between archaeology and its social, political and economic context. This I will do in three parts. First, in a historical part, I will describe the context of archaeological work at the time when the paradigm was originally defined. I will then examine the relationship between the goals of archaeologists as expressed in the paradigm and the changing structure and context of archaeological work during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. The final chapter of this historical overview will discuss the Asuka Mura problem and the relationship between archaeology

and the Japanese national identity. In the second part, I will describe the formal and informal structures of the administrative system in the mid-1980s. Then, in Chapter 8, I will use interview data to discuss perceptions archaeologists have about the goals and purpose of their discipline. The third part will bring the various themes discussed through the text together and explore the implications of my case study for archaeologists working outside of Japan.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

The field research for this thesis was carried out, in Japan, between October 1983 and May 1985. During that time, I lived in Tokyo and was enrolled as a research student in the Department of Archaeology and Ethnology of Keio University.

The goal of my research was to study the relationship between Japanese archaeology and its social context using (1) the traditional anthropological method of participant observation, (2) a series of interviews with archaeologists, non-archaeologists associated with the distribution of archaeological information to the public and members of the general public who had no connection to archaeology and (3) written texts to supplement my understanding of the historical development and present structure of archaeological administrative archaeology.

Choice of Research Locale

Japan is a populous country with, as I shall discuss below, a large and complex archaeological community. I therefore selected two areas, the prefectures of Chiba and Nara, for concentrated study (Figure 1).

Chiba is one of Japan's 47 prefectures (Figure 2). With a total area of 5,145 square kilometers (Nara Ken Kikakubu Chosaka 1984: 8), it is the twenty-fifth largest prefecture in the country. Chiba is bounded to the north by Ibaraki Prefecture and to the northwest by the metropolis of Tokyo. The southern portion of the prefecture is located on the Boso Peninsula, a relatively flat region which juts into the Pacific Ocean to the southeast of Tokyo. The western coast of this peninsula forms the shoreline of the eastern part of Tokyo Bay. Much of the prefecture, especially the area to the north, lies below 50 meters above sea level. It is only in the center of Chiba's southern portion that an

Figure 1

Map of Japan
Prefectures and relevant
archaeological sites

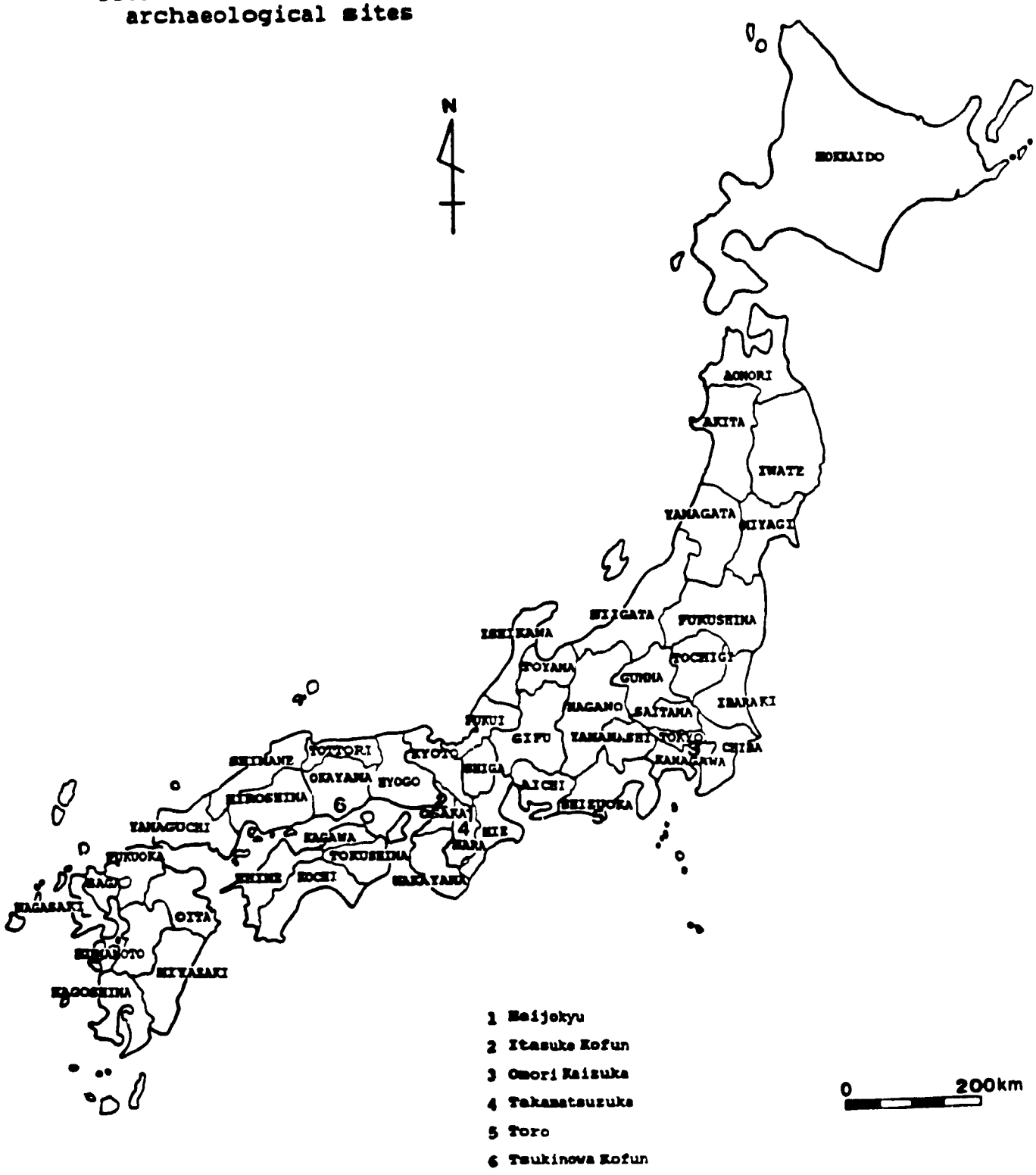
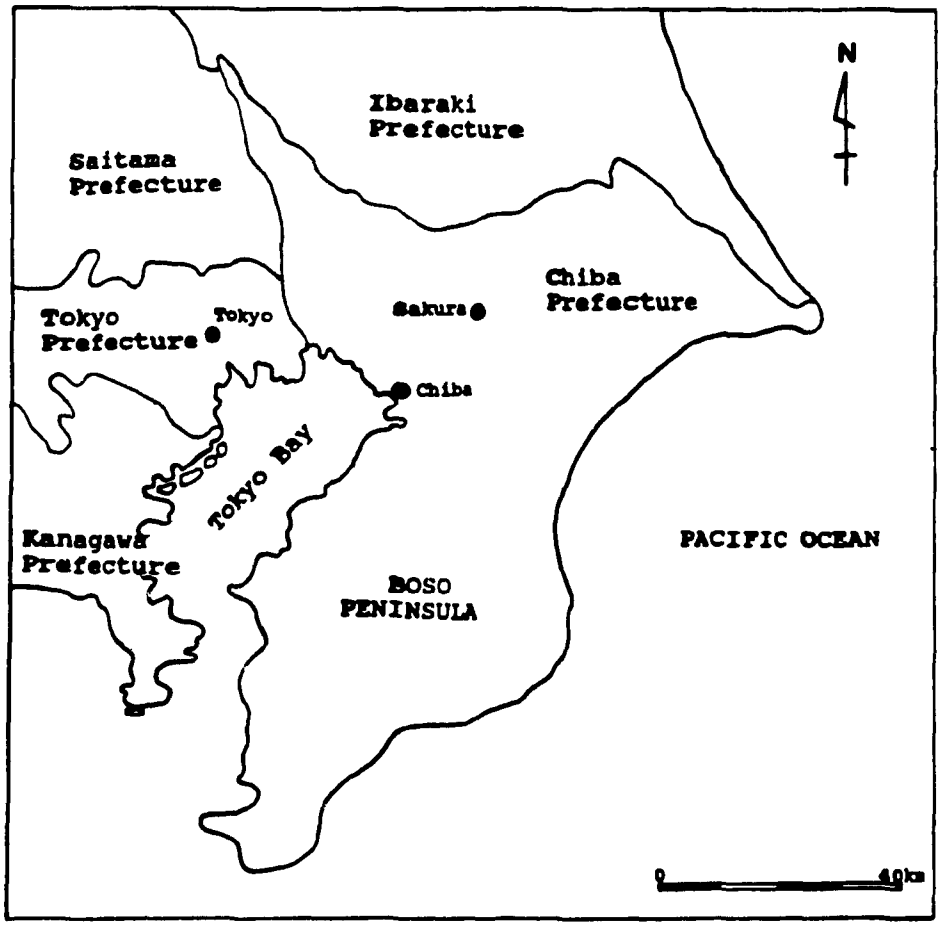


Figure 2

Map of Chiba and adjacent prefectures



elevation of between 200 to 300 meters above sea level is found. Until quite recently Chiba remained a rural enclave despite its proximity to Tokyo, Japan's largest city. Farming was an important industry in the prefecture as recently as twenty years ago. In 1963, 45% of those who did farm considered agriculture their primary occupation. By 1983, that number had dropped to 16% (Chiba Ken Kikakubu Tokeika 1984). Many of the once full-time farmers have entered the salaried work force, joining other Japanese who make farming a secondary or tertiary source of family income (Huddle and Reich 1975: 231; Smith 1978: 67-69).

Chiba's proximity to Tokyo has drastically changed the character of the prefecture. This is best shown by its rapid population growth over the past two decades. In 1983, the population was 4,918,774, making Chiba the eighth most populous prefecture in the nation (Chiba Ken Kikakubu Tokeika 1985: 6). This figure indicates a quadrupling of the population since the beginning of the Showa era in 1926. Until the 1960s, population growth in Chiba was fairly steady. After 1966 the population increased more rapidly. This was due to Japan's rapid economic expansion in the early 1960s which resulted in Chiba becoming an industrial and "bedtown" extension to the east of the sprawling Tokyo metropolitan area (Huddle and Reich 1975: 203).

Chiba's population is not only large but also dense. The population density of Chiba prefecture is 955 people per square kilometer, three times the national average and the sixth highest in the nation. Chiba has the fastest rate of population growth in Japan (Chiba Ken Kikakubu Tokeika 1985: 6) due to a high birth rate (In 1983 there were 65,375 births and 22,999 deaths in Chiba.) and immigration into the prefecture. In 1983, 217,199 people took up residence in Chiba while only 173,601 left (Chiba Ken Kikakubu Tokeika 1984).

Chiba's incorporation into the economic, political and cultural heart of the nation has resulted, over the years,

in more emphasis on secondary manufacturing and service industries. These changes are especially evident in the part of the prefecture close to Tokyo. Between Tokyo proper and Chiba City, factories and housing have been built transforming this once rural countryside into an urban and suburban environment. Major transportation routes, such as the train line between Tokyo and Narita City, the site of Tokyo's new international airport, are also linked to recent development.

The emphasis on manufacturing and service industries is clearly shown by the percentages of workers involved in various sectors. In 1981, the percentage of the employed population (15 years old and over) working in wholesale and retail was 22.7%, in manufacturing 21.3%, in the service industries 18.2%, in farming 10.2%, in construction 9.2%, in transportation and communications 7.5%, in the civil service 4.5% and in finance and insurance 3.7%. Mining, fishing and mariculture, forestry and hunting and utilities accounted together for 1.5% (Chiba Ken Kikakubu Tokeika 1985: 11). Tourism has never been a major industry in Chiba although the prefectural government has tried, in recent years, to entice city dwellers from Tokyo to spend money on Chiba's golden beaches or at Tokyo Disneyland, which is located in the prefecture. As shown above, the sectors that employ the majority of Chiba residents are wholesale and retail marketing, manufacturing and the service industries, including tourism. Archaeologists working on most excavations in the prefecture are civil servants.

Although there has never been much interest in history and local culture among the general public of Chiba, and, certainly, the entire nation has never been held enthralled by the story of Chiba's ancient past, prefectural, town and village governments have begun to support archaeological research projects that do not impede development. This is true of not only Chiba but of Japan as a whole. Discussions of local culture in the prefecture often depend on

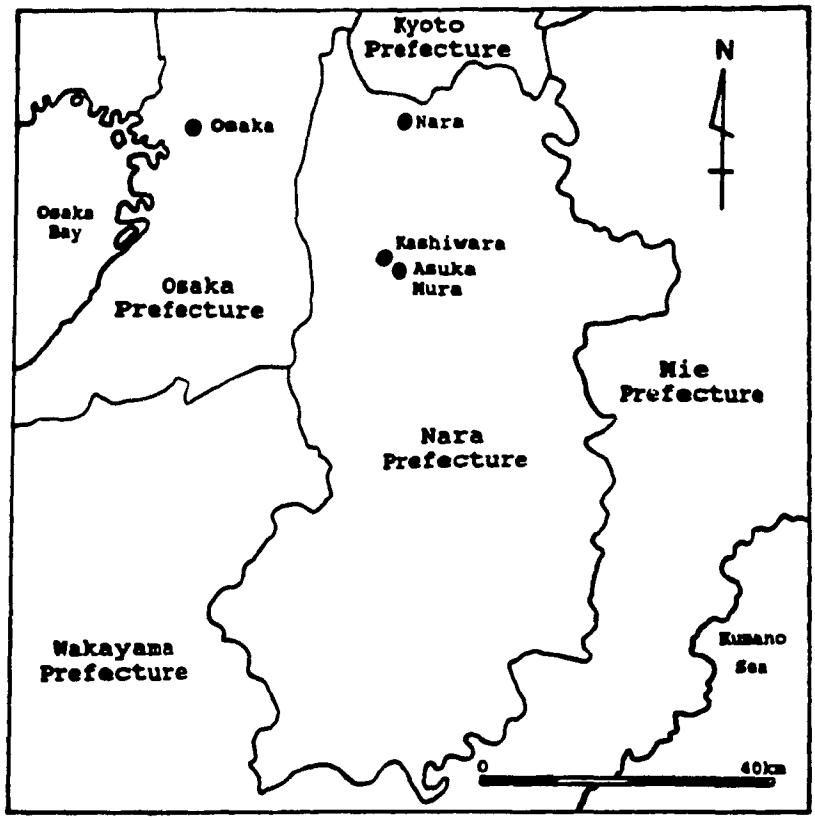
archaeological interpretation to extend history into the ancient past. Archaeology, therefore, is thought of as a means of helping people moving into Chiba from Tokyo, nearby prefectures such as Ibaraki, or further afield, to feel at home in their new neighborhood. Programs involving archaeology and prehistory range from site and museum visits for groups and clubs organized by local town councils to semi-autonomous cultural groups which meet to make Jomon-style pottery. Museums designed for public accessibility are another means of introducing the public to local and national prehistory. In Chiba, nine museums were built between 1976 and 1981 bringing the total number of museums in Chiba to 20 in 1981 (Chiba Ken Kikakubu Tokeika 1985: 85).

Nara Prefecture is located close to the cities of Kyoto and Osaka in the Kinki area of western Japan (Figure 3). (Kinki is the name given to the region comprising Nara, Kyoto, Hyogo, Osaka, Shiga, Mie and Wakayama Prefectures.) Nara is smaller than Chiba having a total area of 3,692 square kilometers (Nara Ken Kikakubu Chosaka 1984: 23-25). The prefecture is comprised of three ecological zones; the Yoshino mountains, the rolling hills of the Yamato upland to the northeast and the Nara Basin which has been traditionally used for wet rice agriculture (Barnes 1988: 42). In recent years, the gradual urbanization of the Nara Basin has become more rapid. This is partly because the area is viewed by many workers in Osaka as a convenient place to live as it is still relatively inexpensive, has green space and is located within easy commuting distance of the city. Suburbs have sprung up and with them a complex transportation system to service residents and businesses.

In 1981, the population of Nara Prefecture was 1,209,365, a twofold increase in population since 1935. As in Chiba, the population of Nara has increased most rapidly during the last twenty years. The rate of increase is the third largest in the country, following Chiba and Saitama

Figure 3

Map of Nara and adjacent prefectures



Prefectures. Again, as in Chiba, population increase is partially the consequence of positive immigration into the prefecture; more people come to live in Nara than move to other areas. In 1983, Nara ranked with Chiba as the prefecture with the largest percentage of population increase due to movement into the prefecture (Nara Ken Kikakubu Chosaka 1984: 25-27). Nara also has a positive natural population increase (Nara Ken Kikakubu Chosaka 1984: 42). Thus, Nara is smaller than Chiba in both area and population but the trends in population growth due to natural increase and immigration are quite similar. Also similar is the increasing tendency for residents of both Nara and Chiba to work outside their home prefecture (International Affairs Division Nara Prefectural Government 1985: 17).

Another parallel between Nara and Chiba Prefectures can be found in the employment patterns. Nara employees cluster in several well-defined sectors. Agriculture is no longer an important source of family income. Instead, residents find employment in manufacturing (26%), wholesale and retail (22%), service industries (20%), and construction (7.7%). Farming and forestry provide, respectively, only 7.6% and 0.9% of the jobs in the prefecture (Nara Ken Kikakubu Chosaka 1984: 29).

Nara Prefecture is famous throughout Japan for its long history. To most Japanese it is known as Yamato, the place where, supposedly, the Japanese imperial court was first established during the fifth and sixth centuries and where many aspects of Japanese culture are said to have first appeared. Today, famous shrines, temples and the remains of tombs, ancient capital cities and other historic sites attract visitors from all over Japan and overseas. The prefectural government wants Nara to be developed as a tourist region in tandem with its development as a place to live and work. Consequently, politicians and bureaucrats are actively promoting tourism, an industry which has long

been important in Nara. Starting in the late 1960s, the national government has also actively promoted the development of famous cultural properties such as those in Asuka Mura (International Affairs Division Nara Prefecture 1985: 14). Archaeology plays a role in tnis cultural development since it is often archaeologists who interpret the past. Archaeologists express mixed feelings about development projects. They are pleased to be able to publicize their findings and believe that it is their responsibility to make new knowledge public. Nevertheless, they are wary when politicians express deep concern about the destruction of the archaeological resource base. Too many times, cultural resources have taken a backseat to development despite claims by politicians that Japan's historical remains are of utmost importance.

I decided to use Chiba and Nara Prefectures as my research areas for several reasons. First, both Chiba and Nara have experienced rapid industrial development, population increase and urbanization over the past 20 years due to their location next to the metropolitan areas of Tokyo and Osaka respectively. These prefectures are not unique. Rather, they represent, in an exaggerated form, a trend found throughout the Japanese archipelago. Urbanization and industrial development have resulted in the growth of extensive archaeological communities within Chiba and Nara. Although the details of administrative archaeological organization differ from prefecture to prefecture, the cases of Chiba and Nara are characteristic of areas where development is taking or has taken place. Of course, prefectures that are growing more slowly and where less archaeological work is presently done have less well-developed archaeological systems. These systems, nevertheless, work on the same principles as those of Chiba and Nara.

A second consideration I made when selecting research areas was to pick one in eastern Japan (Chiba) and another

in the western portion of the country (Nara). The division of Japan into east and west at a point near the city of Nagoya is not formally recognized. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the people, the popular press, archaeologists and geographers, such a division does exist. In terms of language, lifestyle, food and fashion, variations are clearly evident. Archaeologically, the division is even more stark. Although sites from all four prehistoric periods, the Paleolithic, Jomon, Yayoi and Kofun, are found in all parts of Honshu, the largest island, the frequency of each varies from region to region. Most protohistoric and ancient historic remains are found in the west while prehistoric Jomon habitations cluster in the east. This differential distribution of archaeological sites has led, not surprisingly, to differing kinds of prehistoric research in each region. These variations are accentuated by the historical development of research traditions based on contrasting theoretical perspectives. One of these traditions revolves around Kyoto Univeristy and the other is found at universities in the Tokyo area.

A final reason why I chose Chiba and Nara Prefectures was that the two prefectures differ with respect to the historical development of their cultural resource policies. Chiba is a prefecture where citizens, politicians and bureaucrats have only begun to value cultural resources quite recently. Even today, most citizens of Chiba are only vaguely aware of their prehistoric cultural heritage and are unaware of the problems involved when balancing cultural resource protection with development. Consequently, the administrative archaeology system, which has been systematically developed over the past twenty years, does not have a long history. Thus, Chiba provides an example of a relatively uncomplicated administrative archaeological system.

In contrast to Chiba, Nara Prefecture has always been considered an archaeological and historical center for

Japan. Nara is the heart of Japan, the region called, from ancient times, Yamato. By 710, the beginning of the historically documented Nara Period, the Nara Basin was the center of the Japanese state. Today, hundreds of thousands of people from all over Japan, indeed from around the world, come to Nara each year to visit historic sites representing various events in Japanese political and cultural history. The archaeological tradition in Nara runs deep. Consequently, when compared to Chiba, the archaeological research and rescue systems are well-established and complex. Nara houses several major research centers including the Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute (Nabunken) and the Nara Prefecture Kashiwara Archaeological Research Institute (Kashiwara Archaeological Institute). Asuka Mura, an area which has been designated a special historical site, is also found in Nara Prefecture. Nara residents, furthermore, are well aware of the advantages and disadvantages of extensive archaeological work. Many have had archaeological research projects in their neighborhoods. Some have worked on archaeological projects themselves. Most residents have read in their local newspapers about conflicts over the preservation and restoration of sites such as Heijokyu and Asuka Mura. The result of this close involvement with archaeology is that the people of Nara Prefecture are more aware of the problems that the preservation of sites can create than are residents of Chiba.

Outline of Research and Analytical Procedures

Participant Observation

Living in Japan for one and a half years gave me the chance to observe the place of archaeology within Japanese society. I aimed my general observations in three directions: (1) archaeology as expressed in the popular culture of Japan, (2) the social, political and economic

organization of archaeology and (3) feelings of archaeologists about their work. During my stay, I lived in central Tokyo and attended Keio University. Because I was affiliated with the Department of Archaeology and Ethnology at Keio, I had a desk in the archaeology students' laboratory and participated in some of the archaeology graduate seminars. Thus, I was able to learn a lot simply by talking to my friends about their work, their aspirations and archaeology in general, watching fellow students finish their degrees and begin looking for employment, and following the progress of the archaeology laboratory in organizing and carrying out a rescue excavation at a site near the university campus.

Through archaeologists at Keio and other universities in Tokyo, I made initial contact with archaeologists in Chiba and Nara Prefectures. For example, archaeologists at the Cultural Properties Center of Chiba Prefecture (Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center) organized a series of interviews with prefectural cultural properties administrators, workers on the sites, Center investigators (chosain), museum staff, and non-archaeologists living in Chiba. They also invited me to attend lecture meetings organized by the Center and the Prefectural Board of Education and took me to a site explanation meeting at the Ike Mukai II site. Introductions from Tokyo archaeologists also provided me with interviews with editors of publishing companies producing archaeological books, the staff of the National Museum of Japanese History in Sakura City (Sakura National Museum), television and newspaper reporters, school children and a variety of non-archaeologists. I was also able to attend two meetings of amateur Jomon pottery makers in Chiba Prefecture.

I visited Nara four times during my stay in Japan. Each visit lasted about one week. While in Nara I stayed in the student residence of the Nabunken. During one of my visits, I shared the residence with young administrative

archaeologists from all parts of Japan who were in Nara for a study course. Most of my time in Nara was spent visiting various national, prefectural and local research and administrative centers and conducting interviews with senior staff, investigators and site workers. These interviews were organized by archaeologists at the Nabunken's Center for Archaeological Operations (CAO) and the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute. A visit to Asuka Mura allowed me to discuss the preservation problems of the region with several individuals on both sides of the controversy. While in Nara, I also had opportunities to interview non-archaeologists, school children and media personnel.

In Nara, Chiba and Tokyo I constantly monitored the presence of archaeological information. I read advertisements on trains, checked articles in the newspaper and watched documentary programs on the television and the television news (I watched mainly the NHK (Nihon Hoso Kyokai), the Japan Broadcasting Corporation equivalent of the CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation)). I spent several days visiting large and small bookstores in the Kanto and Kansai areas to see what sorts of information on archaeology are available to the general public.

Throughout my stay, I kept a field journal in which I noted my observations, thoughts and feelings. This information provided the backdrop to the more formal interviews which I will discuss below.

Interviews

In addition to participant observation, I conducted interviews with a range of archaeological and non-archaeological informants in Tokyo, Nara and Chiba as a basic source of data for my study. I conducted two types of interviews. The first type were those in which I interviewed individuals who were able to provide me with information on the organization of administrative archaeology, the presentation of archaeological information

to the public and other specialized topics. These interviews did not follow a standard format. Rather, I chose questions which I thought would be appropriate for the particular informant.

Most of the informants who gave me these sorts of interviews were professional archaeologists working in universities or the administrative system (3 in Chiba, 9 in Nara and 8 elsewhere), individuals working as book or journal editors (4 elsewhere) and mass media personnel (2 in Nara and 9 elsewhere). I also interviewed 8 individuals concerned with the Asuka Mura problem. I talked to 3 teachers (1 in Chiba and 2 in Nara) and 11 individuals participating in Jomon pottery-making groups in Chiba Prefecture (Table 1). I selected these informants using recommendations from archaeologists. In Japan, contacts are important and many of the people I was able to interview were personal friends or colleagues of my primary contacts in Chiba, Nara and Tokyo.

The second type of interview was conducted using a series of standard questions covering three topic areas. A full list of questions is provided in Appendix A. In the first section I asked informants questions about archaeological topics, for example, "When did the Japanese state originate?" or "What do you know about the Jomon Period?". The purpose of these questions was to determine what archaeologists and non-archaeologists knew about various aspects of Japanese ancient history.

The second section contained questions dealing with the informants' opinions about the value of archaeology and buried cultural properties as well as questions aimed at determining where most Japanese people get information about archaeology. The questions were reworded for archaeologists, since I was interested in knowing, for instance, where archaeologists think the public gets information and whether they think the Japanese people support archaeology.

TABLE 1

Respondents for Non-Standard Interviews

	Chiba	Nara	Elsewhere	Total
University and Administrative Archaeologists	3	9	8	20
Publishers	-	-	4	4
Asuka Mura Informants	-	8	-	8
Teachers	1	2	-	3
Jomon Pottery Group Members	11	-	-	11
Total	15	19	12	46

The third section included questions aimed at placing the informants within their social context. I asked non-archaeological informants questions about their age, education, employment and length of residence at their present address. Archaeologists were asked their age, educational record, employment record, whether they planned to stay at their present job, where they lived as children and when they first became interested in archaeology.

When conducting the interviews, the order of the questions was sometimes changed if the situation called for such revisions. In some cases, questions were skipped. This happened when time was short or the question was obviously superfluous. Questions were added when an informant seemed especially interested in following a certain line of thought. I tried to talk to each informant in private and conducted all of the interviews myself. In most cases I was alone, although for a few of the interviews I had a female Japanese assistant. All of the interviews were taped with the permission of the informant. I assured all that I would use the information in confidence. In the text, all informants are cited using an informant number. Except in Chapter 8, where all of the interviews took place in 1984 or 1985, informant citations are dated. Brief biographical information is found in Appendix B. The purpose of this information is to place the informants in their social context while preserving anonymity.

Informants for the standard interviews came from a range of backgrounds (Table 2). Most of the archaeologists were investigators at national, prefectural or municipal level administrative archaeology institutions in Nara and Chiba Prefectures (24 from Chiba and 18 from Nara), although I interviewed 9 administrative archaeologists from Kyushu who were attending a meeting at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute. I also gave the standard interview to 5 archaeological and cultural properties administrators from Chiba. I interviewed 9 assistant research workers (hojoin,

TABLE 2

Respondents for Standard Interviews

	Chiba	Nara	Kyushu	Elsewhere	Total
Administrative Archeologists	24	18	9	-	51
Cultural Property Administrators	5	-	-	-	5
Assistant research workers (hojoin)	-	-	-	-	9
Non-archaeological Site Excavators	19	8	-	-	27
Housewives	20	10	-	-	30
White-collar Workers	16	12	-	-	28
Teachers	-	11	-	-	11
Amateur Archaeologists	6	-	-	-	6
University Students	1	1	-	1	3
Newspaper Reporters	3	-	-	1	4
Elderly People	5	6	-	-	11
Farmers	-	8	-	-	8
Publishers	-	-	-	4	4
Total	99	74	9	6	197

a category which includes university students working on sites as a part-time job and recent university graduates in archaeology and other fields who are working on excavations as non-permanent employees). These people fall between unskilled workers and investigators. All of my archaeological interviews were organized by senior administrators in the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, the Nabunken's CAO and the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute.

Through contacts, mainly archaeologists at the aforementioned archaeological institutions, I located non-archaeological informants who answered the standard interview. I tried to locate a range of people in various occupational categories. Ideally, I wanted to talk to people who had no experience with archaeology. This proved to be difficult since I was constantly working through an archaeological milieu. Consequently, 27 (19 in Chiba and 8 in Nara) of my informants were non-archaeologists working as excavators on the sites. I was, nevertheless, able to interview a total of 30 housewives (20 in Chiba and 10 in Nara), 28 male white-collar workers (16 in Chiba and 12 in Nara), 11 school-teachers in Nara, 6 amateur archaeologists in Chiba, 3 university students (1 in Chiba, 1 in Nara and 1 elsewhere), 3 newspaper reporters in Chiba and 1 elsewhere, 11 elderly people (5 in Chiba and 6 in Nara), 8 farmers in Nara and 4 book editors elsewhere using the standard format (Table 2).

I also carried out modified general interviews with two classes of middle-school children, one class in Nara (13 children) and the other in Chiba (27 children). In both cases, I read 17 of the questions to the children who answered briefly in writing.

All interview data, with the exception of the school data mentioned above, were taped. Transcriptions of the tapes were done either by myself, in which case I transcribed the answers directly from Japanese to English, or by Habu Makiko, who transcribed the tapes into Japanese

so that I could later translate the interviews from Japanese to English. A glossary of Japanese terminology is found in Appendix C.

Surveys

At the beginning of my project I decided not to use written surveys as a basis for my research. I made this decision for several reasons. First, I was more interested in doing a qualitative than a quantitative analysis. My goal was to determine how archaeological research is perceived in Japanese society using observation and face-to-face interviews. My aim was to look at archaeology in Japan from a number of angles rather than simply focusing on one aspect, such as the public's knowledge of and interest in archaeology. Second, I was reluctant to attempt the random sampling which would be necessary for an adequate written survey. Problems I envisaged were the difficulty of designing and translating into Japanese a well-balanced interview, finding the informants and processing the results. I had limited funds, so mass mailings would have been difficult. My time in Japan was also limited and I did not want to devote most of it to coordinating this one rather narrow project.

Surveys, however, are a favorite Japanese social science research technique. I, therefore, tried a short project which cost me little in time or money. The first step was to put some of my standard interview questions in writing. This I did with the help of staff and students at Keio University. Next, I approached the coordinators of a Blood Donor Clinic in front of the Chiba City Station on a Saturday morning. They gave me permission to ask the donors to fill out my questionnaire after their donation. In one Saturday, I received 95 completed forms from 52 women and 43 men. Only 5 individuals did not fill out the forms. The sample, while interesting, is highly biased. In Japan, if not everywhere in the world, many of the people who donate

blood are young. The average age of my sample was 27 years. I have not used the results of this sample in any systematic way, but it did give me a feeling for the public's knowledge of and thoughts about archaeological work.

Published Materials

Many of the published materials I used were academic books and journals containing papers and articles about Japanese cultural resource management, Japanese archaeological history and past and present preservation problems. Bulletins such as the "Annual Report of Cultural Properties Center of Chiba Prefecture" (sic) or the Nabunken's "CAO News" were particularly useful.

Other published materials used as background information when assessing the presentation of archaeology to the public included current newspaper articles on archaeology, issues of popular weekly magazines that often carry archaeological stories, such as the "Asahi Graph" (Asahi Gurafu), popular journals written for amateur historians, for instance, "History Reader" (Rekishi Dokuhon), and pamphlets collected while visiting sites, historic monuments and museums.

I also examined early postwar social studies textbooks and systematically surveyed and analyzed middle-school history texts published by the Tokyo Shoseki publishing company between 1952 and 1984. The results of this research on the presentation of archaeology to postwar Japanese middle-school children can be found in Fawcett and Habu (1990).

Data Analysis

In a broad sense, this thesis is based on all of the data sources listed above, since every interview I conducted, each informal conversation I had and all of the books and articles I read added to my understanding of archaeology in Japan.

The analysis in the text concentrates on the study of (1) the responses of 52 archaeological informants (out of a total of 193 standard interviews given to both archaeologists and non-archaeologists) to 10 questions from Sections 2 and 3 of the standard archaeological interviews (see Chapter 8 for details) and (2) an additional 19 non-standard interviews with archaeologists and 27 standard and non-standard interviews with representatives of the mass media, cultural properties administrators and book editors. I selected these interviews and portions of interviews for in depth study because only they were directly relevant to my research question. Since my informants were selected using contacts, the sample is not necessarily representative in statistical terms. I did, nevertheless, make an effort to interview individuals from a range of archaeological and non-archaeological backgrounds. When interviewing archaeologists, I tried to arrange meetings through more than one initial contact in each region. In this way I reduced the chances of talking only to members of one in-group or archaeological clique.

My aim when presenting the data in Chapter 8 was to let the archaeologists speak for themselves. I analyzed this information by extracting answers to certain questions from the interviews. I then sorted through these grouped responses looking for themes and variations on these themes. The text consists of extensive original quotations merged with commentary to emphasize the general trends.

One of the strengths of my work is the wide range of archaeologists and non-archaeologists to whom I was able to talk and the variety of uses of archaeological material I was able to examine. My methodology precluded a focus on any one issue but allowed a close examination of and appreciation for the complexity of the relationship between archaeology and Japanese society.

By using a flexible, qualitative approach when interviewing archaeologists and non-archaeological

informants, I was able to follow the flow of the interviews and draw out each interviewee's opinions and expertise. I avoided using written questionnaires so that the responses would not be limited to a set number and type of questions. In addition, by using face-to-face interviews rather than questionnaires I was to able encourage some informants to go beyond standard and acceptable "public" answers (tatemae) to present their own opinions (honne) even though the latter contradicted the prevalent worldview.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE ARCHAEOLOGY AND BURIED CULTURAL PROPERTIES ADMINISTRATION IN PREWAR JAPAN

Archaeology in Prewar Japan

In contemporary Japan, archaeology is considered the most important way of learning about the ancient past, especially for those periods during which there were no written records. This has not always been so. Prior to 1945, archaeology, defined here as the study of the past using systematically excavated and analyzed material remains, was but one means among others of understanding ancient history. More crucially, during the 1930s and the first half of the 1940s, the version of ancient history promoted by the state and taught in all schools was based, not on archaeology, but on legends of sacred imperial descent presented in texts such as the eighth century Kojiki (712) (Chamberlain 1981) and Nihon shoki (720) (Aston 1972). Archaeological evidence that countered these myths was suppressed. This suppression was accomplished either by the arrest of archaeologists and historians who dared to use archaeological evidence to question nationalist ideology or, more commonly, through self-censorship resulting from focusing on the description and categorization of empirical data from both Japan and Asia by archaeologists who feared arrest or by those who implicitly or actively supported the imperial regime.

In this section, I will outline the development of archaeology and buried cultural properties administration from the discipline's beginnings in Tokugawa Period antiquarianism to Japan's defeat in 1945. The purpose of this historical overview is to provide a background for the subsequent analysis of the development of the postwar system of administrative rescue archaeology. In the following paragraphs I will show that, although postwar archaeology and cultural property management do exhibit continuous

development from the prewar period, the traumatic social, political and economic conditions of the years before and during the war had a profound effect on postwar archaeologists' perception of their discipline and its role in Japanese society.

Tokugawa Antiquarianism

Japanese archaeology has early beginnings in the antiquarian study of prehistoric artifactual and architectural remains by Tokugawa scholars (Bleed 1986; Bleed, Kanaseki and Kawahara 1983; Fawcett 1982; Ikawa-Smith 1982; Suzuki 1972). During the first half of the 19th century, that is, during the decades immediately proceeding the Meiji Restoration of 1868, a number of scholars investigated and tried to explain the origins of various kinds of artifacts and features found throughout the Japanese islands. In some cases, the goal of these studies was to create a register of tumuli (kofun) sites in specific local administrative districts (han or daimyo district). In others, tumuli destroyed through land reclamation or pillage were studied by local scholars (Bleed, Kanaseki and Kawahara 1983: 76). At this time, most Japanese scholars used a Chinese model of historiography which precluded the possibility of history before the advent of ancient records. Consequently, texts such as the Kojiki and Nihon shoki, which were compilations of legends, genealogies and folkstories completed during the early part of the Nara Period (710-794), were thought to explain everything from Jomon Period lithics and pottery to Kofun Period burial mounds (Bleed 1986; Bleed, Kanaseki and Kawahara 1983: 75-76).

During the Tokugawa Period, many of the notions that would ultimately affect modern Japanese conceptions of the ancient past and the study of the ancient past were first expressed. It was at this time, for instance, that an interest in the ancient past first appeared among amateur

antiquarians (Ikawa-Smith 1982). Most of the men who busied themselves with antiquarian research during the Tokugawa Period were scholars: none a full-time historian. After the Meiji Restoration, amateurs continued to make significant contributions to archaeological knowledge both before and after the Pacific War. They were, furthermore, crucial contributors to the postwar site preservation movement. Amateur interest in archaeology continues today, although, as I will show below, the professionalization of the discipline during the 1970s and 1980s has changed the nature of this participation.

Another legacy of the later Tokugawa Period was the link between archaeological sites and Japanese nationalism. Although the nationalist ideology which was to lead Japan into World War II was not fully expressed until the 1890s (Gluck 1985: 23), preambles were formulated as early as the eighteenth century (Lehmann 1982: 135). By the end of the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868), many Japanese of the samurai or warrior class wanted to see the Bakufu military leadership toppled and a centrally governed nation, with the emperor, who during the Tokugawa Period held no political power, as an active sovereign in its place. The culmination of growing Tokugawa Period nationalism was the Meiji restoration of 1868, a social, political, economic and intellectual event of great importance for Japan and the world.

Before, during and after the restoration, the emperor was a major focus of nationalist sentiment. Legitimization for the new political order was found in his restoration to the seat of political authority as in an idealized past. It had been centuries since even a pretense of imperial rule had been made and, since 1603, a series of feudal military (Bakufu) leaders, the shogun of Tokugawa Japan, had held all power. Leaders of the movement to oust the Tokugawa Bakufu used imperial restoration as a key symbol in their struggle. In doing so, they emphasized the depth of the Japanese

historical tradition and the continuity of the imperial lineage. The imperial line, they argued, was founded in the ancient and mystical past and had remained unbroken to the present day. Although archaeologists and historians now readily acknowledge that the story of an unbroken imperial line is fictitious, legends which told of the continuity of the imperial house and emphasized the direct descent of the Meiji emperor from Jimmu Tenno, the legendary first leader of Japan, were accepted and used to provide a strong national ideology for Japan.

Studies of the Imperial Tombs (Tennoryo) by scholars such as Matsushita Kenrin (1637-1703) and Gamo Hidezane (Kumpei) (1768-1813) began during the Tokugawa Period. Gamo conducted a survey in which he classified tombs by shape, publishing the results in 1808 in a book entitled "A Record of the Tumuli" (Sanryoshi) (Tsude 1983). He used references to imperial burials found in the Nihon shoki to assign, rather uncritically, imperial designations to the mounds. Gamo's work illustrates the focus of nationalist scholars toward the end of the Tokugawa Period. The increasing pressure to open Japan to Western trade, commerce and political and cultural influence strengthened the nationalist cult of emperor worship. In the late Tokugawa Period, justification for imperial rule was found in texts and was confirmed in the sanctification of ancient tumuli said to be the burial places of the imperial leaders themselves. Nationalist pressure became so intense that, in 1863, the Bakufu voluntarily carried out repair work on many of these tombs (Tsude 1983).

From Antiquarianism to Archaeology during the Meiji Period

The Meiji restoration of 1868 was a watershed in Japanese history. With the fall of the Tokugawa Bakufu and the restoration of the Meiji emperor to power, Japan moved away from global isolation under feudal rule and began a

process of economic, political and, to some degree, social and cultural integration with Western nations.

The Meiji Period (1868-1912) was a time of rapid change. Having been forced by the United States to emerge from a protective cocoon of isolation, Japanese leaders felt vulnerable to the threat of domination by the Western powers. They also faced internal schisms as the social, political and economic framework of the feudal Tokugawa Period was dismantled and a structure based on capitalism and under the control of a new regime was put in place. The Meiji leaders tried to strengthen Japan's position vis-à-vis the West by developing an industrialized economy and a strong military as quickly as possible. The twin slogans they used were Fukoku Kyohei, "Enrich the nation, Strengthen its arms" and Bunmei Kaika, "Civilization and Enlightenment" (Nishi 1982: 9).

In the minds of late nineteenth century Europeans, North Americans and Japanese, modernization was equivalent to Westernization and both were desirable. Thus, in the early part of the Meiji Period, that is, during the 1870s and 1880s, Japanese leaders, eager to prove their country modern and equal to the West, opened Japan up to a broad range of Western intellectual, political, social and cultural ideas. These included conservative political notions of nationalism and imperialism welcomed by the state, as well as the radical concepts of socialist thinkers which were to be the targets of suppression during the first half of the 20th century (Lehmann 1982: 167). Meiji leaders also laid great stress on Japanese learning about Western science and technology. To this end, they sent Japanese scholars to study abroad and brought Westerners to teach in Japanese universities. They also encouraged the Japanese people to send their children to schools that focused on the "practical learning" of technical and vocational skills (Nishi 1982: 13-14).

This early Meiji Period stress on science, technology and industrial development affected the development of Japanese archaeology in several ways. First, the construction of factories, roads, railways and other forms of industrial infrastructure during the Meiji Period and urbanization after 1935 resulted in threats to archaeological sites. These, in turn, led to the enactment of buried cultural properties protection legislation and to the discovery and investigation of many important sites during the late 1930s (Bleed, Kanaseki and Kuwahara 1983: 77).

Second, as Ikawa-Smith (1982) points out, one of the major schools of archaeological study to emerge during the Meiji and Taisho years was that of prehistoric archaeology as a natural science. The scientific approach to archaeology was initially introduced into Japan by Western natural scientists and physicians who visited the country for professional reasons during the early Meiji Period (Bleed 1986; Bleed, Kanaseki and Kuwahara 1983; Fawcett 1982; Ikawa-Smith 1982; Sahara 1983). These men were not archaeologists by trade. Rather, they sustained an amateur interest in archaeology and were content to toy, for personal fulfillment and amusement, with the puzzle of who had created the prehistoric artifacts of the islands. Perhaps the best-known of these scholars was E. S. Morse, a zoologist who excavated the Omori Shellmidden (Omori Kaizuka), a Jomon Period site near Tokyo. Morse introduced Japanese scholars to systematic methods of excavation and analysis that were, at this time, only just beginning to be used to excavate similar kinds of prehistoric shellmound sites in North America. Although none of Morse's students continued on as a professional archaeologist (Ikawa-Smith 1982; Sahara 1983), Morse can nevertheless be credited with beginning a trend toward a natural scientific study of the past which, in 1893, culminated in the establishment of a department of anthropology headed by Tsuboi Shogoro (1863-

1913) in the Faculty of Science at Tokyo University. This tradition was initiated through the Anthropological Society of Tokyo (now the Anthropological Society of Nippon) founded by Tsuboi and others in 1884 (Ikawa-Smith 1982: 300; Kidder 1983: 110).

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Tsuboi and other archaeologists and physical anthropologists, who shared a natural science bent, focused their research on ethnic theory (minzoku ron). Tsuboi, for instance, suggested that, before the Japanese people appeared in the Japanese archipelago, the islands had been inhabited by primitive people mentioned in the oral tradition of the Ainu, a still extant group of people living in the northern islands of Hokkaido and present-day Sakhalin. He thus attributed prehistoric artifacts to a group called the Koropokkuru. Other scholars disagreed, saying that these remains were made by the Ainu (Bleed, Kanaseki and Kuwahara 1983: 75; Fawcett 1986; Wajima 1973: 683-684).

Archaeology and Nationalism in Imperial Japan

By the 1890s, the imperial oligarchy had moved to legitimize and solidify its power by using the emperor to bolster extreme Japanese nationalism. When the Imperial Constitution was proclaimed in 1889, the domination and symbolic power of the imperial house became starkly apparent. The constitution, which was granted to the people by the Meiji Emperor, stated that rule of the Japanese Empire had been and would continue to be "by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal". The emperor was called "sacred and inviolable" and sovereignty lay in him rather than in the people of Japan.

The message of the Imperial Constitution was emphasized in the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, a strong influence on educational policy and national morality until Japan's defeat in 1945. The Rescript on Education was a mixture of Shinto (Japan's native religion which received

state patronage as the sole basis of government and became a focus of extreme nationalism from 1868 until 1945 (Earhart 1982: 150-159)) and Confucian principles. It stated, as quoted by Nishi (1982: 18), that:

> Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof....Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate the arts, and thereby develop intellectual and moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourself courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth....

The Imperial Rescript on Education clearly defined the imperial will as the national will of all loyal Japanese subjects. It drew the focus in Japanese education away from technical and practical learning and towards an emphasis on moral education. The Imperial Rescript of Education and the 1882 Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors are both based on the notion of kokutai, the concept of a mystical national polity in which the minds and bodies of the all Japanese people were unified in the person of the emperor (Gluck 1985: 15; Nishi 1982: 16). During the first half of the 20th century, as social conditions in Japan became more difficult and the country expanded its empire abroad, the apparent liberalism of the brief "Taisho democracy" (during the late 1910s and early 1920s) gave way to state control of all aspects of Japanese life and extreme repression of radical elements. During the late 1920s, the 1930s and through the years of the Pacific War, imperial ideology was adhered to with increasing vehemence.

The imperial ideology described above had a profound influence on the teaching of history in Japanese schools. Imperial ideology placed great weight on the sacred origins of the imperial line. Thus, Japanese history as taught in schools throughout the nation was little more than a chronology of the imperial household embellished with mythological tales and legends. Students used history textbooks based on the creation myths of the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki. As Nishi notes "The regime instituted a cult of antiquity. Anything old (the older the better) was believed to posses an invisible but profound wisdom, which the new society had to emulate in order to grow sagacious and strong" (1982: 19). History became an important item in the national school curriculum since it gave students a sense of the imperial household's continuity and thus strengthened their loyalty to the emperor and the Japanese nation (Nishi 1982: 20).

Obviously, the imposition of a rigid imperial ideology affected the work of university students, professors and professional archaeologists. Archaeologists at the Imperial Museum, who continued to follow the antiquarian tradition of Tokugawa Period scholars, curated artifacts from the protohistoric Kofun Period and later historic periods, all of which had to be deposited and stored at the museum (Bleed, Kanaseki and Kuwahara 1983: 77). Since the key members of the Archaeological Society, founded in 1895, were also employed by the museum, much of the work done at this time might have been aimed at satisfying the nationalistic goals of prewar Japanese society. Tsude (1986: 41) points out that the state was able to control the work of archaeologists since most of the small community of professional scholars was employed by a limited number of Imperial Museums and Imperial Universities. As Japanese military, economic and political control expanded onto the continent of Asia and across the Pacific, the sphere of

study broadened to incorporate specimens of historical and archaeological interest.

Many Japanese university professors teaching in all fields at least implicitly supported the imperial ideology both because speaking out against it could lead to dismissal from university teaching and arrest or because, in some cases, they fundamentally agreed with the national goals of imperial Japan (Nishi 1982: 19). The importance of adhering to the nationalist ideology was brought home to academics in 1892 when Kume Kunitake wrote an article to be published in a broadly distributed journal which praised the emperor and the continuity of the imperial line but added that, if the Japanese people ignored Buddhism and focused only on Shinto, a religion which does not even have texts, the Japanese nation would become barbaric and uncivilized. This position was unacceptable to the Meiji leaders and Shinto scholars, who were trying to weaken the influence of Buddhism and replace it with Shinto as the national religion of Japan. Kume was dismissed from his duties at Tokyo University, a warning for other intellectuals (Hiraga 1983: 156; Tsude 1986: 39). By the end of the nineteenth century, strictures on the academic study of imperial history using archaeological evidence were becoming extremely tight. Over the next few decades, historians who discussed archaeologically-derived interpretations of prehistory were in danger of dismissal from their positions in universities. Some were even jailed on charges of "insulting the dignity of the imperial family" (Tsude 1983).

By the 1930s, academic freedom had been eroded away even more. Freedoms of teaching and expression were denied when they countered the imperial ideology. In theory, freedom of research was left intact. Nevertheless, responding to overt repression and covert persuasion, archaeologists at universities throughout Japan turned their research toward comparative artifact studies and methodology and away from attempts to use archaeological data to examine

a broader picture of the development of Japanese culture and society. Such was the case with Umehara Sueji (1893-1983), who became professor of archaeology at Kyoto University in 1939 (Barnes 1983: 147). Umehara avoided political persecution by adhering to an inductive methodology and describing artifacts rather than making statements about the origins of the Japanese state and people (Kanaseki 1983). Others followed suit. It was during the 1930s that Yamanouchi Sugao (1902-1970), a Jomon Period specialist, who developed the chronological and typological framework for Jomon Period pottery which continues to guide the field today, did his most important work (Bleed, Kanaseki and Kuwahara 1983: 76; Yamanouchi 1937).

Wajima Seiichi (1909-1971), a Marxist archaeologist, who will be discussed in some detail below, sees this trend towards classification and the detailed study of artifacts as both positive and negative. He notes that this focus on material remains drew archaeologists away from ethnic theory and encouraged them to develop archaeology as an empirical science (jisshoteki kagaku), a step forward for the discipline. Wajima points out, however, that, because of the political situation, archaeologists were unable to discuss historical issues, or more specifically, problems of ancient history. Consequently, the discipline had a tendency to degenerate into the mere measurement of objects (Wajima 1973a: 684).

The influence of the imperial ideology on archaeology also resulted in limitations on the kinds of sites archaeologists could examine. After 1874, kofun burial mounds were generally out of bounds for excavation by archaeologists since the government claimed that the locations of all the imperial burials were not yet known. Although, between 1880 and 1884, work was carried out by government officials to codify the location of the Imperial Tombs, excavation and research restrictions remained. These restrictions became more severe after 1919 when

archaeologists wanting to investigate burial mounds had to obtain permission from the Ministry of Education (Mombusho) and receive the clearance of the Imperial Household Ministry (Kunaisho). The best known tomb excavation at this time was that of the Saitobaru Tomb Cluster (Saitobaru Kofun Gun), in Miyazaki Prefecture. The tombs were excavated by archaeologists from Tokyo University, Kyoto University and the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum. This excavation was permitted because it was carried out at the request of the prefectural governor who wanted to deepen his understanding of myths about the founding of the imperial house as recorded in the ancient chronicles (Bleed, Kanaseki and Kuwahara 1983: 77; Tsude 1986: 41).

Some of the research done by Japanese scholars at this time was in the various parts of Asia held by Japan. Torii Ryuzo (1870-1953), for instance, conducted research in the Liaotung Peninsula, the Yalu Basin, Taiwan, the Kuril Islands, Manchuria, Okinawa, Mongolia, Korea and Sakhalin between the years 1895 and 1910 (Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan 1983a: 79) and Hamada Kosaku (1881-1938), appointed professor of archaeology at Kyoto University in 1917, carried out work in Korea and China during the 1920s and 1930s (Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan 1983b: 89). Even Wajima, who was affiliated with Tokyo University as a student and part-time employee after 1939, travelled 5 times to various parts of China and Mongolia between 1940 and 1944 to do field research. He later said of this experience that the most important thing he learned was that archaeological studies without the help of the common people are difficult and miserable and that it was bad for archaeologists to have been protected by the armies of the invader (Wajima 1958: 6-7; Wajima Seiichi Shuyo Chosaku Shu Kanko Kai 1973: 814-815)

Although most historians and archaeologists worked within the system, a few, particularly students, developed alternatives to the official version of Japanese history (Nishi 1973: 19). A case in point was the aforementioned

Wajima Seiichi. Wajima first developed an interest in Marxist history while a student of Waseda University's Department of History (Ichihara 1984). His interest in Marxist theory was not unusual. Socialist and Marxist ideas had been introduced into Japan during the last few years of the 19th century by social reformers--mainly intellectuals, political activists and labor leaders--who were disturbed by the moral failings of Meiji society in the grips of industrial capitalism (Duus and Scheiner 1988: 659). From the beginning, Japanese socialism came under attack from the Meiji government who saw it as a destabilizing force. An early attempt to stop labor and socialist activities was the Public Peace Police Law promulgated in 1900. Although gaining force as a social and political movement during the early 20th century, Japanese socialist and labor movements suffered continual government harassment. The movement's first setback came in 1911 with the "Great Treason Incident" in which 12 prominent anarchists were hanged for the crime of conspiring to assassinate the emperor.

Socialism was revived after the Russian Revolution of 1917, which encouraged members of the radical wing of the Meiji socialist movement to discuss social and political issues once again. During this second wave of socialism, which occurred during the 1920s and 1930s, intellectuals and especially students dominated both Communist and non-Communist Marxist groups (Duus and Scheiner 1988: 690; Scalapino 1967: 45). Many of these young radicals were exemplary students as even the Ministry of Education had to admit. A Ministry report issued at this time reported them as "...'modest', 'decent', 'sober', and 'diligent'..." (Duus and Scheiner 1988: 690). Some of these students graduated and found academic posts as economists, historians and philosophers, thus giving Marxism greater intellectual influence and respectability. Others became involved in the labor movement and participated in the factional struggles

which characterized Japanese Marxist and socialist movements from this time on.

Although it was popular among students and intellectuals, Marxism was considered a dangerous ideology by the imperial regime, which managed to crush the movement by the mid-1930s. In 1925, the Peace Preservation Law was enacted. This law was designed to punish those with "dangerous thoughts", that is, individuals who advocated revolutionary changes in the national polity or who rejected the concept of private property (Hane 1986: 234). By 1930, thousands of Japan Communist Party (JCP) members and other known and suspected Marxists had been detained by the Special Higher (Thought) Police. After joint trials of 200 JCP members held in 1931 and 1932 by the Tokyo District Court, 187 individuals were convicted of violating the Peace Preservation Law and were sent to jail with sentences ranging from 2 years to life imprisonment (Hoston 1986: 251). In 1933, several of the imprisoned communist party leaders renounced their party ties and converted to the Japanese "national cause". They were followed by others. These conversions and the increasing number of arrests virtually silenced the active Marxist movement from 1935 until 1945, although Marxism continued to gain adherents among academics (Totten 1983: 11).

It was within this political context that, in 1933, Wajima joined a group called the "Materialist Theory Study Group" (Yuibutsuron Kenkyukai) while still a first year Waseda University student. His suggestion that the group read Engels resulted in his expulsion from the university and arrest in October of 1933. Wajima was released from jail in May 1934. Although his case never came to trial, he thereafter had a record of arrest on his file. After his release, Wajima became involved with the "Materialist Theory Study Group" once again. It was at this time, at the age of 25, that he was encouraged by Watanabe Yoshimichi, a Marxist historian with an interest in primitive societies, to focus

his studies on archaeology (Ichihara 1984; Wajima Seiichi Shuyo Chosaku Shu Kanko Kai 1973: 814-815). Since Wajima came from a wealthy family, he was able to pursue his interest in archaeology by visiting sites and buying site reports and books which were expensive at the time (Ichihara 1984). In 1935 Watanabe, joined by Wajima and other scholars, started to produce a book entitled "Curriculum for the Teaching of Japanese History" (Nihon Rekishi Kyotei) (Habu 1990; Ichihara 1984: 242). This book, which took a historical materialist perspective, argued that history should be written using a scientific framework not myths. Perhaps because it discussed human evolution and development in quite technical terms, Wajima was not jailed but continued his studies, becoming, in 1939, a student in the Department of Anthropology of Tokyo University. Finishing his courses in 1941, Wajima began a part-time position at Tokyo University in 1942 (Wajima Seiichi Shuyo Chosaku Shu Kanko Kai 1973: 814-815).

Thus, despite severe political oppression, the 1930s were a crucial time in the advancement of Japanese archaeology. Not only were typological and chronological studies well grounded during these years but, as Wajima, notes in a retrospective, it was in the mid-1930s that historians began to study scientific history from the perspective of the working class. The result, for archaeology, was that a small group of scholars (that is, Watanabe, Wajima and their colleagues) began to examine change in the prehistoric record as it was related to changes in production and the relations of production (Wajima 1973a: 684). Perhaps even more important was that archaeologists learned first-hand about the intimate relationship between archaeology and its political environment.

Cultural Properties Preservation Legislation before 1945

Legal measures to protect cultural properties and, later, buried cultural properties were another facet of the pre-1945 development of archaeology. The preservation of Japan's cultural properties first became an issue in the early Meiji Period. This was partially the consequence of growing Japanese interaction with the West and a resulting budding consciousness of the distinctive nature of Japanese culture (Inada 1986:75). It was also a reaction to the wanton destruction of Buddhist temples and relics during the late Tokugawa and restoration periods, a result of a resurgence of Shintoism and growing Japanese nationalism (Inada 1986:76). The first cultural property laws and proclamations, therefore, emphasized the protection and preservations of temples, shrines and religious relics rather than the protection of archaeological remains (Toda 1981: 187).

During the Meiji Period, concern over cultural property protection increased. In his 1879 report on the Omori Shellmidden, Morse warned Meiji leaders and the Japanese people of the possible danger of losing valuable cultural assets should they be taken abroad. He also argued that prehistoric shellmiddens should be considered valuable cultural properties (Inada 1986: 77; Toda 1981: 187). This set a precedent since, until this time, prehistoric sites had not been considered part of the Japanese people's history. Tsuboi was another eminent anthropologist who encouraged the protection of cultural properties (Inada 1986: 77). The opinions of Morse and Tsuboi added academic weight to the archaeological protection lobby.

The first measure toward implementing preservation for cultural properties was the Law Concerning the Preservation of Antiquities (Koki Kyubutsu Hozon Ho) proclaimed in 1871 (Inada 1986: 75; Toda 1981: 187). The purpose of the law was to end the destruction and sale of Japanese cultural properties. It set up a categorization system for cultural

properties which included among its 31 divisions several for archaeological remains. Sites, however, were not mentioned explicitly and the emphasis was on shrines and temples (Toda 1981: 187). The same year, Tokyo University presented a proposal to build a museum to house ancient objects recovered from archaeological contexts (Inada 1986: 75; Toda 1981: 187). This move shows that such relics were valued at least for their scientific worth.

The last decade of the nineteenth century saw a clear definition of the nationalist and imperialist ideologies which were to guide Japan through the wars in Asia and World War II. The proclamation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889 and the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 both contributed to the glorification of Japan. Nationalism, in turn, affected cultural property laws. From this time, cultural remains began to be treated as national properties (Toda 1981:188). In 1897, the Law for the Preservation of Ancient Temples and Shrines (Koshaji Hozon Ho) was passed (Toda 1981: 188). As with earlier laws, the emphasis was on protecting temples, shrines and anything related to the imperial line (Inada 1986: 77).

As Japanese modernization and concomitant industrialization continued, it became evident that the Law for the Preservation of Ancient Temples and Shrines was inadequate, since it offered no protection to buried cultural properties. In a situation analogous to that of today, newly built roads, train tracks, factory buildings and houses were wrecking havoc with the Japanese buried cultural heritage (Inada 1986: 78; Kihara 1974: 13). Starting in 1911, several groups, notably the Association for the Commemoration of Historic Sites, Scenic Spots and Natural Monuments (Shiseki Meisho Tennen Kinenbutsu Kyokai) and the Committee for the Investigation of Ancient Imperial Sites (Teikoku Koseki Torishirabe Kai) began lobbying to protect Japan's national history and heritage, both natural and historical (Inada 1986: 79). In 1893, Tsuboi, a member

of the latter group, presented the government with a plan to create a park out of a kofun that he had excavated (Toda 1981: 188). Sites such as Heijokyo (the capital of Japan from 710 until 784), which is located in present-day Nara Prefecture, were considered important cultural remains that could tell scholars about the imperial history of Japan (Inada 1986: 80). Advocates of cultural property protection urged the government to reconstruct this site.

In 1919, the Law for the Preservation of Commemorative Historic Sites, Scenic Spots and Natural Monuments (Shiseki Meisho Tennen Kinenbutsu Hozon Ho or the 1919 Preservation Act) was established (Inada 1986: 78). This was the first attempt by the state to protect buried cultural properties. Due to the nationalist political context, however, the term historical site (shiseki) was interpreted by officials to mean primarily sites relating to imperial history not to sites of the Yayoi or Jomon Periods (Kobayashi 1982: 76). This trend was especially strong after 1932 when Japanese nationalist ideology became extremely rigid (I50 1989).

By the early 1900s, the idea that buried cultural properties not related to the imperial house could be of value to the Japanese nation and people was gaining ground. Although legal measures still restricted the definition of historical sites to those of the ancient emperors, educational institutions began to study the stone age artifacts of the islands. In 1897, Tokyo University produced a guide entitled "List of Stone Age Sites in Japan" (Nihon Sekki Jidai Jimmin Ibutsu Hakken Chimei Hyo). There were 1841 prehistoric sites listed in this publication. Three years later, in 1900, that number had risen to 3133 sites (Toda 1981: 188).

It was Hamada, the first professor of archaeology at Kyoto University, who first clearly articulated the concept of buried cultural property preservation. He did this in an article entitled "On the Preservation of Commemorative Historic Sites and Monuments" (Shiseki Kinenbutsu no Hozon

ni tsuite no Iken) published by the Osaka Mainichi Shimbun in 1916 (Toda 1981: 189). Hamada believed that it was the responsibility and duty of the people of Japan, and of the Japanese nation, to preserve excavated artifacts. As an influential archaeologist who introduced to Japan ideas of stratigraphic excavation which he had learned in Europe, Hamada was listened to by other archaeologists and by government officials (Toda 1981: 189).

This brief survey of the development of prewar and wartime Japanese archaeology has shown that the base for contemporary Japanese prehistoric and protohistoric research was laid during this period. Many research traditions which continue today--the stress on archaeology as both science and history, the legal backing for archaeological preservation and amateur interest in archaeology--had their roots in Tokugawa, Meiji, Taisho and early Showa studies of the buried past. The strictures placed on prewar archaeologists by the nationalist government forced at least superficial adherence to the precepts of imperial ideology. Conversely, these restrictions on academic and political freedom contributed later to a postwar awareness of the political implications of archaeological work. In the next chapter, I will examine the organization of archaeological research and buried cultural property policy after World War II, showing how the prewar experience affected the goals of archaeological work after August 1945.

CHAPTER 4

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POSTWAR ARCHAEOLOGY AND BURIED CULTURAL PROPERTIES ADMINISTRATION: 1945-1962

It was during the late 1940s and 1950s that archaeologists initially expressed several themes that have come to form the basic paradigm of postwar Japanese archaeology. The first of these themes was that archaeology should be a means of rewriting Japanese history of and for the Japanese people. Since archaeologists were anxious to distance themselves from the prewar nationalist history of Japan, which had been "...traditionally embellished with mythology..." (Tsuboi 1986: 485), they stressed the possibility of using archaeology to understand the development of Japanese economic, political, social, cultural and intellectual life from the perspective of all Japanese people rather than members of the ruling class only. Thus, this first theme has two aspects, each of which has been important for the development of postwar buried cultural properties administration. First is the idea that archaeology is actively upholding a democratic and egalitarian political philosophy in direct contrast to the repression of imperial history prior to 1945. This belief in the importance of archaeology in the political process shows an awareness among archaeologists of the political nature of their discipline, something made clear by the political repression of archaeology prior to 1945. Second is the idea that archaeology rewrite a history for the Japanese people. This notion provides the avenue through which archaeology, in the postwar era, has begun to create new identities for Japanese people at the local and national levels.

The second theme expressed in the postwar paradigm of Japanese archaeology is that archaeology should contribute to Japanese history by using a "scientific" and "empirical" approach to study past material culture, archaeology's

unique database. Thus, archaeology is seen as a scientific, that is, a non-ideological way of studying the past. It is closely linked to the empirical study of concrete material remains and it is considered a form of history.

In this chapter I will discuss the socio-political conditions of postwar Japan which fostered the development of the postwar paradigm and will show how the assumptions underlying this paradigm affected the growth of archaeology, preservation movements and buried cultural properties administration during the late 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s.

Archaeology and Buried Cultural Properties Administration during the Occupation and Early Post-Occupation

The Socio-Political Context of Japan during the Occupation

The Pacific War officially ended on September 2, 1945 with the signing by Shigemitsu Mamoru, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, for Japan and General MacArthur for the Allied Powers of the instrument of surrender aboard the United States battleship "Missouri" in Tokyo Bay. The Allied Powers' Occupation forces had already begun arriving in Japan. They would stay until the signing of a peace treaty in 1952 gave Japan the independence to act as a sovereign state once again.

The Occupation Period was a time of rapid political and social change in Japan. The nation had suffered a defeat unthinkable before 1945. Millions of people throughout the country had seen their friends and family members killed or wounded. This psychological blow was accompanied by poverty. During the first few years of the Occupation, poor harvests and problems of distribution resulted in food shortages and near starvation. In the cities, which had been bombed during the last several years of the war, many people were homeless. It is estimated that 70% of the area of Tokyo, 80% of Osaka and 90% of Nagoya were destroyed in the incendiary bombings of April and May 1945 (Cohen 1987:

4). Hiroshima and Nagasaki were reminders of the tragic results of atomic bombing. The soldiers returning from overseas were as disoriented as those people who had been in Japan at the end of the war.

The Occupation of Japan was led by the United States under General Douglas MacArthur. Throughout the six years of the Occupation, Japan had two governments; one the official Japanese government made up of the Diet, the bureaucracy and the political parties and the other, the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) (Cohen 1987 xix). Although nominally the other Allied Powers (that is, the eleven members of the Far Eastern Commission, which included China, the USSR and Great Britain and its Commonwealth among others) also had control in Japan, all major policy decisions of the Occupation Period were, in fact, made by the US command (Hane 1986: 343). Thus, from 1945, postwar Japan was placed firmly in the American sphere of influence.

SCAP believed that its two primary goals, demilitarization and democratization, could be achieved by revamping and reforming core institutions of Japanese society including the political system, the bureaucracy, the economy, the educational system, the Shinto religion and nationalist ideology. In MacArthur's view, Japan could be democratized in the following ways:

> First destroy the military power. Punish war criminals. Build the structure of representative government. Modernize the constitution. Hold free elections. Enfranchise women. Release political prisoners. Liberate the farmers. Establish a free labor movement. Encourage a free economy. Abolish police oppression. Develop a free and responsible press. Liberalize education. Decentralize the political power. Separate church from state. (MacArthur, quoted in Nishi 1982: 41).

These reforms were later undercut when, after 1947, SCAP introduced a more conservative political and economic

agenda. The transformations that occurred in the economic, political and particularly the ideological spheres of Japanese life between 1945 and 1952 and attempts by SCAP and Japanese leaders to negate some of these changes after 1947, had lasting effects on postwar Japan. Similarly, these changes coupled with the prewar and wartime experiences of the Japanese people affected the development of postwar Japanese archaeology and buried cultural properties administration. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss those SCAP policies that most directly affected the development of archaeology and the buried cultural properties preservation during the years of the Occupation and beyond.

SCAP policies

One of the first concerns of SCAP was to provide Japan with a new political and legal system based on a revised constitution and democratic ideals. The new Japanese Constitution differed from the 1889 Imperial Constitution in several ways. Perhaps the most significant difference for archaeologists was that the postwar constitution gave sovereignty to the Japanese people rather than to the emperor. Thus the new Constitution acknowledged formally what the Japanese people had been told by Hirohito, the Showa Emperor, himself in his 1946 New Year's greeting; that the Japanese Emperor is a mortal being and that he is not, nor has he ever been, descended from the gods. With the enactment of the new constitution in 1947, the emperor became a symbol rather than an embodiment of the state. Democracy rather than imperial ideology became the favored political ideal in Japan.

The educational system was another institution treated with extreme suspicion by SCAP officials. This was because schools and the military had been the two institutions most crucially important for the indoctrination of the Japanese people into imperial and ultranationalist ideology from the

latter part of the nineteenth century until 1945. As I have discussed above, this indoctrination was particularly strong after the issuing of the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education. SCAP administrators moved quickly to dismantle the prewar educational system and restructure it to resemble more closely that of the United States.

SCAP administrators found the contents of Japanese history, geography and ethics texts particularly offensive, since these books relied heavily on imperial ideology. Prewar history textbooks, for instance, taught a version of Japanese history based on myths of imperial sanctity in which "...the origins of the Japanese nation and the imperial line were explained by the mythological and quasi-historical tales of the Nihon shoki and Kojiki texts" (Fawcett and Habu 1990: 220). In December of 1945, SCAP ordered a halt to the teaching of Japanese history, geography and ethics in public schools and a revision of all textbooks in these subjects (Nishi 1982: 179; Nishikawa 1986: 182).

The new history textbooks used after the war were written by committees of specialists under the direction of SCAP. The writing of textbooks was begun in 1946 (Nishikawa 1986: 182) and the first such national textbook was issued in September of that year (Nishi 1982: 183). Prepared by a committee from Tokyo University, it was called "Footsteps of the Nation" (Kuni no Ayumi). This book drew a picture of the past based on archaeological and anthropological studies rather than on mythological tales (Fawcett and Habu 1990: 221). Thus it changed the content of and the basic philosophy behind historical education in Japan. Although battles over education, and particularly over changes in textbook content regulations, have continued until the present, after 1946, archaeologists felt confident that the results of their work would filter down to be taught in Japanese schools and that they could, therefore, contribute

directly to changing the historical perspective of the Japanese people.

Soon after arriving in Japan, MacArthur began a purge of those people considered instrumental in the creation and maintenance of the imperial regime, that is, those who had actively advocated militarism and militant nationalism before and during the war (Nishi 1982: 53). This purge affected hundreds of thousands of Japanese. Beginning with high-ranking political advisors such as Army General Tojo Hideki, who became Japan's first war criminal, the purge moved to public officials. Banned from public office were approximately 186,000 government employees and all military and naval personnel (Nishi 1982: 56). Purges also occurred in educational institutions including universities, the press and among business elites.

With the purge of people linked to the militarist and nationalist imperial regime came, in September and October 1945, the liberation of individuals who had been jailed prior to and during the war for opposing this regime (Nishi 1982: 92; Totten 1983: 11). Most of these political prisoners were socialists or Communists, many of whom had been attracted to Marxist political philosophy at the time of their arrest. Upon their release, many once again became actively involved in politics.

Communists and socialists in occupied Japan

The Japan Communist Party regrouped for the first time as a legal political party in October 1945. The publication of the JCP's official daily newspaper, Akahata (Red Flag) began in late October 1945. Denunciation of the emperor and the imperial institution was an important part of their postwar platform. Although the majority of the Japanese people were not ready to reject the emperor, especially in his new role as the symbolic rather than the actual leader of the country, the Communists received support partly because they had been one of the few groups that had

continued to fight for their own ideological cause desp te severe persecution (Nishi 1982: 94). In addition, since JCP leaders realized that they needed a mass base, they presented the party as independent, peace-loving, democratic and moderate and focused attention on nurturing support among the burgeoning labor movement (Scalapino 1967: 51; Totten 1983: 11).

Initially, these tactics worked. In the 1946 House of Representatives elections, the JCP won 5 seats with 2.1 million votes. In the 1949 election the JCP picked up votes which had previously gone to the socialists to capture 35 seats with 3 million votes (Totten 1983: 11). Support was especially strong among students and intellectuals. As Scalapino points out, this was because:

> The role of the intellectual in Japan had been essentially that of the social critic, and Marxism was an excellent weapon of social criticism. In terms of recent history, moreover, the Communists had been 'right' and the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals had been 'wrong'. A guilt complex concerning the support of the Emperor system and the war was fairly widespread (1967: 71).

Smith (1972: 262) adds that the support for Marxist ideas among university staff and book publishers after the war lent continuity to the pre-1945 and postwar Marxist movements.

By 1950, however, the position of SCAP towards the JCP had changed dramatically. In 1947, Occupation authorities began what has been called the "reverse course" during which, in concert with the Japanese government, they began to undo some of their earlier reforms. This was accomplished by curbing the power of the growing labor unions, scaling down a program designed to break down the concentration of economic power, and allowing previously purged individuals to reenter public life.

With the communist victory in China in 1949 followed by the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, SCAP began the Red

Purge of JCP leaders and those suspected of communist leanings in government, private industry and education (Totten 1983: 11; Nishi 1982: 251). At the elementary and secondary levels, SCAP asked about 1200 alleged Communist and openly Communist teachers (about 0.24% of the teaching population) to resign and discouraged the activities of the radical Japan Teachers Union (Nihon Kyoshokuin Kumiai) (Nishi 1982: 251). By the 1952 elections, the JCP had lost all of its seats in the House of Representatives. Despite the Red Purge, support for the radical left remained strong on university campuses. After the foundation, in 1948, of Zengakuren (an abbreviation of Zen Nihon Gakusei Jichikai Sorengo or the All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Governing Associations), dismissals of students from university campuses for their political activities were often followed by student protests in the form of strikes (Nishi 1982). The student movement, which has continued to be important "in the institutionalization of Marxism as the dominant ideology of the post-World War II intellectual class" (Smith 1983: 251), was not the only group which protested the purges. The Japanese Association of University Professors, which in 1951 had 5,200 members in 92 public and private universities, clearly stated, in October 1949, that it defended academic freedom (Nishi 1982: 223).

Of course not all postwar intellectuals were Marxist. Some of those who had supported the imperial regime, either passively or actively, continued to hold relatively conservative political positions after the war, advocating democracy as defined by SCAP and the postwar political and economic elites. Nor were all postwar Marxist intellectuals Communists actively supporting the JCP. Some had no concrete political affiliations but only used historical materialism as analytical tool. Others supported the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), a political party founded after the war by socialists of various ideological perspectives (Stockwin 1983: 48). The Socialists briefly gained power,

leading a coalition government from 1947 to 1948 before suffering a catastrophic defeat in the 1949 elections.

In general, between 1945 and 1950, the mood of the Japanese people of all political persuasions was one of hope for the future and a spontaneous acceptance of the principles of democracy. This optimism made the disillusionment felt by the Left after the Red Purge even more profound than it might otherwise have been, and it encouraged Marxist intellectuals to embark on projects aimed at strengthening the position of the Japanese people vis-à-vis the country's powerful elites. The excavation of the Tsukinowa Kofun Site and the "people's history movement", (kokuminteki rekishigaku undo), both of which will be discussed below, are examples of this trend.

Archaeology and Buried Cultural Properties Administration during the Occupation

With political, economic and social upheaval endemic, researchers killed during the war or purged by SCAP, few books, and students still returning from the battlefields of Asia, little archaeological work was done during the first few years of the Occupation. The small amount of research that did occur was conducted either by the archaeologists who continued to teach at the universities and to analyze data collected in Asia and rural areas of Japan where they had been evacuated during the final years of the war (Fujita 1951: 3), or by amateur archaeologists, particularly history teachers.

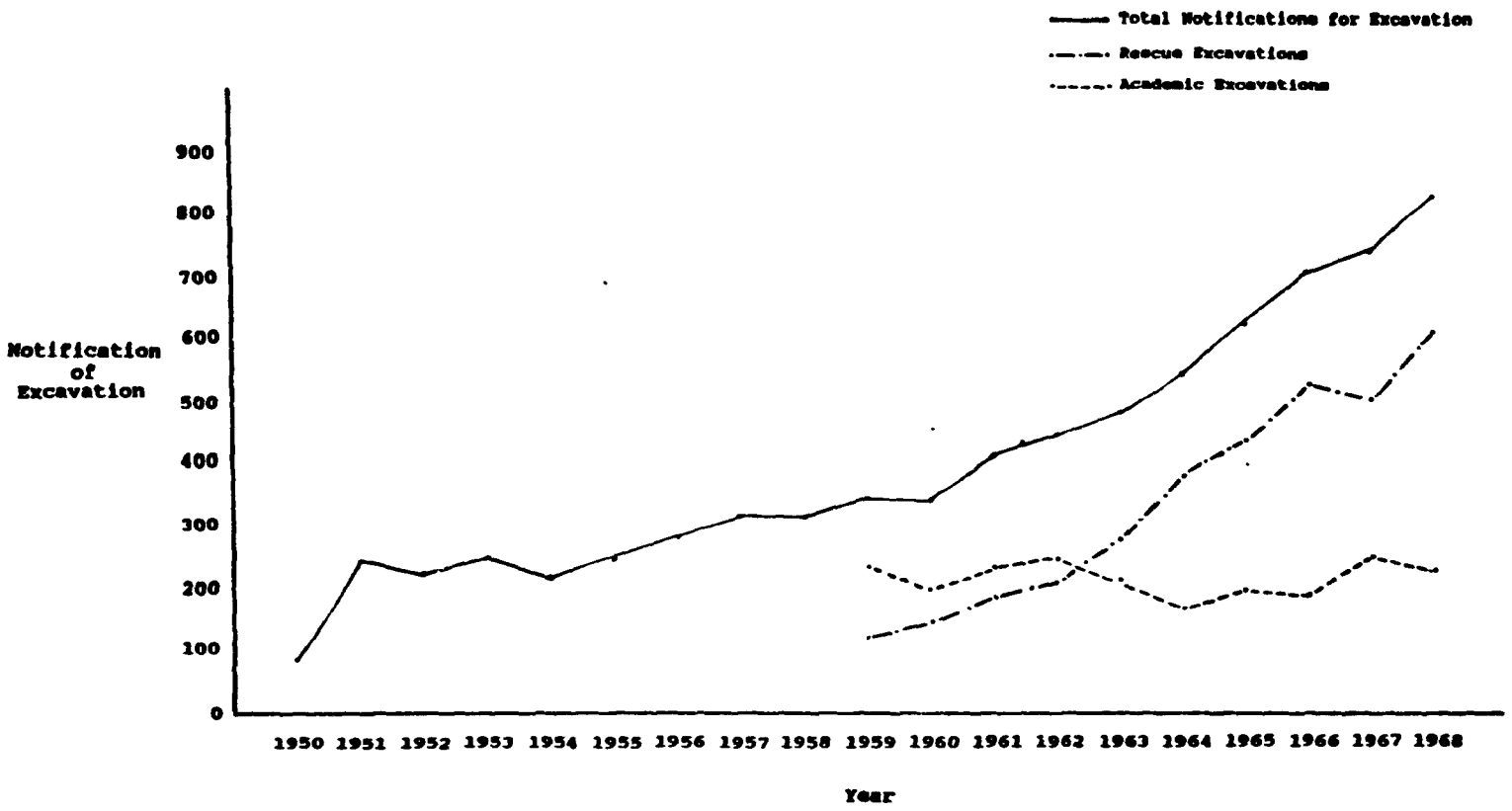
It is difficult to know how many excavations were carried out each year during the Occupation since accurate statistics are only available beginning in 1950. An archaeologist working at a high level of the administrative system today estimates that there were between 10 and about 100 a year (I50 1989). The first volume of Archaeologia Japonica: Annual Report of the Japanese Archaeologists Association (Nihon Kokogaku Nempo), edited by the Japanese

Archaeologists Association (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai translated, from 1990, as the Japanese Archaeological Association) and produced in April 1948, does give us some idea of the work being done at that time. This volume contains 109 brief research reports summarizing the results of investigations of Jomon, Yayoi, Kofun and historical period sites throughout Japan during the previous year. Many of these excavations were carried out by professional archaeologists affiliated with universities or museums, accompanied by teams of amateurs recruited from amateur archaeology clubs, university archaeology clubs and laboratories, teachers college archaeology clubs, secondary, middle and primary school students, and even the members of the Occupation Forces. In some cases, amateurs, particularly school history teachers, directed the excavations using students as excavators. In most of these cases, the amateurs seem to have conferred with university archaeologists. These investigations were small-scale. Since they depended on groups of volunteers (many of the sites were dug by more than one amateur group under the same director) and had virtually no budget, they were carried out intermittently over several weeks or months (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1951: 35-119). After the enactment of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (the Bunkazai Hogo Ho to be referred to below as the Law) in 1950, official records giving some idea of the number of sites excavated each year are available. In 1950, for instance, 82 applications were filed for research and emergency rescue investigations. By 1951, this number had jumped to 241 (Figure 4).

There seems to have been some debate in the archaeological community about non-specialist involvement in archaeological work. Many archaeologists, particularly those who were to lead the "peoples' history movement" in the early 1950s, favored the involvement of amateurs in well-directed and well-executed excavation work, arguing

Figure 4

Graph showing changes in the number of notifications for excavation of buried cultural properties: 1950-1968



Source: Personal Communication M. Tanaka (1989)

that the local Japanese people needed to create and discover history with their own hands. Others stressed the potential dangers to buried cultural resources of excavation by untrained amateurs. These latter, who represented the conservative view, argued that the pilfering of sites by interested amateurs had begun to cause irreparable damage to the cultural resource base during the late 1940s and early 1950s (Fujita 1951; 1954). They urged SCAP, the Ministry of Education and prefectural governments to control excavation by amateurs, even though many of these non-specialists were working closely with professionals (Fujita 1951; 1954: Inada 1986: 85).

The creation of the Japanese Archaeologists Association (JAA) in 1948 had the effect of controlling excavation by amateurs. This was because, after the enactment of the Law in 1950, individuals had to obtain a permit to excavate. Since an implicit agreement had been established that, to be granted a permit, one had to be a member of the JAA, many amateurs who were not members of this group could no longer dig. A small number of amateur archaeologists were included among the original 81 members and 5 associate members of the JAA (Fujita 1951: 9). Membership in the JAA was considered highly prestigious by these people (I50 1989).

During the Occupation Period, most professional archaeologists were employed by universities. In April 1948, there were a total of 22 professors, assistant professors and lecturers teaching at 16 faculties of national and private universities throughout Japan (Fujita 1951: 6-7). This number increased rapidly so that two years later, in 1950, there were 29 faculties offering archaeology courses and employing approximately 43 archaeologists (Fujita 1955: 5-6). This focus on university-based archaeology continued until the creation of the administrative rescue system in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Until 1943, funding for archaeological work through the Japan Academy (Gakushiin) and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Nihon Gakujutsu Shinko Kai) had been limited (Fujita 1951: 4). In 1943 archaeology began receiving its funding through the Ministry of Education's Humanities Research Fund (Mombusho Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyuhi Hojo). But it was in 1947, when the Ministry of Education's Humanities Research Committee (Humanities Research Committee, Mombusho Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyu Iinkai) began holding competitions for funding, that historical and archaeological research started to receive steady funding (Fujita 1951: 4). In 1947-1948, the Humanities Research Committee funded the following archaeologically related projects: 1 large group research project on China and 20 individual research projects. They also provided partial funding for 7 projects and gave money to 15 programs for school and teacher's training college study of archaeology. Once funding from the Ministry of Education (Mombusho) became available, it increased rapidly so that a variety of projects were partially or completely funded (Fujita 1951: 4-5). There is some speculation that the JAA was closely linked to these funding agencies as an academic organization which could help select committee members for the Humanities Research Committee (I50 1989). Funding for small projects was also provided by the prefectural and city governments, universities and research organizations (kenkyu kikan) (I50 1989).

Excavating the Toro Site

One of the first major archaeological excavations carried out after the war was at the Toro Site, a well-preserved Yayoi Period village in Shizuoka Prefecture. Excavations at Toro had begun in 1943, when the site was discovered during the building of a wartime arms plant. A larger-scale excavation resumed in 1947 (Wajima 1973b: 691).

The work at Toro was funded from several sources. In April of 1947 the Toro Site Investigation Group (Toro Iseki Chosa Kai) received 20,000 yen from the Humanities Research Fund (Fujita 1951: 4). From 1948 to 1950 4,000,000 yen was provided from this same fund (presently this would be equivalent to about 20 times that amount or approximately 80,000,000 - 100,000,000 yen (I154 1989)). One of the reasons for the creation of the JAA was to receive and channel this money (I154 1989). Another source of funding for Toro were monies received from the city and prefectural governments. Then, in 1948, the Diet recognized the importance of the site for Japan by presenting the excavators with a national grant of 700,000 yen. This was the first time the Diet had directly funded research in the humanities (Fujita 1951: 4).

The Toro excavation was lauded as a cooperative project carried out by scholars and students from institutions all over Japan, including the University of Tokyo, Meiji University, Waseda University, Keio University, the Ministry of Education and the Tokyo National Museum (Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan) (Fujita 1951: 4). As such, it began breaking down barriers that had developed during the prewar period between various university-based archaeological research laboratories and allowed archaeology to become a more egalitarian discipline (I20 1985). The Toro excavation also brought together scholars from a variety of disciplines including archaeology, architectural history, ethnology, biology, botany, zoology, ancient history and agricultural economic history (Fujita 1951: 4; Tsuboi 1986: 485) to make archaeology a discipline that transcended culture history to study how social change occurred (Anazawa 1988: 8). Finally, researchers working at Toro encouraged local adults and children to participate in archaeological work as volunteers working side by side with specialists (Wajima 1973b: 691).

One goal of the project was to show that, in the postwar period, Japanese ancient history would be studied using scientific and empirical research (jisshoteki kagakuteki kenkyu) (Fujita 1951: 3). Toro was said to show the health of a Japanese academic world which could now carry out excavations to understand the Japanese ancient past (Niiro 1986: 216). It was also an impetus for the 1948 founding of the JAA (Inada 1986: 101). An archaeologist writing later about the impact of the excavation was to say:

> The Toro Site research project destroyed prewar history and released the Japanese people from the fetters of myth and imperial history. Research projects like that at Toro showed that history is important in general and that history is important for each individual. Toro also taught that history should be scientific. Furthermore, for the Japanese people the research project confirmed that history had taken a new direction (Takahashi 1980: 192).

In conclusion, the Toro Site excavation was important for a number of reasons. First, the publicity surrounding it made the Japanese people aware of archaeology, buried cultural properties and the scientific study of the ancient past. It was with the Toro excavations that the first "archaeology boom" (kokogaku bumu) occurred in Japan (Niiro 1986: 216). Yamaguchi (n.d.) notes that there were an unusually large number of articles on archaeology in Japan's leading newspapers during the years 1947, 1948 and 1949. Many of these were about the Toro Site. The press called the site "Japan's Pompeii" and made much of how, at Toro, prewar historical interpretations based on myths were being replaced by scientific historical studies. A number of the articles on Toro were written by archaeological specialists themselves, demonstrating their early interest in presenting archaeology to the Japanese people. This public awareness and interest encouraged the Japanese government to consider funding seriously archaeological work. Toro also encouraged scholars from a variety of laboratories and

research centers to conduct multi-disciplinary, scientific work on Japanese prehistory. In doing so, it brought together scholars from around Japan and provided a basis on which to form the JAA. Finally, the Toro excavation acknowledged the importance of involving the Japanese people directly in archaeological field work. In this sense, Toro was a precursor to the "people's history movement".

Cultural Property Preservation Legislation and Historical Site Designation: 1945-1950

Between 1945 and 1950 cultural property legislation rested on prewar laws which stayed in effect, specifically the 1919 Preservation Act and the 1929 Law for the Preservation of National Treasures (Kokuho Hozon Ho) (Tanaka 1984: 82). Sites were managed and maintained either by the Imperial Household Agency, in the case of burial mounds (Tsuboi 1986: 485), or the Ministry of Education in the case of other designated sites (I50 1989).

The rejection of imperial ideology implicit in the enactment of the new constitution directly affected buried cultural properties administration. In May 1948, SCAP issued an order revoking the historical designation of 337 19th and early 20th century sacred sites related to the Meiji Emperor (Inada 1986: 84). At this time there were almost 1000 historical sites from various prehistoric and historic periods designated under the prewar laws. The order for the cancellation of sites related to the Meiji Emperor was affirmed by the Minister of Education who declared that these particular historic designations did not conform to the spirit of the new Constitution (Inada 1986: 84; Inagaki et al. 1980: 18-19). The intention of SCAP then was to redraw the historical landscape of Japan in line with postwar political and ideological trends.

During the Occupation, the interpretation of Japanese cultural property laws was subject to the discretion of SCAP officials. In the late 1940s, SCAP ordered a review and

rewriting of the cultural properties laws so that legislation would conform more closely to the postwar ideals of the new Japanese constitution (Inagaki et al. 1980: 18). Most Japanese archaeologists and administrators were in favor of these changes since they realized that, although, under the 1919 Preservation Act, the discovery of sites was supposed to be reported, this was rarely done. Uncontrolled excavation was destroying buried cultural resources and other cultural properties were being taken abroad (Inada 1986: 85; Inagaki et al. 1980: 18). Even burial mounds controlled by the Imperial Household Agency were being excavated since, although in principle digging these sites was illegal, in practice permission to excavate was granted freely by landowners (Tsuboi 1986: 485). By 1949, concern over the destruction and loss of cultural properties was growing. Consequently, a fire at the 8th century Horyuji Temple in January 1949 spurred Japanese legislators into passing a new law to protect cultural properties (Barnes 1990: 184; Inada 1986: 85; Inagaki et al 1980: 18)

The Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (the Law) was enacted on May 30, 1950 (Bunkacho Bunkazai Hogo Bu 1989: 224). Subsequent major revisions relating to archaeological sites and artifacts were made in 1954 and 1975. These will be discussed in Chapter 7. The Law included categories of cultural properties defined in the prewar years by both the 1919 Preservation Act and the 1929 Law for the Preservation of National Treasures. From the former came what we would refer to today as protection for the generalized historical environment and from the latter came the precedent to preserve artworks and constructions of historical and cultural value (Inagaki et al. 1980: 19).

There is a fair amount of continuity between the 1919 Preservation Act and the Law. Although the prewar law was written within the context of imperial Japan, the criteria used for defining historical sites in the two laws are quite similar.

Japanese archaeologists differ in their interpretations of this continuity. Inada (1986: 85) argues, for instance, that many of the sites designated after 1919 had ideological rather than historical value. He consequently sees in the postwar cultural properties administration system vestiges of imperial ideology. In contrast, another highly placed administrative archaeologist feels that most of the sites related to imperial ideology were designated under the 1919 Preservation Act after 1933 when Japan, having invaded Manchuria and left the League of Nations, was becoming more militaristic, insular and nationalist (I50 1989). As mentioned above, these were the designations canceled by SCAP. Hence, this archaeologist argues that, in general, sites designated before 1933 under the 1919 Preservation Act, many of which remained historical sites after 1950, are not ideological in nature but have scientific value; it was the interpretations of the 1919 law after 1933 rather than the law itself which resulted in ideologically-based designations of historical sites (I50 1989). Thus, in the opinion of some contemporary archaeologists, the continuities between the 1919 Preservation Act and the 1950 Law should not lead to renewed nationalism in postwar archaeology and cultural properties administration.

Summary of Developments in Archaeology and Buried Cultural Properties Administration during the Occupation Period

The Occupation was a period of rebuilding for the archaeological community in Japan. It was also a time when archaeologists and administrators took the first steps toward establishing the institutional foundations of contemporary Japanese archaeology. The creation of the JAA in 1948, the development and expansion, throughout the Occupation Period, of university programs in archaeology and the enactment of the the Law in 1950, all helped build up an institutional and professional base for the discipline.

Despite these moves towards professionalization, amateur involvement and interest in archaeological work was important at this time. It was in 1949, for example, that the professional archaeologists Serizawa Chosuke (b 1919) and Sugihara Sosuke (1913-1983), confirmed the discovery of the first paleolithic artifacts to be recognized in Japan. The original discover of these tools was Aizawa Tadahiro (1926-1989), an amateur archaeologist (Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan 1983b: 38). Furthermore, small-scale excavations throughout Japan provided archaeological experience for thousands of interested amateurs and schoolchildren. As I will show below, this amateur involvement continued into the 1950s when it was encouraged by advocates of the "people's history movement".

Archaeology and Buried Cultural Properties Administration during the 1950s and 1960s

Economic and Political Developments during the 1950s and 1960s

In 1952, with the withdrawal of the Allied Forces and the signing of a peace treaty with 48 of the nations that had fought against her during World War II, Japan regained her status as a sovereign state. As citizens of a nation independent, yet still within the sphere of US military control (because of the US-Japan Security Treaty, signed with the US and ratified in the Diet in 1952), the Japanese people began a concerted program of rebuilding their war-shattered economy and society. Over the next ten years, they also took great steps toward entering the international community once again. It was during these same years that Japanese archaeology moved towards becoming a discipline focused not only on research, but also on the administration of threatened buried cultural resources.

The 1950s were years of economic growth and political regrouping in Japan. Throughout this decade and into the

next, the country's leaders prepared the political, legal and financial groundwork for the rapid development that was to occur throughout the 1960s and early 1970s. In 1960 Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato announced an economic expansion plan which, over the next 10 years, would encourage more industrial development near the urban centers of Japan. The urban areas of Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka and Kita-Kyushu, all of which were already industrialized, were to be linked into an extensive Pacific Belt industrial area (Huddle and Reich 1975: 92). Ikeda's goal was to double the national GNP by 1970 (Hane 1986: 360; Kosai 1986: 130). The result of Ikeda's policies was intensive industrial development along the Pacific and the Inland Sea coasts of Japan. These development projects destroyed the natural environment and archaeological sites.

Although economic development was the key issue dominating Japanese politics during the 1950s and early 1960s, a second major concern was defining the political alignments of postwar Japan. The immediate postwar years were a time of confusion within the Japanese political landscape. Freed from the constraints of the prewar imperial ideology, the radical and moderate Left quickly regrouped to form two political parties, the Japan Communist Party (JCP) and the Japan Socialist Party (JSP). The members of these two parties shared a basic philosophy, but they differed to such an extent on central issues, particularly their relationship to international communism, that cooperation between them became extremely difficult. Throughout the 1950s, furthermore, the JCP, as mentioned above, had to cope with the constant threat of purges of its leadership and curtailment of its activities as the Right (represented by the Democratic and Liberal Parties before 1955 and the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) after that date) attempted to stamp out communism in Japan. To complicate matters even further, the JSP soon split into two factions, a radical Left which was affiliated with Sohyo (Nihon Rodo

Kumiai So Hyogikai, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan) and the "right-wing" socialists who were aligned with the Domei (Zen Nihon Rodo Sodomei, the Japanese Confederation of Labor), a second large amalgamation of trade unions in Japan. It was the JCP, the radical members of the JSP and other socialists, joined by students, intellectuals, labor representatives, pacifists and cultural leaders, who opposed the renegotiation of a security treaty between Japan and the US in 1960, a struggle they eventually lost when the LDP Diet ratified the treaty in May 1960. In general, the Japanese socialists have the reputation of being doctrinaire. They adhere "...tenaciously to timeworn Marxian concepts, such as the need to carry on the class struggle against capitalist exploiters" (Hane 1986: 361). While much of the electoral support for the socialists comes from the labor movement, they are also backed by intellectuals and students, many of whom have been influenced by Marxist theory.

On the Right, the political situation remained unstable until the formation of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in 1955 formally brought together the various conservative factions. The same year that it was formed, the LDP won a majority of seats in the Diet and became the government. It has remained in power until today. Over the past several decades, the LDP has been extremely practical and pragmatic when developing policy. The goal of the party during the 1950s and 1960s was to encourage economic growth and material progress with the aim of eventually establishing Japan as a major world economic power. By the 1980s this goal had become a reality. The LDP draws much of its support from the big business community, rural communities, small business people and salaried workers. Its strength has been its ability to formulate pragmatic plans for economic growth most of which have financially benefited the average Japanese. Its weaknesses have been internal factionalism, corruption when the ties between business and

government become too close, a disregard for the environment and the quality of life for the average person in the face of rapid economic expansion and constant conflict with opposition parties over a perceived LDP return to nationalist and potentially militarist-imperialist values.

A third political force, which began to emerge in the late 1950s and became much stronger in the 1960s and 1970s, was the organization of ordinary Japanese people into citizens' movements (shimin undo) (Apter and Sawa 1984; Huddle and Reich 1975; Krauss and Simcock 1980; McKean 1980; 1981; Upham 1987). Krauss and Simcock (1980: 191) point out that, although "citizens' movement" presently refers almost exclusively to antidevelopment and antipollution protest, the term was originally coined at the time of the 1960 protests against the revision of the United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty (AMPO). During these protests, "... a leading group of progressive Japanese intellectuals (primarily university professors) called for a national movement of citizens (shimin) that would transcend the factionalism of the established Left and involve ordinary people in...protest ..." (Krauss and Simcock 1980: 191).

Although the AMPO protests failed to stop the renewal of the United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty, they did provide the concept of a new form of political action in which ordinary citizens could spontaneously organize themselves to protest government actions which they perceived as detrimental to their interests. This organization was done outside the context of the established opposition groups, such as the JCP, the JSP and the unions. By the late 1960s, people throughout Japan had begun to realize that rapid industrial growth was resulting in industrial pollution which could ruin their health and quality of life. Having seen the dire effects of pollution on the lives of people in other regions, many Japanese initiated protests at the local level to stop polluting industries from contaminating their environment. Thus,

protests by citizens' movements usually focused on a specific issue or problem. In most cases, these protests involved individuals and groups from diverse backgrounds in demonstrations to oppose local industrial development, environmental pollution, the maintenance of military bases (particularly those associated with US nuclear ships) or the construction of airports such as at the Narita International Airport in Chiba Prefecture. Many of the individuals involved in citizens' movements distrusted political parties, fearing that their organizations might be coopted or manipulated by politicians if their group were to become too closely involved with any particular party (Krauss and Simcock 1980: 206) Thus, citizens' movements tended to shun standard political involvement. In this way, they gave the ordinary Japanese citizen a political voice outside the party system.

Archaeology and the Progressive Left: The "Peoples' History Movement" and the Excavation of the Tsukinowa Kofun

Within the broader political spectrum archaeologists wishing to preserve cultural properties during the 1950s and 1960s tended to align themselves more with the Left than the Right. There were a number of reasons for this. First, archaeologists, like many intellectuals who had experienced the constraints on research and publication imposed in the name of imperial nationalism before 1945, tended to be wary of individuals and groups that had been active in the nationalist cause. The LDP contained a number of politicians who had been members of the prewar nationalist government and bureaucracy. Some of these people had been purged during the late 1940s, but had returned to public life during the 1950s. Second, since the priority of the LDP government was development at all costs, archaeologists more often found support for cultural properties preservation within the opposition parties than with the LDP government. Similarly, opposition politicians realized that

questions about archaeology and cultural resource policy could be used to challenge the government. They were quick to join archaeologists in pointing out that LDP development policies were threatening the ancestral sites of the Japanese people, sites which held the key to rewriting Japanese prehistory.

Third, as discussed in Chapter 3, there existed in Japan, even before the war, an active tradition of history and archaeology carried out within the theoretical framework of Marxism. As mentioned above, Marxism was readily accepted by academics and intellectuals immediately after the war partly because Marxist scholars had been among the only individuals in the academic community who had not compromised their principles under the pressure of ultranationalist suppression. Thus, in the early postwar years, the tradition of Marxist history was strengthened as scholars began openly to use historical materialism to interpret ancient Japanese history (Hiraga 1983: 157).

After several years of acceptance, Marxist scholarship encountered new difficulties in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when the SCAP responded to the outbreak of the Korean War with the "reverse course" and the Red Purge. In an effort to confront this renewed threat to their scholarship, a number of Marxist historians and archaeologists countered by developing the "peoples' history movement", which lasted from 1951 to 1955 (Yoshida 1984: 50). The purposes of this movement were to involve historians both in historical education and in scientific research. The historians involved tried to develop a form of historical research that would bring together scholars, students and local people to write histories of the Japanese common people in their local regions and work places. Thus, the "peoples' history movement" tried to tap into the strong public consciousness of history of the immediate postwar period. As Yoshida points out:

> A strong consciousness of history existed at this time (1950-1955). Because most people educated before and during the war knew nothing about the history of the common people, having learned only about the emperors and nobles, after the war they had a strong desire to know about the common people and local history. I think the five years between 1945 and 1950 had a great effect on the movement since, during these years, many people experienced democracy for the first time. This experience of democracy gave many Japanese people a desire to write local history by themselves (1984: 52).

Thus, the purpose of the "peoples' history movement" was to encourage historians to work with local people to create a scientific study of the common Japanese people (kokumin) and in doing so, to write with "historical spirit" (rekishiteki seishin). As Yoshida (1984: 52-53) points out, the movement, which was largely supported by young scholars and students, lasted only four years before dying out. In this sense it was a failure. It did, however, root in the consciousness of both the Japanese public and historians the idea that public involvement in the creation of history is important.

The Tsukinowa Site excavation

In archaeology, the "peoples' history movement" is best illustrated by the Tsukinowa Kofun excavation in Iokamura, Okayama City, during 1953 (Kondo 1960; 1983a; 1983b). The Tsukinowa project was directed by archaeologists from Okayama University, led by Kondo Yoshiro. The goal of the Tsukinowa excavation was to involve people of different ages, social classes and backgrounds in the excavation of an archaeological site and in doing so to promote the democratic study of history (rekishi) and social studies (shakaika) (Yoshida 1984: 45). This was "Historical study born from the minds and bodies of the local village people who wanted to be able to touch the first page of history..." (Kondo 1983a: 19). Archaeologists working with schoolchildren, local village people, intellectuals, housewives and workers among others created Japanese history

with their own hands. They also examined the question of autocratic leadership in the area during prehistoric times by studying the emergence of class during the fifth century. Thus, Kondo made a point of examining not only the rich burial sites of the wealthy upper class but also the archaeological remains of the common people.

As an example of people actively involved in creating history, the Tsukinowa excavation was a success. In 1953, 10,000 people from the local area participated in the Tsukinowa excavation (Kondo 1960: 418). "Some cut grass and extracted the bamboo roots. Others disposed of earth and held the scoops. One person brought water from the valley...and the middle school children served ice cream to the participants (Kondo 1983a: 20-21)." Discussions of the site and its historical meaning were carried out during rest breaks and in the evening. These meetings were consciously egalitarian, their purpose being to allow the local people to express their opinions about the site. Local participation went beyond the voluntary donation of labor, with the local village council and other associations providing funds that partially covered the costs of the excavation (Kondo 1983a: 22).

Despite its popularity at a local level, the Tsukinowa excavation was not accepted by all villagers or archaeologists as a valid way of conducting archaeological research. Within the village council there were people who objected to spending money on a project with overt Marxist connotations. In addition, a number of intellectuals objected to the involvement of local people in archaeological work, saying that this kind of excavation would endanger cultural properties (Kondo 1983b: 26). Nevertheless, for the thousands of people who participated in the excavation or visited the site and for the many others who saw a film made of the work, Tsukinowa was an important means of learning about a history of Japan very different from that of the prewar years. These people also

learned, firsthand, the value of scientific excavation and the importance of archaeological sites.

The Tsukinowa excavation ended in 1953, but the interest of Marxist archaeologists in "peoples' history" did not disappear. Rather, it was channeled into the creation, in 1954, of a new journal entitled Watakushitachi no Kokogaku ("Our Archaeology"). The purpose of this journal and the association that published it, the Society of Archaeological Studies (Kokogaku Kenkyukai), was to make information on archaeology available to more than just a small group of specialists. The editors urged the scientific (kagakuteki) study of ancient history using archaeology to enrich the lives of the Japanese people. They pointed out that archaeology should not be reserved for people with leisure time but should be a part of the lives of all Japanese people. They stressed that "The village history should become the town history which should become Japanese history. In this way Japanese history would be made by all of us" (Editorial Board of Kokogaku Kenkyukai 1954: 1).

The journal Watakushitachi no Kokogaku was published from 1954 until 1959, when the its name was changed to Kokogaku Kenkyu (Quarterly of Archaeological Studies). Over the years, Watakushitachi no Kokogaku and Kokogaku Kenkyu have published not only research reports on archaeological excavations and analyses, but also commentaries written from a critical perspective on the social and political implications of buried cultural properties administration, site destruction and the preservation movement, among other topics. Thus, Watakushitachi no Kokogaku, Kokogaku Kenkyu and the Society of Archaeological Studies have kept alive the critical tradition of archaeology nurtured during the late 1940s and 1950s. They have also tried to counter the increasing professionalization of archaeology encouraged by groups such as the JAA and the ACA by providing a forum for non-professionals, such as students and amateurs, who wish

to become actively involved in debates about archaeology and cultural resource management.

Land Development and Buried Cultural Properties Preservation during the 1950s and early 1960s: Preservation Movements and Buried Cultural Properties Administration

Towards the end of the 1950s, postwar development plans began to take concrete form with the construction of large-scale transportation routes linking cities in different parts of the country and the building of vast industrial regions and housing projects near large cities, such as Tokyo and Osaka (Huddle and Reich 1975: 205; Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 13). These enormous development projects, which put the fate of hundreds of archaeological and historical sites in jeopardy, differed from those of the late 1940s and early 1950s in two ways. First, they were often initiated by government ministries and were, therefore, paid for with public funds. Secondly, because large-scale development destroyed not just one tomb or part of a prehistoric village but groups of tombs and entire villages, site preservation, through government purchase and designation, became prohibitively expensive. By the late 1950s, sites were, generally, no longer being preserved; they were being excavated before construction (Barnes 1990: 188-189; Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1981: 193). These excavations, furthermore, were usually administered by the self-governing prefectural or city boards of education (Tsude 1986: 42). There was still no central body controlling excavation work throughout Japan.

As the pace of development quickened and the threat to Japan's cultural properties rapidly increased, archaeologists and concerned Japanese citizens realized that the government might be willing to sacrifice the nation's cultural resources for rapid economic development. In an attempt to save prehistoric and historic sites, archaeologists, students and citizens initiated a number of

cultural property preservation movements aimed at protecting specific sites. These movements were instrumental in the development of future Japanese cultural resource management policy because they helped define for archaeologists, politicians, administrators and the public how the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties would be applied.

The Itasuke Kofun preservation movement

The first well-publicized attempt to save an archaeological site from destruction came with the preservation movement to save the Itasuke Kofun in 1955. The Itasuke Kofun, a 140 meter long, key-hole shaped burial mound, is located within a group of tombs known as the Mozu Kofun Gun in Sakai City, Osaka (Inada 1986: 93). The group contains two so-called Imperial Mausoleums, those of Emperor Nintoku and Emperor Richu ("so-called" because the individuals entombed may not correspond to these people) as well as several other tombs managed by the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaicho). The Mozu group also contains about 80 smaller tombs, including the Itasuke Kofun, estimated to have been constructed approximately 1500 years ago. None of the smaller tombs has been given an imperial designation.

In the immediate postwar era, some of the tombs in the Mozu group were sold by the owners of the land on which they were built. The Imperial Household Agency, for example, when its budget was slashed after World War II, sold a number of tombs which, as historical sites relating to the ancient imperial line, had been put under its care before 1945 (Yomiuri Shimbun 1955b). Many of these sales were to construction or development companies that wanted to use the soil from the mounds for landfill and then build housing estates on the land where the tomb had stood. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, development projects such as these were carried-out routinely. Since the developers

never bothered to apply for permission to disturb a historical site as specified in the Law, these projects were technically illegal. This was overlooked, however, by both local and national cultural properties officials (at the national level the Ministry of Education and the Committee for the Protection of Cultural Properties (CPCP or Bunkazai Hogo Iinkai), at the prefectural level the Osaka Prefectural Board of Education (Osaka Fu Kyoiku Iinkai)), who realized that government funds at both the prefectural and national levels were insufficient to buy the sites and designate them or even to pay for adequate archaeological excavation before destruction (Asahi Shimbun 1955a: 8; Asahi Shimbun 1955b; Kokusai Shimbun 1955). Developers also knew that the maximum fine they could be asked to pay for touching a site without permission was a mere 5000 yen (Yomiuri Shimbun 1955a).

The threat to the Itasuke Kofun came when a company bought the tomb with the intention of using it for land-fill (Asahi Shimbun 1955a: 8). Archaeologists had been concerned about the destruction of sites in the Mozu group over the past 10 years and found the idea of a mere 5,000 yen penalty for destroying the nation's cultural heritage ridiculous. When, in the autumn of 1955, the Itasuke Kofun was threatened, archaeologists under the leadership of Mori Koichi (Barnes 1990: 188) and the Young Archaeologists Association (Seinen Kokogaku Kyogikai) (I154 1989) decided to take action and use the site as a test case. In late October, the JAA, meeting in Kashiwara, Nara Prefecture and the Japanese History Association (Nihon Shi Kenkyukai), meeting in Kyoto, both announced their intentions to support a campaign to save the Itasuke Kofun (Asahi Shimbun 1955b; Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 13; Yomiuri Shimbun 1955a). In addition, local townspeople, who formed the Society for the Preservation of Itasuke Kofun, also played an important part in the movement. Finally, although the movement was not Left in political orientation and, indeed would have been

less effective had it been strongly partisan (I50 1989), support was provided by the Osaka Prefectural Teachers Union (Osaka Fu Kyoshokuin Kumiai), which was under JCP and JSP control at this time (I154 1989).

The goal of the campaign was to raise the 3,100,000 yen needed to buy the site and make it a designated historical site under the Law (Yomiuri Shimbun 1955b). This amount was eventually raised but, in the meantime, the site had been bought with CPCP (Committee for the Protection of Cultural Properties) funds. Eventually the funds raised by the campaign were used (1) to carry out a scholarly survey of the Mozu Kofun group in order to establish the shapes and ages of the tombs, (2) to take aerial photographs of the site and (3) to make photographs of the site available to research groups throughout Japan (Yomiuri Shimbun 1958).

It took only a few weeks of a preservation campaign publicized widely by Japan's major newspapers for the government to decide to buy the Itasuke Kofun (Niiro 1986: 6). In March 1956, Itasuke was designated a historical site (Asahi Shimbun 1956). This landmark decision set a precedent for later preservation movements, since it showed that, when pushed, the LDP government would acknowledge the importance of archaeological sites even during a time of rapid economic and industrial development. It also proved that there was strong public interest in the nation's archaeological and historical heritage. And it demonstrated the power of the media in molding public opinion about cultural property preservation.

Highway construction and the beginnings of Japanese administrative rescue archaeology

During the late 1950s, buried cultural properties administration moved closer to its present form when developers agreed to pay for all archaeological survey and excavation necessitated by construction. This land-mark decision came in 1958, during the planning and construction

of the Kyoto-Osaka section of the Meishin Expressway (Meishin Kosoku Doro), a national highway between Nagoya and Kobe (Kihara 1974: 13). Preparation for large-scale highway construction began during the 1950s. Cultural properties officials were well aware of the potential threat that these massive public works posed to archaeological sites. As early as 1952, the CPCP asked the Minister of Construction and officials working in the boards of education of all prefectural governments to do their best to protect sites in the path of planned expressway construction projects (Inada 1986: 86). In 1956 the Japan Highway Public Corporation (Nihon Doro Kodan), a public policy company created to handle all aspects of national expressway planning and construction, was formed. The next year, the Diet passed the National Expressway Law (Kosoku Jidosha Kokudo Ho) and the Law for National Land Development for Trunk Road Construction (Kokudo Kaihastu Kansen Jidoshado Kensetsu Ho) (Inada 1986: 87).

When serious planning and construction of the Meishin Expressway began in 1958, archaeologists were given detailed briefings on the construction and were able to talk frankly about potential damage to sites in the path of the road. Archaeologists pointed out that the construction of the Meishin Expressway through the heart of the Kansai area would mean the destruction of about 20 historic and prehistoric sites (Inada 1986: 87). Since the government (that is, the Ministry of Education) was not willing or able to purchase and designate all of these sites, preservation was impossible. Thus, it had to be decided who would pay for the site surveys and excavations needed before construction could begin. In the case of the Meishin Expressway, the party responsible for construction (in this case the government, since the development was a public project) agreed to shoulder the financial responsibility of archaeological field work and a subsidy for rescue excavation was provided by the CPCP (I50 1989). After 1958,

this informal "gentleman's agreement"--that the initiator of damaging construction carry the financial burden of excavation--became the standard way of dealing with the destruction of archaeological sites resulting from large-scale development (Barnes 1990: 189).

This "burden of the initiator" agreement is still honored today. It has been extremely important in the development of postwar Japanese cultural resource management, because it showed that pressure from the archaeological community, the public and the press was sufficient to encourage both private and public developers (i.e., the Ministry of Construction (Kensetsusho) or public policy companies such as the Japan Highway Public Corporation) to take the presence of archaeological sites seriously when planning construction and allocating funds. On the other hand, by offering to pay the cost of survey and excavation, developers were able to control part of the excavation process (Barnes 1990: 189). Their financial involvement gave them the leverage they needed to request that a site be excavated quickly. Archaeologists and cultural resource management officials, who realized that not all threatened sites could be saved, but who had insufficient funds to excavate these sites, were forced to agree to the terms of excavation set by the developers. In the late 1960s and 1970s, this trend towards rapid excavation in the face of development began to worry the archaeologists and other people who wanted to protect and preserve buried cultural properties. How archaeologists dealt with this situation will be discussed below.

A second important result of the construction of the Meishin Expressway was that it was during this project that Kansai archaeologists began to develop a system of rescue excavation external to the universities, a model that would eventually be followed throughout Japan. When members of the JAA in the Kansai area were told of planned expressway construction, they concluded that the project would give

them a chance to excavate a long trench through the Kansai area and thus learn a considerable amount about the area's archaeology. When this excavation work was eventually carried out, it was done by inter-university excavation groups (chosa dan) as requested by the various prefectural boards of education (kyoiku iinkai). Because of this, the structure of rescue archaeology established in Kansai involved excavations conducted with the cooperation of the boards of education and individual archaeologists working in excavation groups. This contrasted with the situation in Kanto where, until quite recently (and in some cases, even today), excavation contracts were given directly to university teams. Thus, it was in Kansai that the administrative rescue system initially began to take form (I50 1989).

The Heijokyu preservation movement

The second important preservation decision during the 1950s and early 1960s was at the Nara Period (710-794) Heijokyu site (Heijo Palace) in Nara Prefecture. Heijokyu was built and used during the 8th century. The site itself was part of a larger urban area named Heijokyo which means the capital city of Heijo. Heijokyo, which stood on an area measuring 4 kilometers from east to west and 4.5 kilometers from north to south, was the capital city of Japan between 710 and 784. The Palace of Heijokyu was constructed at the city's north end. It occupied an area of 10 square kilometers.

Heijokyu was first designated a historic site in 1921 under the Law for the Preservation of Commemorative Historic sites, Scenic Spots and Natural Monuments. In 1936, the designated area was extended (Tsuboi 1977). The designation was retained after the war under the Law.

Although it was protected and therefore off bounds to development projects, research excavations had been carried out intermittently on the Heijokyu site since 1924. Postwar

excavations by the CPCP began in 1953. They were continued after 1955 by the Nabunken which set up a special branch for the study of Heijokyu in 1958. This field work showed Heijokyu to be a valuable remnant of Japan's historic past (Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute 1980).

The preservation problem at Heijokyu arose in 1961 when the Kinki Nihon Tetsudo, a private railway in the Kansai area, decided to build a shunting yard on top of part of the site (Iseki 1971: 28; Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 15; Wajima 1963: 231). At the time, some of the Heijokyu site had already been designated a Special Historical Site under the Law (Barnes 1990: 188). About 40% of the site was privately owned. It was on this private section that the construction was planned (Wajima 1963: 229-230)

From the summer of 1961 to the summer of 1962, citizens and cultural leaders from all over Japan, some of whom formed the Heijokyu Preservation Association (Heijokyu o Mamoru Kai) in Tokyo and Kyoto, pressured the government to buy the entire Heijokyu site and thus save it from destruction. This broadly-based citizens' movement, which included many people from the center of the political spectrum, was triggered by an article in the Asahi Shimbun, one of Japan's largest daily newspapers (I50 1989). By the spring of 1963, as many as 40,000 people had joined the movement to save Heijokyu (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 15; Wajima 1963: 234).

Archaeologists were also active in the movement to save Heijokyu. They were led by the Association for the Protection of Cultural Properties (Bunkazai Hogo Taisaku Kyogikai) and the Kansai Association for the Preservation of Cultural Properties (Kansai Bunkazai Hozon Kyogikai), and supported by the JAA (Barnes 1990: 188; Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 15). Archaeologists and citizens were joined by radical labor unions, such as the Japan Teachers Union, and by individual members of the JCP, JSP and LDP (Wajima 1963: 234). This nationwide support for the Heijokyu

preservation movement demonstrated the extent of public concern for the preservation of Japan's cultural and historical heritage and helped convince the LDP government that the site should be saved.

The reluctance of the national government to buy the site was largely financial; in 1962 the CPCP estimated that it would cost at least twice their annual budget to buy this one site (Wajima 1963: 231). In the end, the funds needed to purchase the site were provided by the Ministry of Finance and 1,074,000 square meters of the Heijokyu site were bought for 6,234,035,040 yen (Barnes 1990: 188).

The movement to save the Heijokyu site was important because it was broadly-based, encompassing people from all over Japan, from various professions and with a variety of political affiliations. Cultural properties preservation organizers and government officials realized that archaeological site preservation was supported by many ordinary Japanese citizens. Furthermore, the decision to buy and preserve Heijokyu showed that enough pressure from the public could persuade the government to save valuable sites.

Trends in Buried Cultural Properties Administration and the Implications of Preservation Movements during the 1950s and early 1960s

The late 1950s and early 1960s saw three changes in the position of buried cultural properties in Japanese society and, consequently, in their administration and management. The first change was the beginning of a broad public interest in archaeological research and site preservation demonstrated at the Tsukinowa excavation and through the Itasuke Kofun and Heijokyu preservation movements.

There are several possible reasons why Japanese people were interested in and concerned with archaeology at this time. First, as Ikawa-Smith points out, Japan has "a long tradition of antiquarianism and amateur interest in

archaeology that has flourished since the eighteenth century" (1982: 276). This interest has provided an understanding of and concern for archaeological research at the popular level which continues today.

A second source of public interest in archaeology may have developed out of the tradition of local history (chihoshi), which had begun in the prewar years and gained in popularity after World War II. Haga defines local history as "The generic term for historical studies of a region and its people, as opposed to more conventional studies of the rule of the centralized state" (1983: 71). He points out that, from the Meiji Period, the Japanese people have tended to see the place where they were born and grew up as their 'homeland' and they have often viewed it sentimentally as a place with certain scenery and traditions to be preserved. With the consolidation of power under the national government during the 1930s and early 1940s, the focus of standard regional history involved fitting regional variation into patterns common throughout Japan. Thus, the notion of the autonomous "homeland" began to disappear, as each of these regional areas came to be seen only within the context of the nation as a whole. Local people were expected to standardize their language and customs to fit the national culture (Yoneyama 1985: 45).

A reaction to this centralization was the work of Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962), the founder of folklore studies (minzokugaku) in Japan. Yanagita, who began his work in the 1930s and continued it after World War II, believed that the rural villagers (jomin) of Japan had unrecognized energy and spiritual resources. These resources he saw as the source of Japan's strength. In his work, Yanagita attempted to preserve the wisdom of the common Japanese people by recording their legends and folk traditions (Haga 1983: 81).

Although Yanagita's work, with its focus on regional differentiation rather than national unity, went against the stream of Japanese nationalism before 1945, it was never

progressive in intent. Rather, Yanagita criticized Marxist historians for their focus on historical methodology and documentary sources (Koschmann 1985: 156). Furthermore, in the postwar era, some scholars have seen Yanagita's focus on the importance of retaining the purity of the Japanese people and culture in the face of Western culture as conservative and nationalistic (Bernier 1985: 91). Nevertheless, Yanagita's work, and that of local historians of various political persuasions, stimulated an interest in local history and a curiosity about the past that may have been expressed through the public's interest in archaeology and site preservation. Thus, the Japanese people's interest in archaeology at this time may have been connected to the personal identification of many individuals with local history.

A third explanation, which seems particularly valid when considering the case of Heijokyu, is that many people wanted to preserve buried cultural properties and sites as the remains of the Japanese peoples' ancestors and as repositories of Japanese history. This concern with Japanese history was not a return to prewar nationalism. During the prewar era, nationalists had considered archaeological sites symbols of the emperor and the imperial line. In contrast, during the 1950s and 1960s, defenders of buried cultural property preservation stressed the importance of sites and buried cultural properties for rewriting the history of Japan from the perspective of the Japanese common people rather than elites.

This trend towards an interest in Japanese history was strengthened by the increasing urbanization of Japan during the 1960s and 1970s and increasing contact between Japan and the West after the Tokyo Olympics of 1964. As people moved away from their native country towns and villages and settled in cities and as modern communication and transportation systems promoted a homogenization of Japanese culture, individuals began to identify themselves less with

their hometown and more with Japan, the nation. In the 1960s, as Japan emerged from postwar isolation onto the international scene, the national identity of many Japanese people strengthened. As I shall show in Chapter 6, by the 1970s, the national and prefectural governments had begun using archaeological sites and buried cultural properties to promote national and regional identities among the citizens of Japan.

The second change in the position of buried cultural properties in Japanese society was that, pushed by archaeologists, private citizens, the press and public and cultural properties administrative officials at various levels of government (i.e., the national CPCP and the prefectural, city or town boards of education), private and public developers and various government offices were forced to take the Law seriously. This meant either raising sufficient funds to buy and designate sites as Historic Sites or providing money for excavation.

The third change was that, with the onset of large-scale public and private development, the amount of site destruction increased. This meant that the preservation of all threatened sites became impossible and archaeologists had to develop ways of conducting efficient excavations. For many archaeologists, this massive destruction of the cultural resource base was tragic, since, once excavated, these sites would never again yield information. There was a sense among archaeologists at that time, which, as I will show below, remains today, that the Japanese people want to preserve their ancestors' remains. As Tsuboi (1986: 485) points out "This is because our ancestors are revered. The destruction of any site is considered reprehensible because a site is regarded as more than simply research material." Thus, some archaeologists were reluctant to engage in large-scale excavations.

On the other hand, many archaeologists realized that large-scale excavations, which became possible at this time

because developers who wanted to clear large areas were willing to fund these projects, could provide a wealth of new information about the ancient historic (kodaishi) and prehistoric past. A tradition of settlement studies had already been established by Wajima Seiichi in the early postwar period (the late 1940s to early 1960s). This was long before the advent of administrative archaeology and at a time when large-scale excavations were far from the norm (Habu n.d.). As Habu points out "When Wajima began his postwar work on settlement archaeology, the only Jomon settlement which had been completely excavated was the Togariishi Site (F.Miyasaka 1946, 1957). Wajima, therefore, undertook a total excavation of the Early Jomon Nambori Shellmound Site in 1955" (Habu n.d.: 3). Wajima's findings at the Nambori Site helped him formulate a theoretical framework to examine the evolutionary development of ancient Japanese society. Habu argues that this framework forms the foundation for many later attempts by Japanese scholars to understand the settlement patterns of prehistoric Japanese sites. The large-scale excavation of sites has provided abundant information when examining questions of settlement patterning and the development of ancient Japanese society. Although Wajima himself would probably have opposed large-scale excavations done primarily for rescue rather than research needs, other archaeologists, anxious to use large-scale excavations of prehistoric villages to reveal settlement pattern data, were able to benefit from the advent of administrative rescue excavations.

In 1962, administrative rescue excavations had only just begun. This was the last year in which purely academic excavations directed by university or museum based archaeologists and other members of the JAA, many of whom were high school and middle school teachers, outnumbered rescue projects. Through the 1960s, the face of archaeology in Japan began to change as emergency rescue archaeology became the norm and archaeologists, pushed by constraints of

time and money, found salvage projects increasingly difficult to reconcile with research goals. In the next chapter, I will discuss how this situation eventually led to the development of the current system of administrative archaeology.

CHAPTER 5

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POSTWAR ARCHAEOLOGY AND BURIED CULTURAL PROPERTIES ADMINISTRATION: THE CREATION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE ARCHAEOLOGY SYSTEM: 1962-1972

Archaeologists working in Japan during the late 1940s and 1950s agreed that the goal of archaeological work should be to use empirical and scientific methods of archaeological analysis to rewrite a history of and for the Japanese people. In addition, they assumed that, as far as possible, archaeological sites, as part of the Japanese people's cultural heritage and as valuable repositories of information on Japanese history, should be preserved. These two sets of assumptions I have called the postwar paradigm of Japanese archaeology

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, site preservation was relatively easy since large-scale development had not yet begun. However, by the mid-1950s, archaeologists had begun to realize that site destruction by public and private development projects was threatening more and more sites. There were two responses to these threats. Many archaeologists took the attitude that, although preservation was important, so was development. They realized that not all sites could be preserved and supported the development of a bureaucratic system which would allow the adequate and efficient excavation of most sites and the preservation of a select few. Thus, these archaeologists, believed that the goals of the postwar paradigm could be fulfilled by creating an efficient means of selecting some sites for preservation and excavating the rest. They pressured the government to provide adequate support for such a system. Conflict within this group lay in the definition of an adequate excavation and the selection of criteria to be used when ranking the importance of sites.

In contrast, a minority of the more radical archaeologists argued that the preservation of sites should be considered as important if not more important than

economic development. They pointed out that, by permitting the destruction of archaeological sites, the government was destroying not only concrete evidence of the common Japanese people's history but also the only information that could disprove ideological versions of Japanese history based on the imperial myths. They also pointed out that, in general, the sites that government agencies agreed to preserve were often more closely connected to imperial history than to the history of the Japanese common people. Thus, these archaeologists tended to reject the government's development policy and government sponsored buried cultural properties management initiatives.

Trends in Development and the Administration of Site Preservation and Excavation during the 1960s

Between 1962 and 1972 Japan, with an annual average GNP growth rate of 10.3 percent, experienced the rapid economic expansion which political and business leaders had hoped would be possible once the nation moved beyond the period of immediate postwar reconstruction (Patrick: 1983: 163). After the 1973 oil crisis, economic growth slowed down to rates nearer those of the other OECD nations (economic growth between 1972 and 1978 was 4.7 percent). Japan recovered quickly from a short recession in 1974-75 and has sustained a slower (compared to the 1950s and 1960s) but stable rate of growth through the 1970s and into the 1980s (Patrick 1983: 164). Thus, it was in the 1960s and 1970s that Japan became an important member of the international economic scene. In the 1980s, Japan has taken steps to be seen as a stronger political as well as economic world leader.

Japan's economic growth and wider international profile affected archaeology and cultural resource management in several ways. First, as mentioned above, infrastuctural development, including the construction of public works such as highways, railways or public buildings, the

reorganization of agricultural land to facilitate mechanized farming, the building of factories and the development of housing estates around major cities, such as Tokyo and Osaka, resulted in the threat of large-scale site destruction in central Honshu and the northern part of Kyushu (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971). Through the 1960s and into the 1970s, many sites were destroyed as expressways were constructed nationwide. The Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA or Bunkacho) has calculated that, in 1970, between 30 and 40% of the annual costs for excavation were due to expressway construction. This compared to 20 to 30% for costs resulting from the construction of residences during the same year (Inada 1986: 90). Although, after the "oil shock" of 1973, the number of residential dwellings built decreased somewhat, the construction of housing estates continued to be a major destroyer of archaeological sites through the 1970s and into the 1980s. In 1971, expressways, housing and railways (including the nationwide network of the Shinkansen, Japan's high-speed train line) accounted for between 60 and 70% of all salvage excavations (Inada 1986: 91). By 1984, public works comprised 83% of the cost of excavations throughout Japan (Inada 1986: 92). Thus, as Barnes (1990) and Inada (1986) point out, public projects at the municipal, prefectural and national levels were and continue to be major threats to Japanese archaeological sites.

The Role of the CPCP during the 1960s

Through the late 1950s and early 1960s, the LDP government, although never completely neglecting buried cultural properties, did not make the preservation or adequate excavation of sites a priority. One reason for this was the government's pervasive stress on development at all costs, which began in the 1950s and continued through the 1960s. In the eyes of the politicians, bureaucrats, developers and, to some extent, the Japanese public, all of

whom wanted to develop Japan and increase national and personal incomes as quickly as possible, the protection of archaeological sites and the natural environment was a luxury the country could not afford. Thus, the CPCP, a government agency charged with buried cultural properties administration, was poorly funded at a time when money was readily available to stronger Ministries, such as the Ministry of Construction or the Ministry of Transportation, both of which were directly involved in large-scale development projects. As I will show in the next chapter, it was only when Japan became wealthier and the government realized that archaeological results and buried cultural properties could be used to create a new Japanese identity, that they began to provide funds to support archaeological work. Although some of these funds were aimed directly at improving the administrative archaeology system, a generous portion went toward creating historical park areas, such as at Asuka Mura, which were directly linked to the nurturing of the Japanese people's sense of national identity.

Archaeologists and government agencies, during the late 1950s and the early 1960s, began to consider possible sources of funding for the many archaeological preservation and excavation projects resulting from development. By 1958, a system had been worked out whereby the CPCP (and after 1968, the ACA which replaced the CPCP) used part of the annual budget it received from the Minister of Finance to give prefectural governments (and municipal governments through prefectural governments) subsidies to buy sites which had been or would soon be designated as historic sites or special historic sites. Even today, when designating a national historic site, the national government pays 80% of the land costs, the prefecture provides 10% and the municipality pays the final 10%. The site then becomes the property of the municipality (I50 1989; I154 1989; Inada 1986: 112). In the case of rescue excavations, developers were expected to provide most of the survey and excavation

funding although, after 1956, subsidies from the CPCP (and later the ACA) paid part or all of the expenses for some excavations.

Once the CPCP had became a source of preservation and excavation funding, it began to take active steps toward trying to control the destruction of sites. The first step in this process came in 1950, when the CPCP asked prefectural governments throughout Japan to conduct site surveys to determine the number and location of sites which might be threatened by construction in their area. These surveys were funded by the national government and were carried out by the prefectural boards of education (kyoiku iinkai) between 1960 and 1962. The results were published between 1964-1967 on maps showing the location of 138,732 sites throughout the Japanese islands. These maps were distributed to government officials working on cultural property preservation and to people in charge of development projects (Inada 1986:112; Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 24).

Throughout the 1960s, the number of excavations performed in Japan increased rapidly. Since the number of research excavations remained steady, hovering at about 200 per year, this increase was entirely due to the rescue projects which sprung up all over the country. In 1959 there were 118 emergency excavations conducted throughout Japan. This number increased to 378 in 1964, 432 in 1965 and 951 in 1970 (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 26) These increases are shown in Figure 4. Although government funding for preservation and excavation also increased through the 1960s, archaeologists realized that these increases were insufficient, since they did not permit a high quality of excavation or preservation.

In the early 1960s, the CPCP had only a small budget with which to conduct excavations and buy sites (Barnes 1990: 189). In addition, it had a skeleton staff of archaeologists to perform rescue excavations. Consequently, the archaeologists who performed most emergency rescue

excavations were either university professors and their students, full-time government employed specialists hired to do excavations or, in some cases, amateur archaeologists such as school teachers who were members of the JAA (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 26). In eastern Japan, the rescue system was organized on the basis of contracts taken out mainly by faculty members at universities. In this system, adequate funding and time for excavation were sometimes difficult to negotiate. This problem did not exist in western Japan, where the management of sites and the negotiation with developers was handled by employees of the various boards of education, so archaeologists were free to concentrate on excavation work (I50 1989). As the number of emergency excavations that had to be done increased, busy university faculty became disillusioned by the lack of time and funding for emergency archaeological work.

Unfortunately, the CPCP could not easily improve this situation. Due to its lack of leverage in the Japanese national bureaucracy, the CPCP was forced into a position where it could merely request that developers cooperate with site preservation and excavation plans and then hope for the best. In 1964, the CPCP sent a message to the Ministry of Construction, the Japan Housing Corporation (Nihon Jutaku Kodan) and other ministries and national offices involved in construction projects asking that they abide by four basic principles when dealing with sites of historical or scenic importance. First, it requested that development plans be drawn-up so that known sites of historic or scenic importance be excluded and, when this was impossible, that the construction plans be discussed with the CPCP before construction began. Second, it asked that, if, as a result of this meeting, it became clear that the site could not be saved, the developer follow all of the procedures regarding registration and excavation laid out in the Law. Third, it indicated that, if the site was to be destroyed, the developer should ask the prefectural board of education to

deal with the excavation. Finally, the CPCP requested that the developer bear the financial burden of the excavation. A similar message was sent to the Ministry of Finance requesting that the Ministry doing the development, and thus paying for the site excavation, be given as much money as possible (Inada 1986: 113-114).

As a result of these letters and a second series of letters that the CPCP exchanged with national development corporations such as the Japanese Housing Corporation and the Japan Railway Corporation (Nihon Tetsudo Kodan), the prefectural boards of education were given the responsibility of ensuring adequate excavation. In addition, it was at this time that private developers joined public ones in agreeing to bear the financial burden of excavation (Inada 1986: 111). It must be remembered that all of these agreements were semi-formal "gentleman's agreements", since the Law has never required developers to pay for excavation (Barnes 1990: 189). Even today, developers are not legally required to fund excavations although, after a court case in the late 1970s and 1980s, when a developer who attempted to question his responsibility for covering excavation costs lost his plea, this obligation has been considered firmly established (Inada 1986: 116).

The 1964 initiatives by the CPCP were important because they laid the groundwork for many of the 1975 revisions of the Law, and provided a basic plan on which to build the system of archaeological bureaucracy which was put together during the 1970s and continues to be the base of cultural resource management in Japan today. One of the most significant principles set out by the CPCP in 1964 was that of giving the prefectural governments responsibility for local site preservation assessment, administration and excavation. Although the national CPCP until 1968 and after that the ACA Cultural Properties Protection Division have been the centers of nationwide policy decisions, most of the

everyday negotiations between developers and archaeologists, excavation and site report preparation were and are directed through prefectural and municipal administrative offices or, as I shall show below, special excavation units and foundations.

The Response of Archaeologists to Site Destruction and the Site Preservation Movements

The archaeological preservation movement began during the 1950s and grew into a nationwide campaign during the 1960s as the large-scale destruction of buried cultural properties was denounced by professional archaeological associations and citizens' groups alike. Although their approaches and concerns were sometimes different, professional archaeologists and Japanese citizens worked together to try to save buried cultural properties and other historical remains from destruction.

The Japanese archaeological community was generally pleased with the success of the movement to save Heijokyu. Nevertheless, many archaeologists realized that the Heijokyu site would never have been saved but for the intervention of the national government and the Diet (Inada 1986: 96). Furthermore, they recognized that, since Heijokyu was a known imperial capital and hence a potentially important national symbol, convincing the LDP government to provide money to protect this site had been relatively easy (I154 1989). As archaeologists came to accept that the best they could hope for in terms of site preservation was the implementation of a well-staffed and well-funded system of government-sponsored rescue archaeology throughout Japan, groups such as the Kansai Association for Cultural Property Preservation (Kansai Bunkazai Hozon Kyogikai), an organization representing archaeologists in the Kansai area, began to argue that responsibility for site preservation should fall to the national government. Thus, in the early 1960s, archaeologists concluded that, to avert the growing

threat posed by public and private development to buried cultural properties of less obvious national significance than Heijokyu, they would have to formulate principles of preservation that could guide their collective response to government site excavation and preservation initiatives.

The attitude of most archaeologists, even before the conflict over Heijokyu, was to see site destruction as an undesirable, but often unavoidable, consequence of rapid economic and industrial development. Although archaeologists continued to argue, at a formal level, that the rights of the Japanese people's cultural heritage should take priority over the temporary property rights of landowners and thus that sites should be preserved, they agreed that, when preservation was impossible due to development projects which would benefit the Japanese people as a whole, adequate excavation should be carried out (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1981: 193). Consequently, throughout the 1960s, many archaeologists encouraged the government to set limits on, rather than completely halt, site destruction. They also attempted to extract, through emergency excavations, as much information as possible from those sites that were going to be destroyed. Finally, they pushed the government to provide adequate funding for preservation and excavation (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1981).

This shift in emphasis from preservation to excavation represented a shift in the interpretation of the postwar paradigm. The majority of archaeologists began to realize that, given the social, economic and political importance of development in postwar Japan, halting site destruction would be not only impossible but undesirable in the eyes of the Japanese public and government and that, by halting emergency excavations, they would be denying themselves valuable information about Japanese history. Thus, they began to focus on the preservation of particularly important sites and the adequate excavation of all other threatened sites.

There was, nevertheless, a small, but vocal minority of archaeologists who continued to take a purist position on the question of site preservation and excavation. For instance, Kondo Yoshiro, an archaeologist from Okayama University who had been closely involved with the Tsukinowa excavation, argued that buried cultural properties should not be seen merely as historical monuments providing research data for archaeologists. Rather they should be regarded as integral parts of the Japanese people's heritage, that is, the "estate" of the Japanese people (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1981: 194).

The implications of Kondo's sentiments are set forth in a statement of the Standing Committee of the Society of Archaeological Studies (Kokogaku Kenkyukai Jonin Iinkai) published in a 1964 issue of the journal Kokogaku Kenkyu. The committee members argue that all sites in Japan should be saved, not just those, such as Heijokyu, which are obviously of national importance (Inada 1986: 97). In general, the more radical members of the archaeological community refused to accept the premise that since development and consequent site destruction are unavoidable in a developing society, archaeologists should make the best of the situation and extract as much information as possible from sites during salvage excavations. Kondo, for example, argued that the acceptance of rescue excavation contracts by most individual archaeologists was harmful to the spirit of cooperation and group interest among the archaeological community (Kondo 1964: 333). He urged archaeologists to work with the Japanese people to preserve rather than excavate sites, to respond to what the people ask of cultural properties, archaeology and ancient history and to base their academic archaeological work on the peoples' requests for knowledge (Kondo 1964: 337). Although in the minority, these radical archaeologists kept the ideal of preservation alive.

The Japanese Public and Cultural Properties Preservation Movements

Archaeologists were not the only people to organize groups aimed at protecting archaeological sites. In the latter half of the 1960s, mamoru kai--regional site preservation organizations--were formed throughout Japan. Unlike the broader, national movement to save Heijokyu, these smaller preservation movements focused on saving local sites. Thus, these regional, cultural properties preservation groups resembled other locally-based citizens' groups which were formed throughout Japan in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Matsushita 1978; Takabatake 1978). These citizens' groups, which protested environmental degradation, human rights violations and Japanese and international involvement in wars, formed the "citizens' movements" which have been defined by Krauss and Simcock as "...those groups that arose in the 1960s to protest the rapid economic growth policies of government and their consequences at the local level, particularly pollution and the deterioration of the quality of life" (1980: 190). In a 1971 survey by the Asahi Janaru, 38 out of 676 citizens' organizations were related to the preservation of natural and historical sites. Other citizens' groups were opposed to military bases (33) or concerned with health issues (38), polluted water (20), polluted sea water (23) and polluted air (15) (Kuroda 1972: 948).

Initially, regionally based mamoru kai were organized by archaeologists. Later, archaeologists were joined by concerned citizens (Inada 1986: 97) and even local government officials who, frustrated by their inability to save sites through official channels, joined the preservation movement as a way of showing their dissatisfaction with the government's cultural resource management policy (Barnes 1990: 189).

In 1970, some of the regional mamoru kai joined together to form a nationwide preservation movement under

the name All-Japan Association for the Preservation of Cultural Properties (Bunkazai Hozon Zenkoku Kyogikai or Bunzenkyo). The archaeologists who organized this group felt that, since the government development policy was nationwide, preservation needed to be nationwide as well. Regional groups could solve small problems, but could not address broader issues of national importance. By 1976, Bunzenkyo had 1000 members (Inada 1986: 98,100). Thus, for the public and for archaeologists, preservation movements provided a way to question and show disapproval of the government's policy toward archaeological site destruction.

Japanese students were also involved in preservation movements. Although reforms to the administrative archaeology system had already begun by the late 1960s, university students, who believed that archaeologists accepting contracts to do rescue work were contributing to the destruction of Japan's sites, continued to pressure the archaeological establishment for change. At a time when Japanese university students were rebelling against everything from the authoritarian nature of the educational system to the United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty and Japan's involvement in the Vietnam War (Dowsey 1970; Krauss 1974), archaeology students decried the corruption of rescue archaeology and the destruction of cultural properties. In this they followed the lead of radical archaeologists such as Kondo (1964). Through the late 1960s, JAA meetings were disrupted by students protesting what they considered hasty and inadequate excavations. In the Kanto area, investigations were halted as students refused to work. Since many of these students later went on to work as administrative archaeologists or, in some cases, as university lecturers, their participation in preservation movements was significant.

The trend toward site destruction continued into the 1970s. With the Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei's 1972 plan to develop the entire Japanese archipelago, sites throughout

Japan were threatened. The preservation movement continued to grow at the level of cities, towns and the prefectures. In fact, activity at this level became the main focus of the movement. By the end of the 1970s, archaeological preservationists were often joining broader-based citizens' movements which were concerned with preserving the natural environment. In this sense, archaeological preservation movements were part of a broader political force that worked outside party politics to show Japan's leaders popular dissatisfaction with the government's development policies. Arguing that the rapid development of Japan was destroying the natural environment, the historical environment and the lifestyles of the Japanese people, these groups worked together to save the natural, historical and "spiritual" environments of Japan (Inada 1986: 107; Kondo 1983: 177; Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1981: 195).

In summary, during the 1960s, many archaeologists realized that rescue excavations were contributing to the destruction rather than the preservation of Japanese sites and buried cultural properties. Some archaeologists pushed the government for larger budgets and continued to excavate believing that even inadequate excavation was better than destruction with no excavation at all. Other professional archaeologists and, towards the end of the 1960s, many students, refused to cooperate with the government or with researchers working on salvage projects. Archaeologists at both Okayama and Kyoto Universities refused to participate in rescue projects (Barnes 1990: 189). They were joined by colleagues from many other private and public universities (I154 1989). By the mid-1960s, it was becoming increasingly clear that the government would have to provide more money to hire specialized researchers and equipment, train more archaeological specialists and work out a system of archaeological administration which had more power vis-à-vis the other government ministries.

Reforms in Administrative Rescue Archaeology

By the mid-1960s the CPCP found itself in a very difficult situation. Sites throughout Japan were being inadequately excavated due to lack of funds and trained archaeologists. Professional archaeologists from the universities were becoming more and more reluctant to excavate sites. Even government officials at the local level were joining preservation groups and thus revealing their lack of power as professionals within the archaeological administrative bureaucracy (Barnes 1990: 189). With tight excavation schedules and small budgets, the principle that excavation equals destruction seemed increasingly true.

From the latter part of the 1960s into the 1970s, the Japanese national government worked to solve some of the problems that had developed in the administration of buried cultural resources. Changes were made at the national, the prefectural and the municipal levels.

One of the first steps the national government took to establish a more efficient and effective system of archaeological preservation and excavation was the 1966 publication of the "Handbook for Archaeological Investigation" (Maizo Bunkazai Hakkutsu Chosa no Tebiki). This book, which was edited by the CPCP, "served as a textbook for all phases of archaeological investigation including explanation of the Law, notification procedures, planning excavations, excavation techniques for the major kinds of archaeological features, survey and recording procedures, artifact processing and reconstruction methods, report writing and exhibition" (Barnes 1990: 190). The publication of this book coincided with a seminar on buried cultural properties excavation techniques which was given through the Nabunken. This was the first time that cultural resource management officials working at the prefectural and municipal levels of the boards of education had received guidance on how to carry-out their jobs (Inada 1986: 113).

The publication of the "Handbook" and the initiation of Nabunken seminars raised standards of excavation and analysis throughout the country to a high level and established rigorous procedures for administrative archaeological work.

A second initiative taken by the national government in the mid-1960s was to encourage national and some private universities to develop degree programs in archaeology. The purpose of this initiative was to improve the quality and increase the quantity of rescue archaeology done in Japan by training archaeology specialists. By the 1980s, educational opportunities for young archaeologists had improved. When the prefectural and municipal administrative rescue archaeology system expanded rapidly in the early to mid-1970s, there were enough well-trained students to fill the recently created positions (Barnes 1990: 191).

Another change in the organization of archaeological administration came in 1968 with the dissolution of the CPCP and its replacement, in 1968, by the ACA's Cultural Properties Protection Bureau (Bunkacho Bunkazai Hogo Bu). The ACA is an organ outside the direct line of ministerial organization which has the special function of overseeing cultural affairs (Pempel 1983: 218). It continues to oversee archaeological work throughout Japan today.

A fourth contribution the national government made to the reorganization of buried cultural properties administration was to provide funds for the creation of national, prefectural and municipal "buried cultural property centers" (maizo bunkazai senta). The purpose of these centers was to provide developers with access to efficient and highly trained archaeologists who would be able to perform excavations, analyze the results and publish site reports quickly. Most of the buried cultural resource centers operated at the prefectural or municipal levels; only the Center for Archaeological Operations (CAO), founded in 1974 as a division of the Nabunken, was financed and run

at the national level. I will discuss these centers in more detail below.

Conclusion

The 1960s were a time of transition for Japanese archaeology. At the beginning of the decade, archaeological work was still done by university archaeologists, a relatively small number of government-based archaeologists and some qualified amateurs. Many of these professional archaeologists had been students or young researchers during the 1940s or 1950s. Their experiences, either during the war or in the early postwar period, had made them sensitive to the political implications of archaeology and ancient history. Consequently, as development led to increased threats to sites, many of these archaeologists became reluctant to participate in what they considered the destruction of archaeological resources. Instead, they searched for a way either to save sites or to excavate them rapidly and thoroughly.

Due to pressure from the public and the archaeological community, increased national wealth by the late 1960s and, as I will show below in the case of Asuka Mura, the recognition that archaeological sites and information could provide the Japanese people with a valuable source of national identity, the Japanese government provided support for the development of an administrative archaeology system throughout Japan. By the mid-1970s, the archaeologists trained in the immediate postwar period were firmly established in positions of authority within the universities and the higher levels of the government's administrative archaeology system. When the various regional administrative archaeology offices and excavation centers opened in the 1970s and early 1980s, it was the students of these archaeologists who were employed as archaeologists to excavate sites at the prefectural and municipal levels. Although some of the archaeologists who

joined the cultural resource management system in the early 1970s were aware of the link between archaeology and politics due to their involvement in the student movement, those trained in the latter part of the 1970s and the 1980s were, in general, less interested in the question of archaeology's political role within Japanese society. Thus, as the economic, political and social context of Japanese archaeology changed, so did the institutional context within which archaeologists worked. These changes in turn affected the perception that archaeologists have of their discipline's role in Japanese society and they have changed the goals of archaeologists as seen in their reinterpretation of the postwar paradigm. I will discuss these changes in more detail in Chapter 8, but first, I will outline the Japanese government's interest in ancient history and archaeology as shown by the problem of Asuka Mura.

CHAPTER 5

THE CREATION OF A JAPANESE NATIONAL IDENTITY AT ASUKA MURA

With the advent of the LDP government's policy of rapid industrial and economic development from the late 1950s to the 1970s, archaeological sites were increasingly threatened with destruction. Protests by Japanese citizens' groups (which were often led by archaeologists) and a realization by government officials that archaeology needed to be better administered, resulted in changes in buried cultural properties administration policy at the national, prefectural and municipal levels. These changes resulted in first, an increase in the number of university-trained archaeologists working within the growing administrative rescue system; second, more funds for the organization and implementation of rescue archaeological projects and third, a rapid increase in the amount of archaeological work being done throughout the Japanese archipelago. Unfortunately, as I will show below, many archaeologists (the exceptions being university-based archaeologists and archaeologists working in specialized research institutes or museums) have found themselves devoting much of their time to excavation and the writing of descriptive site reports. Over the past two decades, this archaeological rescue work has produced a tremendous amount of raw data. Nevertheless, many archaeologists are concerned that they do not have the time to analyze this material adequately. Consequently, they cannot use their knowledge within a comprehensive theoretical framework which allows them to proceed with their goal of reconstructing the prehistoric and ancient historic past of Japan. Thus, archaeologists, although still excavating sites, feel that they have lost the power to define the goals and purpose of their discipline.

In this chapter , I would like to take this argument one step further by showing how, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the LDP-dominated national government began to use

archaeological and historical remains as symbols of a new Japanese identity. This trend coincided with a growth of postwar Japanese nationalism which has continued to flourish throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The example I have chosen is that of the development of a national park and special preservation area in Asuka Mura, Nara Prefecture. In the case of Asuka Mura, the national government defined the goal of preservation as the creation of a monument to the Japanese national heritage. In this section, I will show how the national government created this symbol despite opposition from both the local people and archaeologists.

The Historical and Archaeological Significance of Asuka

The name "Asuka" denotes both a locale and a village, both of which are located toward the southern end of the Nara Basin (Figure 3). The locale of Asuka (written with the Chinese characters 飛, to fly and 鳥, bird) encompasses an area about three kilometers wide from east to west and about four kilometers long from north to south. The northern boundary of historic Asuka is marked by three hills, Amenokaguyama, Miminashiyama and Unebiyama, all of which jut straight out of the surrounding flat countryside and are thus prominent landmarks. Towards the southern end of the Asuka area, the land begins to rise towards the Yoshino mountains. Here, archaeological and historical sites are found on both the narrow valley floors and in the hills. The Asuka River (Asukagawa), a landmark which was important in historic times and has remained so today, runs diagonally across the entire area (Kidder 1972: 16).

Asuka was important historically between the years 538, when, according to some reports (others give the date as 552), Buddhism was first introduced into Japan, and 710, when the Imperial Palace was moved to Heijokyo in the northern part of the Nara Basin. Today, this period of Japanese history is often called the Asuka Period. Throughout this time, the leaders of Japan (both the

imperial family and other important families that were close to the throne) lived in the Asuka area, which was the administrative center of the Japanese state (Barnes 1988: 24-25). Throughout the period, the Japanese remained in contact with the people and rulers of the various nations of mainland Asia, notably China and the Korean kingdoms of Silla, Paekche and Koguryo. Through a combination of study visits to China by Japanese officials and the immigration, into Japan, of artisans and administrators from the Korean Peninsula, many aspects of Chinese culture, including the writing system, the Buddhist religion, administrative procedures, urban planning and medicine among others, were introduced into Japan.

Between 592 and 710, there were a total of 17 palace sites built in the Asuka area. These palaces served the emperors (or female emperors) Suiko, Jomei, Kogyoku, Kotoku, Saimei (the same person as Kogyoku), Tenji, Temmu, Jito, Mommu and Gemmei. (There are more palace sites than emperors because some of these emperors used more than one palace site either simultaneously or in succession.) In general, new palaces were erected by each emperor upon taking the imperial seat. Most of the Asuka area palaces were nestled in the hills towards the southern part of the region. The exception was Fujiwara-no-miya (also referred to as Fujiwarakyu), a city built on a grid-plan borrowed from the Imperial Capital of Chang-an in China. Fujiwara-no-miya was built in 694 on flat ground in the northern section of Asuka. The city was used by the Emperors Jito, Mommu and Gemmei, before Gemmei again moved the capital to Heijokyo in the northern part of the Nara basin in 710.

In addition to palace remains, Asuka has a number of other sites of archaeological and historical importance. The Asuka stones are a series of "unusually shaped granite stones and stone carved figures" (Asuka Historical Museum 1978: 20) scattered around the southern Asuka area. Most of these stones date from the 7th century. In shape they vary

from the form of a mountain (Shumisen-seki) to anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures such as the Male-Female stone carving and the Saru Ishi (Monkey Stone). The function of these stones is unknown. Some are thought to have been used as garden decorations, others may have been used for preparing food or medicine. They may well have had spiritual as well as decorative significance (Asuka Historical Museum 1978: 20-30).

Temple remains are found in abundance throughout the Asuka area. Among them is the Asukadera, a full-scale Buddhist temple built through the sponsorship of the Soga Clan. Although Buddhism was introduced into Japan toward the middle of the sixth century, Asukadera was not built until 588. It was and remains one of the most famous historic sites of the Asuka area.

By the end of the sixth century, other powerful and wealthy families were following the example of the Soga and building their own clan temples in and around Asuka and Fujiwara-no-miya. One example is the Yamadadera, the construction of which was begun in 641 by Soga-no-Kurayamada Ishikawamaro and finished, with the assistance of the imperial family, after Ishikawamaro's death by suicide (Asuka Historical Museum 1978: 66). Other temples were built by members of the imperial family at times when they were praying for the recovery of various family members stricken with illness. Emperor Temmu, for example, built the Moto Yashikiji in the hope that his wife would recover from her illness. She did, and later became the female emperor Jito (Asuka Historical Museum 1978: 64). During Temmu's reign (672-686) the imperial government introduced a system of official temples to coordinate and control the priesthood. Two of the four most important "official temples", Asukadera and Kawaradera, were located in Asuka. The Nihon shoki reports that by 680, there were 24 temples in the Asuka area the majority of which were clan temples (Asuka Historical Museum 1978: 50-90).

In addition to temple and palace sites, the Asuka area has a number of tombs. These sites, which are often called the Asuka Kofun ("kofun" is a term used to describe mounded tombs), were built during the sixth and seventh centuries. The Ishibutai Kofun, built in the seventh century, is made of large boulders and, in overall size, is the largest tomb site in Japan. It has been designated a Special Historical Site (Asuka Historical Museum 1978: 35). Many of the Asuka tombs house the remains of powerful clan members and it is said that eight of Japan's imperial rulers are buried here (Kidder 1973: 27).

The most famous of the Asuka Tombs is the Takamatsuzuka Kofun. The tomb, which has also been designated a Special Historical Site, became famous throughout Japan during the 1972 excavation season when spectacular painted frescoes were discovered on the interior walls of its burial chamber. Takamatsuzuka was built toward the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. It contains the remains of a man aged between 40 and 60 years who, judging by the contents of the tomb, was a member of an important family, perhaps even of the imperial family. The most striking features of Takamatsuzuka are the painted wall frescoes. These artistically executed illustrations of male and female attendants, star constellations and the heavenly guardian gods show strong T'ang Chinese influence in both theme and artistic style (Asuka Historical Museum 1978: 44-48). In addition, the clothing of the female figures and the arrangement of the star constellations on the ceiling of the tomb are similar to decorations found in fourth and fifth century tombs of the Koguryo rulers who lived in the northern part of the Korean Peninsula (Kidder 1973: 30). Thus, various features of the Takamatsuzuka tomb suggest close associations between the leading families of Asuka Period Japan and the continental kingdoms in China and Korea.

Among archaeologists, the Takamatsuzuka tomb is known as the site which brought public attention to archaeology in the early 1970s. When the tomb was first discovered, the find was widely reported in the Japanese newspapers and on television. It was at this time that archaeology first began making top headlines on the front pages of the Japanese daily papers. The resultant public interest in archaeology was dubbed the "archaeology boom" (kokogaku bumu).

A final artifact of historic Asuka is a series of early poems found in the Man'yoshu, Japan's first compilation of poetry, dating from the eighth century. The Man'yoshu poems were composed by a variety of people. Some were renowned poets, others were the emperors who ruled from Asuka or members of the noble or imperial families. In some cases the poets have remained anonymous and may have been the common people of Asuka or other parts of Japan. The poems of the Man'yoshu describe many of the landmarks familiar to visitors to contemporary Asuka. The names of the palaces and temples of the ancient capitals are found in the poems and these places are often linked to historical events (or, as is often the case, love affairs). Although not as tangible as the remains of palace, temple and tomb sites, the poems of the Man'yoshu provide insights into the lives and thoughts of the people who lived in this area over a millennium ago (Asuka Historical Museum 1978: 92-96).

Contemporary Asuka and the Japanese National Iidentity

Today, most of the Asuka locale is comprised of the contemporary village of Asuka Mura (in this case "Asuka" is written 明日香). Other parts of ancient Asuka are administered by the local governments of Kashiwara City, Sakurai City and the town of Takatori among others (Asuka Historical Museum 1978: 4; Kidder 1973: 24).

A visitor to Asuka is struck by the tranquility of the countryside in an area which is rapidly becoming urban.

Between the city of Osaka and Asuka lie the Kongo Mountains. Although this range and the Ikoma Mountains which bound it to the north, historically, have made a natural barrier between Asuka and the Osaka Plain, the Nara Basin today is rapidly becoming a suburb of Osaka.

The area immediately surrounding Asuka Mura is less touched by the encroachment of urban sprawl than other nearby towns, such as Kashiwara City just 10 minutes drive away. This is due to the creation, by the Japanese government, of several national parks and natural and historical preservation areas in Asuka during the 1970s and 1980s. In 1980, furthermore, special legislation was enacted by the Diet to ensure the preservation of Asuka as an area of historical importance and scenic beauty while guaranteeing a relatively undisturbed work and home environment to the several thousand inhabitants of the village.

The village of Asuka can be reached easily by train on the private Kintetsu line. After leaving the train, it is best approached through the paddy fields which stretch across the narrow floor of the valley and continue up the terraced slopes of the nearby hillsides. Narrow bicycle trails wind through fields and around the wooded remains of kofun. The town itself is small. Most of the buildings have been repaired or reconstructed in the style of traditional farm buildings. Subsidies made available to the villagers through the 1980 special legislation have been largely responsible for these expensive renovations. Hints that this is a preserved area are not hard to find; signposts direct visitors to the four national park sites of Iwaido (a district containing a training and accommodation center), Amakashi no Oka (a hill from which visitors can look out over the Asuka area), and the Ishibutai and Takamatsuzuka tombs. Furthermore, a tourist center has been set up opposite the Asuka train station. Not far from the center of town is the Asuka National Historical Museum.

The national government, as represented by the powerful Prime Minister's Office (Sorifu) and the Ministry of Construction, has been interested in Asuka since the late 1960s. This early interest coincided with a Japan-wide fluorescence in the study of things Japanese. Befu, an anthropologist who has written extensively about this phenomenon, argues that the genre of writing which forms a basis for this fascination with the Japanese national identity should be called Nihonron. Nihonron is defined by Befu (1984: 66) as a literature which "... purports to demonstrate the uniqueness of Japanese culture, society and national character". It defines Japan's uniqueness in terms of qualities such as harmony, cooperation, vertical social structure, and an emphasis on intuition and non-verbal communication; all characteristics which, supposedly, are found only in Japan (Befu 1984:68).

Befu believes that Nihonron is not a new phenomenon. It first occurred during the nineteenth century at a time when Japan was being flooded by ideas and material culture from Europe and North America. Nihonron reappeared after 1945 and grew into a national preoccupation during the 1970s and 1980s as the pace of Japan's "internationalization" increased. Befu argues that, today as in the past, Nihonron represents an attempt to identify and define Japanese culture in reaction to the new and pervasive culture of the West. Furthermore, Nihonron reflects a deep-rooted national sense of inferiority towards Western nations, people and culture. By defining Japanese culture as unique, comparisons with the West are impossible and Japanese culture and history become important in their own right. In this way, Nihonron soothes national pride and builds self-confidence at times when the Japanese people are confronted with what they have often viewed as the technologically superior nations of the West.

Books classified as Nihonron have been published since at least the Occupation Period. Befu writes that an

incomplete list of Nihonron works was put out by the Nomura Research Institute in 1978. It includes 697 titles published between 1946 and 1978. With increasing influence abroad and active "internationalization" at home, Japan, during the 1970s and 1980s, has been in closer contact with the West than at any other time in its history. Consequently, the number of books dealing with Nihonron has increased rapidly. In addition, there are thousands of articles in newspapers and magazines as well as television programs and documentary movies which echo the themes of Nihonron. Indeed, the sentiments expressed by the Nihonron literature are so pervasive that they make up the worldview of many Japanese citizens.

Mouer and Sugimoto, in a 1986 publication, take a more detailed look at this phenomenon. Although they use the term Nihonjinron to refer to what Befu calls Nihonron they substantiate Befu's observation that an extensive literature describing and propagating "...popular stereotyped images of Japanese society" (1986: xxx) has mushroomed in Japan and abroad over the past few years. They argue that the increased propagation of and belief in these stereotyped images, particularly in the notion that Japanese society is organized exclusively in terms of a consensus or group model, are a response to Japan's increased interaction with Western nations over the past few decades. They point out, furthermore, that this view of Japanese society as an integrated whole tends to serve the interests of elites rather than those of the ordinary Japanese people. This is because it bolsters the notion that the Japanese people should cooperate with established authorities (be they business or government) for their own good as well as for the good of Japan. Mouer and Sugimoto argue that other models of Japanese society do exist but that these models fall into the broad category of conflict theory and are, therefore, unpopular with the Japanese establishment and not commonly discussed.

Mouer and Sugimoto agree with Befu that the Nihonjinron literature emphasizes Japanese uniqueness. This emphasis on uniqueness ties in with a search for Japanese national identity which Mouer and Sugimoto believe is "a natural outcome of Japan's increasing presence in the international arena. It can be seen as a defense mechanism when venturing out of one's own environs into a sometimes hostile world" (Mouer and Sugimoto 1986: 389).

The Nihonjinron phenomenon is related to the international context of contemporary Japan; it is an ideology that seeks to define a distinctive Japanese identity in response to a century-long influx of Western ideas and material culture. This identity is one which binds the people of Japan together in a cohesive and consensual society led by business and political elites. Nihonjinron has nothing to do with the reality of past or present Japanese society. It is an ideal, an ideology and a new form of Japanese nationalism.

Japanese nationalism of the late 20th century has symbolic content quite different from that of the prewar period. Nevertheless, as in prewar Japan, this new nationalism, as expressed in the form of Nihonjinron, works to create a sense of solidarity and what it means to be Japanese. Ancient history and archaeology have both been used by various groups over the years to create a sense of Japanese identity. Thus, both disciplines have fed into the development of Japan's postwar nationalism. As mentioned above, in the immediate postwar period, some of the scholars who advocated using archaeology to rewrite Japanese history were influenced by Marxist historiography. Others were philosophically aligned with mainstream liberal-democratic ideals propagated by the Occupation administration. Members of both of these groups were concerned with debunking the imperial myth and creating a new culture history for the Japanese people. Thus, before the late 1960s, the use of archaeology to develop a new sense of Japanese national

identity was implicit rather than explicit. This changed in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the LDP-led national government, joined by the Nara prefectural government and the Japanese business elite, began to use the historic site of Asuka Mura as a symbol of the new Japanese national identity.

Asuka, the "Hometown of the Japanese Heart"

As a historic area replete with sites described in the classics of Japanese literature, Asuka has been of historical and spiritual interest to some Japanese for centuries. The first "Asuka Boom" occurred in the Meiji Period, when scholars reassessed the Man'yoshu. It was at this time that the idea of Asuka as "the hometown of the Japanese heart" (Nihon no kokoro no furusato) was first used (Asahi Shimbun 1970a). Interest in Asuka waned until the advent of the war years. During the war, Asuka was often discussed by visitors and by novelists in terms of the "Japanese spirit". Some authors wrote in a positive voice of this ideal which could be found in Asuka, the home of the ancient Japanese nation. Others were more cynical. They too discussed Asuka as the first seat of imperial power, but asked why this power was leading hundreds of thousands of Japanese to their deaths (Kadowaki 1971: 45).

During the years of the Occupation (1945-1951), the tone with which authors writing about Asuka described the area and discussed its significance continued to differ. Some writers, such as Orikuchi Shinobu, still focused on the importance of Asuka's natural and historical environment suggesting that, in Asuka, the spirit of the ancient Japanese people could be found. To some extent, the exaltations of Asuka's spiritual purity expressed by authors, such as Orikuchi and Kobayashi Hideo, were a reaction to an influx of Western rationality and Western culture immediately after the war. Theirs was an idealization of the spirit of the people who had lived in

Asuka at the dawn of Japan's history. They thought of this spirit of ancient Japan as an integral part of the natural and physical environment of the area (Kadowaki 1971: 46).

Of course, not all early postwar authors described Asuka in such a positive light. To some, Asuka was a place where struggles for authority between the ancient clans had resulted in the creation of the imperial line and thus the imperial myth. Others believed that Asuka represented the struggles of the Japanese people before they reached the level of political, social or cultural sophistication of other Asian countries, such as China (Kadowaki 1971: 47). Whether seen in a positive or a negative light, however, many people thought of Asuka as a repository of the history and spirituality of the Japanese people.

During the 1950s, the Asuka area underwent few changes. Perhaps the most important change that did occur was the amalgamation of three hamlets to form the village of Asuka Mura. This occurred in 1953. After amalgamation, Asuka Mura had a population of 7702 people (Asahi Shimbun 1970b). It was in 1950 that the Law was passed by a LDP-dominated Diet. This was to have long-term consequences for both the village and the rest of Japan.

It was during the 1950s, furthermore, that "The Theory of Asuka as the Japanese Hometown" (Asuka Furusato Ron) was revived. In 1953, Hoda Yojuro wrote that:

> Visiting Asuka is a trip in which you can visit older Japanese sites than by visiting the Tempyo Period temples or the Man'yoshu sites. It is a trip to understand the ancient people's creativity by seeing the traditional lifestyle of the people living there today. In Asuka you can find the Nihon no honyu (the real Japan) and genshi (beginnings (of Japan)) (Kadowaki 1971: 48).

The significance of this for the later debates over the preservation of Asuka is Hoda's emphasis that it is not only the historical, archaeological or even scenic sites which are of interest in Asuka. Rather, in the lifestyles of the

rural village people the visitor can find an ideal form of traditional Japan as it was at the beginning of history. As Moeran points out, in the increasingly industrialized and urbanized society of contemporary Japan, "...the countryside, together with all its values of 'tradition', 'harmony', 'co-operation' and 'groupness', is exoticized by those living in urban surroundings that are hardly conducive to small group cooperation" (Moeran 1989: 181). Thus, the people of Asuka are treated not as individuals in their own right, but as symbols of a pure Japanese spirituality.

Legislative and Administrative Debates over Asuka

On January 1, 1966, the Special Action Law for the Preservation of Historic Environments in Ancient Capitals (Koto ni okeru Rekishiteki Fudo Hozon no tame no Tokubetsu Sochi Ho) was proclaimed. This law, which will be referred to below as the Ancient Capital Cities Preservation Law, was to have a profound effect on the lives of the people living in Asuka Mura and on attempts by the various levels of government to preserve the village.

The Ancient Capital Cities Preservation Law called for city planning to include both preservation areas and special preservation areas. The latter would be subject to severe restrictions regarding rebuilding, paint and roofing changes and the posting of signs or advertisements. The original law included Kamakura and Kyoto as protected ancient cities and it was soon decided that Asuka Mura and Kashiwara City should be added to this list (Asuka Kokudo Koen Shutchojo 1989: 1).

From the moment the Ancient Capital Cities Planning Law was applied to the Asuka area, a number of government groups at various levels of the executive, legislature and administration became concerned with the preservation of Asuka Mura.

The Ancient Capital Cities Preservation Law called for the creation of a Deliberative Council on Historical

Environments (Rekishiteki Fudo Shingi Kai or DCHE). This council was within the Prime Minister's Office and had the responsibility of reporting on the preservation of historically important areas. The DCHE was comprised of 20 members. Six were from the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Construction or the Ministry of Finance. The prefectural governors of Kanagawa and Nara and the mayors of Kamakura and Kyoto made up another 4 members. The remaining 10 members were individuals with appropriate academic backgrounds in either cultural affairs or administration. The DCHE reported to the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Construction and other ministries whose work touched on historical environments. Although problems of cultural properties preservation were normally handled by the ACA, in the Asuka case, the DCHE became deeply involved in working out a plan for the preservation of the area (Asahi Shimbun 1970c). Below, I will show why this occurred.

At its first meeting in April 1966, the DCHE stated that Asuka should be designated a historical environment as quickly as possible (Nara Ken 1981a: 11). By August 1967 the DCHE had decided that a total of 391 hectares of land in the Asuka area were to be designated as a Historical Environment Preservation Area (Rekishiteki Fudo Hozon Kuiki) (Nara Ken 1981a: 11; Nara Ken 1981b: 5). In December of the same year, the Prime Minister's Office proclaimed the creation of a Historical Environment Preservation Area in Asuka (Nara Ken 1981a: 11).

After it was created in 1968, the ACA was given the mandate to carry-out the Law. Thus, the ACA and its parent organization, the Ministry of Education, joined the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Construction in having an interest in the preservation of cultural properties in the Asuka area. Just as the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Construction were advised by the DCHE, the Ministry of Education and the ACA also had an advisory

council called the Deliberative Council on the Protection of Cultural Properties (Bunkazai Hogo Shingi Kai or DCPCP). Since, in terms of administration, the Ministry of Education, represented by the ACA in all matters of cultural affairs, had less access to funding, it was less powerful than the Prime Minister's Office or the Ministry of Construction. Consequently, the DCPCP soon found that its recommendations on the preservation of the Asuka area were not easily accepted by the more powerful offices and ministries.

Another national level organization, the Asuka Kokyo o Mamoru Giin Renmei (Federation of Diet Members for the Preservation of the Asuka Ancient Capital--below this group will be referred to as the Federation) was formed in May 1970. This group, which was made up of 71 Lower House (5 from Nara Prefecture) and 42 Upper House Diet members, was headed by Hashimoto Tomisaburo, the Minister of Transportation in the LDP cabinet (Asahi Shimbun 1970d; 1970e; 1970f). The goal of the Federation was to preserve the historical environment of Asuka from destruction by development (Asahi Shinbum 1970g). The group seems to have acted as an advisory committee answering directly to the two houses of the Diet. The opinions offered by the Federation did not always agree with those of either the DCHE or the DCPCP. In general, however, the Federation tended to follow the suggestions of the DCHE rather than those of the DCPCP (Asahi Shimbun 1970e).

The Nara prefectural government was another group with an interest in the development or preservation of Asuka. This was partly because the prefectural government was ultimately responsible for some of the financial burden of the preservation and development policies suggested by the national committees and put into law by the Diet. In addition, the governor of Nara who, during the early 1970s was Okuda Ryozo, seems to have felt a personal responsibility to protect the lifestyles of his constituents

in the village. Thus, at the times when legislative alternatives for preservation were being discussed at the national level, the governor of Nara Prefecture acted as an intermediary between the national government (as represented by the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Construction and the Prime Minister himself) and the residents of the village of Asuka Mura.

The government bureaucracy at the national, prefectural and municipal levels was also concerned with the Asuka problem. Throughout all levels of the government bureaucracy ran two possible lines of legal authority over cultural property preservation. One, which was outlined by the Ancient Capital Cities Preservation Law and the City Planning Law (Toshi Keikaku Ho) went through the Ministry of Construction and the Prime Minister's Office to the city planning departments of the Nara Prefectural government. The prefectural level city planning department then had connections with the Asuka Mura Townhall (Asuka Mura Yakuba) Asahi Shimbun 1970h).

The other line of authority was based on the Law. It ran from the national level ACA to the Nara Prefectural Board of Education (Nara Ken Kyoiku Iinkai). The Board of Education contained a division, the Cultural Properties Preservation Division (Bunkazai Hozon Ka), which was entrusted with administering the preservation of cultural remains throughout the prefecture. Ideally, all decisions about cultural resource preservation were handled by this department. Decisions about site preservation or excavation were made on the basis of the Law and directives issued by the ACA. The administrators in the prefectural level Cultural Properties Preservation Division acted as intermediaries between archaeologists working on government contracts and private or public developers. Difficult cases were referred to the national level ACA (Asahi Shimbun 1970c; 1970h; 1970i; 1970j).

In the case of Nara Prefecture, the line of authority outlined by the Law did not work. Due to past disagreements, the ACA and the Nara Prefectural Board of Education's Cultural Properties Preservation Division were unable to work together (Asahi Shimbun 1970c; 1970h; 1970i; 1970j). The result of this break was that the ACA (which already had less power than the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Construction at the national level) had relatively little power within Nara Prefecture.

The village council of Asuka Mura was concerned about the preservation plans for the village. The council was made up of 12 members, 5 of whom (including the head) were the owners of construction companies operating in and around Asuka Mura. Thus, a significant proportion of the people sitting on the village council had a stronger interest in development than in preservation.

For a number of reasons even villagers not directly involved in the construction industry feared the government restrictions they believed would result from preservation legislation. First, they were afraid that their use of modern farming techniques and machinery (such as machines used to plant rice) would be closely regulated, or even banned, if the government concentrated on attempting to remake the entire Asuka area into an image of traditional rural Japan. These fears seemed founded when the government tried to stop farmers from using plastic greenhouses in the spring of 1970. Second, restrictions on building construction and renovation hindered attempts to upgrade homes or farmhouses. Furthermore, the materials the villagers thought they might be required to use to maintain the authentic look of their properties were expensive. Third, there was the problem of "tourist pollution". This problem was apparent by October 1970 when as many as 3000 people visited the Ishibutai site on a single day during the October 26 weekend. Lines of tourists wound for 3 kilometers through the narrow roads of Asuka Mura (Asahi

Shimbun 1970k). With the discovery of the wall frescoes of Takamatsuzuka in 1972, this problem became even more severe. The village realized that these visitors had to be fed and facilities such as toilets and garbage disposal had to be built and maintained. They believed, however, that this was not their responsibility. Fourth, the people of Asuka Mura realized that their property values had dropped and would drop further if the size of the special preservation areas was expanded. This was because the land they owned would probably never be available for development (Asahi Shimbun 1970l; 1970m; 1971a).

Kishishita Toshikazu, who was the village leader during the early 1970s, made several requests (either directly or through the prefectural governor) to the Prime Minister during the period when preservation policy was being decided. These requests pointed out that since Asuka Mura's residents had preserved the village's heritage in the past, they could continue to do so in the future without the interference of further legal restrictions which would curb development for the sake of preservation. The requests also appealed to the national government, asking that national politicians and bureaucrats take into account the disruption preservation legislation could make in the lives of the villagers. The requests suggested that, if Asuka Mura were to become a national historic and scenic preservation area, the local people should receive financial compensation for coping with disruptions in their daily lives and the long-term drop in property values.

The people of the village formed several associations to discuss and take action on the preservation plans. These included the Association for the Preservation of the Asuka Ancient Capital (Asuka Kokyo o Mamoru Kai), founded in March 1970 (Asahi Shimbun 1970n), and the Federation for Rising to Oppose the Asuka Regulations (Asuka Kisei Hantai Kekki Domei).

In February 1969, the Ministry of Construction notified the other administrative offices, the press and the residents of Asuka Mura of its intention to create, based on the Ancient Capital Cities Preservation Law, Special Designated Historical Areas of 55 hectares and 5 hectares at Asuka. Special Designation status meant that the land in these areas could be sold only to the prefectural government (Asahi Shimbun 1970m). Village residents who owned land in the designated areas, realizing that designation status would freeze the value of their land, were not pleased by the decision. Other villagers worried that their land might also be designated.

In the spring of 1969, the DCHE expressed concern about the threat of encroaching development from Kashiwara City on the Asuka area. In July, at its tenth meeting, the DCHE declared that "We want to preserve the Asuka area which is the 'home of the Japanese heart'. This preservation should be done not partially but completely and should be planned so that the it is done as the people of the village want it" (Nara Ken 1981a: 12).

There are several possible reasons why the DCHE decided to act at this point. One explanation might be that debates about whether the Asuka area should be preserved or developed were being reported by the media at about that time. The government realized that the preservation question was becoming more urgent as more people came to understand the issues (Iseki 1971: 150). A second explanation is that the Prime Minister was influenced by associates in the business world who believed that Asuka should be preserved. In February 1970, Matsushita Konosuke (of the Matsushita Electric Company) heard a tape about Asuka Mura made by Mii Keizo, a retired researcher from the Toyo Medical School, who was a strong advocate of Asuka preservation. (Mii was later to become the director of the Asuka Private School (Asuka Juku), a privately run institution in the village of Asuka established to teach

Japanese people about Asuka and Japan.) Matsushita encouraged the Prime Minister to consider the preservation problem at Asuka carefully (Nara Ken 1981a: 12-13). A third explanation might be that, by the early 1970s, Japanese citizens were beginning to question the government's policy of economic development at all costs. Various citizens' groups were calling for the government to protect the natural and historical environments from destruction through development. The LDP government, which was becoming sensitive to these appeals, might have considered the preservation of a famous historical area, such as Asuka, an easier way of showing its concern for cultural properties than the preservation of many less visible sites. Finally, the DCHE's statement can be seen as indicative of the general mood of the LDP-led national government at this time. Government leaders, including Prime Minister Sato Eisaku, had decided that Asuka would be a useful showplace of Japanese national identity (Kondo 1983c: 183). From this time on, they worked with the DCHE to create a national tourist area at Asuka.

The most vocal debates over the development of Asuka as a historic area began in the early 1970s. During the spring of that year, the DCHE decided that they would look into developing a synthetic plan for the Asuka region. This plan was to take into account both the need for preservation and the desire for development. At the same time, the Minister of Education announced, while visiting Asuka Mura in April, that "The Japanese economy is developed. From now on we need to improve the spirit and culture of Japan. I'm going to tell the Prime Minister that Asuka should be preserved as the 'hometown of the Japanese heart'" (Asahi Shimbun 1970o; Nara Ken 1981a: 13). Following the lead of the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Construction, the Minister of Education asked the DCPCP to evaluate the situation in Asuka. Thus the DCHE and the DCPCP spent the

summer evaluating various policies which could be adopted to preserve Asuka Mura.

The voices of the villagers of Asuka Mura were heard by the Japanese people through the press and by the Prime Minister through the mediation of Nara Prefecture's governor Okuda, and, to a lesser extent, the village leader Kishishita. On May 1, 1970 the governor of Nara Prefecture met with the village heads of the Asuka area and with about 50 interested villagers. The result of this meeting was the establishment of three principles which were to guide the preservation of Asuka in the future. These "three pillars" were (1) preservation, (2) development and (3) the lifestyles of the village people (Nara Ken 1981a: 13). On the basis of this meeting, the governor of Nara lodged a petition with Prime Minister Sato Eisaku, asking that he begin work on the preservation of the Asuka and Fujiwara areas (Nara Ken 1981a: 14).

The early summer saw visits to Asuka from several important members of the government, including Prime Minister Sato on June 28 (Asahi Shimbun 1970p). In addition to members of the LDP, representatives from several other political parties, including the Democratic Socialist Party and the JSP, also formed committees to examine the Asuka question. These groups all offered platitudes about the necessity of integrating preservation with the needs of the local people (Nara Ken 1981: 14-16).

While government agencies, committees and study groups were wrangling over what to do about Asuka Mura, several organizations representing radical archaeologists were also considering the problem. The Japanese Association for Communicating the Preservation of Cultural Properties (Nihon Bunkazai Hozon Renraku Kai) met with the village people of Asuka Mura. On June 21, after this meeting, the association's members had two points to make about the Asuka problem. First, they asked for the preservation of Asuka in a manner which would match the lifestyles and enrich the

lives of the local people. Second, they asked that the government plans for the preservation of Asuka be based on scientific assessments and excavations of the sites. They stressed that the government should not preserve Asuka on the basis of the unscientific ideology of the imperial myths (Iseki 1971: 154).

On July 12, at an organizational meeting, the All-Japan Cultural Properties Preservation Society made a resolution regarding Asuka Mura. They stated that, throughout Japan, neither the national nor the prefectural governments had yet made effective attempts to save archaeological sites. Priority had been given to development over preservation. In Asuka Mura, the people of the village had always made efforts to preserve the historic and scenic environment of their town. They charged, furthermore, that the government was trying to use Asuka as a showcase of archaeological preservation, even as it continued to destroy other sites throughout the Japanese archipelago. They argued that scholarly research was needed to reveal the true importance of Japan's sites. In the case of Asuka, they asked (1) that the government listen to the village people and protect their lives and rights, (2) that scientific excavations approved by the village people be used to understand the true significance of Asuka and (3) that the Asuka sites be used in a correct way on the basis of these excavations. They added that the reactionary (handoteki which implies prewar nationalism) use of sites should be avoided. (Bunkazai Hozon Zenkoku Kyogikai 1970: 76-77).

Radical archaeologists continued to be critical of government policy in Asuka Mura through the 1970s. As I mentioned above, one of their major concerns was that the preservation of Asuka be left to the village people. This concern with allowing the people of Japan, and in this particular case the people of Asuka Mura, control over buried cultural resources probably has conceptual links with the "peoples' history movement" of the 1950s. Certainly,

these archaeologists thought that the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Construction were more concerned with preserving Asuka as a tourist attraction and a symbol of Japanese national identity than with preserving the area for the sake of the Japanese people. Unfortunately, the position taken by these archaeologists, that is, the idea that the preservation of the village should be left to the villagers, may well have been flawed, since many of the people living in Asuka seem to have resisted preservation legislation not because they want to preserve the sites of the area but because they wanted a free hand to develop the region.

On September 11, 1970, the DCHE issued a report on Asuka Mura. The report suggested that the government refrain from creating a special law for Asuka. The members of the committee felt that the existing laws, the Law and the Ancient Capitals Preservation Law, were sufficient to protect Asuka Mura from destruction. They did suggest that the historical preservation areas and areas of scenic beauty in Asuka be enlarged. They felt that more sites should be designated and that excavations should be carried out on other sites. They also suggested that a public foundation (this was later to be called the Asuka Hozon Zaidan) be formed to fund preservation in the Asuka area. This corporation would be backed by private companies (Iseki 1971: 154; Suzuki 1971: 42).

The DCHE's plan came only days after a tentative prefectural plan was issued on September 4, 1970. The prefectural plan, which was entitled the Plan for the Preservation and Development of the Asuka-Fujiwara Area (Asuka- Fujiwara Chiiki Hozon Kaihatsu Kihon Keikaku), was similar to that of the DCHE, but called for a smaller restricted area and for special legislation to deal with the Asuka area (Asahi Shimbun 1970q;). The call for special legislation reflected the village people's desire for direct and assured government funding and subsidies to counteract

the effects of having their land declared part of a preserved area.

The following month, on October 28, the DCPCP's interim report was issued. It said that, although special legislation would be needed in the future, for now, it was necessary to work with the existing legislation (Nara Ken 1981a: 18). The six points covered by the plan were that (1) historical environment and natural environment sites should be preserved as one, (2) the preservation plan should take the wishes of the local people into consideration (3) the organization's purpose should be preservation and also active use, (4) comprehensive plans should be formulated from a broad perspective, (5) Fujiwarakyu should be included with Asuka and (6) the sites should be bought by the national government (Asahi Shimbun 1970r). Critics of this proposal argued that, although the DCPCP showed superficial interest in the needs of the village people, the council members were really more concerned with the preservation of historical and archaeological sites. Consequently, the prefecture, which supported the village people, preferred the DCHE plan to that of the DCPCP, since it believed that the people of Asuka Mura would get more financial support through the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Construction than through the ACA (Asahi Shimbun October 1970r; 1970s).

On December 18, 1970 the cabinet decided, on the basis of the above DCHE and DCPCP reports, to implement the "Measures Concerning the Conservation of Historical Landscape and Cultural Heritages in the Asuka Area" (Asuka Chiho ni okeru Rekishiteki Fudo oyobi Bunkazai no Hozon nado ni kansuru Hosaku ni tsuite or the 1970 Asuka Area Plan) (Asuka Kokudo Koen Shutchojo 1989: 1; Parks and Recreation Foundation, Japan n.d.: 17). They provided 6.9 billion yen to begin the Asuka Preservation Project, which would be overseen by the Ministry of Construction. This money was to be made available over a three year period. The project was

based on the three laws already in existence, the Law, the Ancient Cities Preservation Law and the City Planning Law. Thus, the government decided at this time not to make a special law for Asuka preservation. The Plan called for the expansion of preservation areas, special preservation areas and scenic areas and the designation of more historic sites. It also suggested that important historic sites should be bought and cleaned-up if necessary. In addition, the government suggested that improvements should be made in local roads and that a new dump should be built. They also said that a History Museum should be constructed, buildings for research and accommodation should be built and national parks should be created at Ishibutai, Amakashi no Oka and Iwaido (Iseki 1971: 155). Finally, the cabinet's plan called for the creation of a preservation zaidan (corporation) to organize financial assistance to Asuka from private companies (Asahi Shimbun 1970t; Nara Ken 1981b: 5).

The 1970 Asuka Area Plan tended to follow the suggestions of the DCHE rather than those of the DCPCP. It became clear at this point that control over the administration of cultural properties in the Asuka area had shifted from the ACA, which favored a plan based on preservation, to the Ministry of Construction backed by the Prime Minister's Office, both of which favored a plan based on tourism. Although many of the people in the village continued to protest the enlargement of preservation areas, they tended to prefer control by the Ministry of Construction because they realized that this arrangement would provide better subsidies and fewer restrictions. The prefecture, which played the role of mediator between the villagers and the various ministries, agencies and offices of the national government, also preferred the management of the Asuka area through the Ministry of Construction. The prefecture assumed that these powerful and wealthy bureaucratic arms would be able to provide better subsidies

than the ACA, which wielded less power in the national bureaucracy.

Radical archaeologists were quick to criticize the 1970 Asuka Area Plan, arguing that the government's stress on making Asuka accessible to tourists ignored the concerns of the local people and the need to preserve sites (Nara Bunkazai Hozon Taisaku Renraku Kai Jimukyoku 1972: 2; Suzuki 1971: 43).

The decision by the cabinet to adopt the 1970 Asuka Area Plan was a major turning point for Asuka Mura, since it firmly established the interests of the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Construction in the area. The government began implementing its plans early in 1971. In March 1971, the DCHE decided to increase the size of the Asuka preservation areas. The ACA could not but be pleased with this decision since it meant that valuable sites would be preserved. Nevertheless, it feared that these increases were being made primarily for the sake of the tourist industry. For the time being, the plan satisfied the people of the village, since they began to receive better funding (Asahi Shimbun 1971b; 1971c).

In April 1971 the Kansai economic circles (zaikai), specifically the Kansai Keizai Rengokai (Kankeiren or the Kansai Economic Federation), an organization of businesses in the Kansai area and the Keizai Dantai Rengo Kai (Keidanren, or Federation of Economic Organizations), a Japan-wide organization of businesses that tends to be weighted towards the Kanto area, started the Asuka Preservation Foundation (Asuka Hozon Zaidan or the Foundation) as a juridical person. The Foundation, which was to be directed by Matsushita Konosuke, was created with 500 million yen provided by the two business groups and a government grant of 59 million yen. The purposes of the Foundation were: first, to help conduct projects in Asuka related to the development of the area's historical, scenic and environmental properties; second, to help build a

residence and research center in the town capable of housing 100 people and an information center opposite the railway station; and third, to help finance land improvement projects and subsidize local people who had been obliged to make sacrifices for the sake of scenic beauty preservation in Asuka (Asahi Shimbun 1971d; Kubo 1973: 11; Okuda 1981: 5). The Foundation was established on April 1, 1971 (Nara Ken 1981a: 19), with the following words from Ogawa Kitae, an executive of Matsushita Electric and a director of the Foundation:

> Let us preserve the national treasures of the Japanese people at Asuka and guide and introduce people to Asuka. But as the government efforts have shown, the preservation of Asuka and the continuation of the cultural lives of the Asuka residents are contradictory endeavors. In this case, it is important to eliminate these contradictions (Asahi Shimbun 1971d).

Government proposals to increase the size of the preservation areas within the Asuka area were met with opposition by many village people. In May 1971, some of the people living in Asuka Mura organized the Federation to Oppose the Asuka Special Preservation Area Restrictions (Tokubetsu Hozon Chiku Kakudai Hantai Domei) to fight the government's plans (Nara Bunkazai Hozon Taisaku Renraku Kai Jimukyoku 1972: 2). Despite this opposition, the Ministry of Construction continued its review of the best way to implement plans for national parks in Asuka, a job carried out by a government committee through the summer (Asuka Kokudo Koen Shutchojo 1989: 2). In the end, the Ministry of Construction decided to continue with its original plan for the preservation of Asuka, although it still did not have the consent of many local people (Nara Bunkazai Hozon Taisaku Renraku Kai Jimukyoku 1972: 2).

During the 1970s, visitors from all parts of Japan flocked to Asuka. The discovery of wall frescoes at the Takamatsuzuka tomb in March 1972 and the extensive coverage

of the site on the front pages of the major Japanese newspapers attracted even more visitors (Asuka Kokudo Koen Shutchojo 1989: 2).

As Asuka became popular with tourists, the Ministry of Construction continued to develop the area as a tourist site of national importance. In March 1973, a tourist office was opened in the town (Okuda 1981). This was followed by the opening of the Iwaido National Park in July 1974 (Asuka Kokudo Koen Shutchojo 1989: 5), the Asuka National Historical Museum (Kokuritsu Asuka Rekishiteki Shiryokan) in March 1975 (Okuda 1981) and the Ishibutai National Park in September 1976 (Asuka Kokudo Koen Shutchojo 1989: 5). In October of the same year, the cabinet decided to expand the preservation area of Takamatsuzuka by adding 9.3 hectares of land surrounding the tomb (Asuka Kokudo Koen Shutchojo: 2). In 1977, they revised their policy to allow the creation of 4 national parks within Asuka. The last two parks, Amakashi no Oka and Takamatsuzuka, were opened in April 1980 and October 1985 respectively (Asuka Kokudo Koen Shutchojo 1989: 5). By 1989, 8 billion yen had been spent on these 4 parks, which covered a total area of 47.1 hectares. The goal of these parks was to create preservation and recreation facilities for visitors, while preserving the living environment of the area's residents. The funds were used to administer and maintain the parks, buy land and pay compensation money for lack of business to the construction industry (personal communication from the Asuka Kokudo Koen Shutchojo 1989).

The problem of Asuka Mura had still not been resolved by the end of the 1970s. Over the years, development had continued in non-preservation areas near the town. This frustrated many Asuka residents, who felt that they had been inadequately compensated for revenue lost due to prohibitions on the development of land in the area. In addition, with the opening of two national parks and a historical museum, not to mention the publicity the area had

received after the discovery of Takamatsuzuka, Asuka received visits from more tourists than ever before. Villagers felt even more strongly than in the early 1970s that special legislation for the Asuka area was needed to provide funds to compensate them for financial loss and inconvenience. This pressure resulted in the village head of Asuka and the governor of Nara Prefecture asking the Prime Minister if he would reconsider the possibility of special legislation for Asuka Mura. The purpose of this legislation would be to finance preservation and make the lives of the village people easier through direct financial assistance. Both the village head and the governor argued that Asuka Mura should be a national responsibility since the site was of national importance (Okuda 1981: 7-8).

Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi responded to this request by asking the DCHE to begin an investigation into the possibility of special legislation for Asuka Mura. The result of this inquiry was the decision that special legislation was indeed necessary (Nara Ken 1981b; Okuda 1981: 8). Consequently, the Japanese budget guidelines for 1980 included in the budget of the Prime Minister's Office plans for 3 billion yen earmarked for the Asuka Preparatory Fund. Of this 3 billion yen, 2.4 billion was to be supplied by the national government and 600 million by the prefectural government. The total was to be paid over a period of 5 years (Okuda 1981). As a comparison we may note that, in the same year (1980), the ACA disbursed 1.374 billion yen to support 406 archaeological projects and the local boards of education provided an additional 1.364 billion yen, for a total government expenditure of 2.738 billion yen (Tanaka 1984: 84). In the 1982 fiscal year, the ACA grants for land purchase accounted for 7.5 billion yen (Tanaka 1984: 83). The Asuka funding was assured by the passage of the Special Action Law regarding the Preservation of the Historical Environment and the Lifestyle Environment of Asuka Mura (Asuka Mura ni okeru Rekishiteki Fudo no Hozon

oyobi Seikatsu Kankyo no Junbi nado ni kansuru Tokubetsu Sochi Ho) on May 26, 1980 (Nara Ken 1981a: 65-70).

Since the passage of this law, the national government has paid 2.4 billion yen, the prefectural government has paid 600 million yen and the village government has paid 100 million yen into the Asuka Preparatory Fund. In the 1989 fiscal year, the total annual interest from this fund amounted to 240 million yen. This money will be used to make the village people and residents understand the purpose of the Asuka project, to keep the village clean, to conduct archaeological site surveys, to provide funds for the decoration of buildings, to construct building foundations, to support agriculture and forestry and to develop agricultural roads and irrigation systems (I293 1989).

Conclusion

Throughout the 1970s, the creation of a national historical park and historical and scenic preservation areas in the Asuka area created conflict at various levels of government. Today, Asuka is a well-known tourist spot, billed in an English language tourist brochure as "Mysterious Asuka, a historical wonderland" (Asuka National Historical Park 1989). Japanese men, women and children are encouraged to visit the area as a way of learning about the origins of their country while enjoying the traditional Japanese landscape.

Asuka is an example of the manipulation and use of history by the Japanese government. The preservation of the area was negotiated during the late 1960s and early 1970s, at a time when Japan was once again beginning to search for the country's "original" cultural identity. As the area where, according to semi-historical but largely legendary accounts (i.e., in the Kojiki and Nihon shoki), the Japanese state began, Asuka must have seemed an excellent place to create a "Hometown of the Japanese Heart". Despite opposition from local people, the Japanese government, as

represented by the Ministry of Construction and the Prime Minister's Office, and the Japanese business elites who formed the Asuka Preservation Foundation had little difficulty in molding Asuka into a national monument.

The extent to which Asuka has become a symbol designed to create a new Japanese national identity is shown by the following passage from a pamphlet published by the Asuka Preservation Foundation:

> In various nations there are various histories and traditions rooted in the nation's heart, the people's spirit and the people's character. Asuka is a land which must be called the home of the Japanese people's heart (Nihon kokumin no kokoro no furusato). It was here, in the area often housing the capital city during the century between the reigns of Emperor Suiko and Emperor Temmu, that a great reformation took place. It was here that the foundations of the ancient nation of Japan were gradually solidified. And it was here that, with the introduction of Buddhism and other aspects of culture from the Asian continent, the ancient culture of Japan blossomed. In Asuka, where one can touch the ancient palaces and burial mounds, we can truly feel ancient Japanese history. And here, the contemporary environment evokes the historical environment described by the songs of the Man'yoshu. In Asuka we can recall ancient Japan (Asuka Hozon Zaidan 1981: 1).

Thus, the Japanese people (kokumin) are once again linked to the imperial past of Japan, despite the efforts of postwar archaeologists to rid ancient history of nationalist ideology.

More important, this ideological use of ancient history was created outside the discipline of archaeology. Archaeologists had little say in the development of Asuka. Plans suggested by the DCPCP were ignored in 1970 and the focus of the preservation of Asuka was based on the need to reconcile the tourist industry with the local residents. Archaeologists continue to work in Asuka and valuable research is being carried on through institutes such as the Nabunken's Asuka Historical Museum and the Asuka and Fujiwara Palace Site Research Department, as well as the

Kashiwara Archaeological Institute. Nevertheless, the image the Japanese and foreign visitors receive from the tourist industry is largely based on creative fantasy, as an ambience of ancient rural tranquility is laid over the reality of contemporary Japanese life.

In the early 1970s, Iseki, a radical archaeologist, attacked the government's plans saying that it was strange that the government, which was the main destroyer of sites, should choose to save sites in Asuka, an area that was under little threat of development. He also noted that the areas which were defined as special preservation areas tended to be related to the imperial line. He agreed that, in the case of Asuka, emperor-centered history is never mentioned, but he thought that the idea of Asuka as "the hometown of the Japanese heart" was a variation on this nationalist theme. Asuka, he argued, was only preserved because it was of use to the government (Iseki 1971: 153). Kondo (1983c: 188) agrees, pointing out that Asuka has been put to ideological uses in two ways. First, by emphasizing the emperor as the center of the lives of the common people of ancient Japan, a message is sent to contemporary Japanese that they should unite and forget their conflicts. Second, although Asuka was indeed a hometown for the imperial leaders of ancient Japan, for the common people it was the imperial center to which previously autonomous regions became tied. Many other archaeologists disagree with the use of archaeology to create a mythical sense of the past, but point out that at least the government's interest has helped to preserve the many valuable historic sites in the Asuka area. In this sense, some archaeologists feel about Asuka as they feel about the Imperial Tomb problem to be discussed in Chapter 8.

Despite the opposition of archaeologists such as Iseki and Kondo and the more subtle reservations of mainstream archaeologists working through the ACA and its affiliated institutions, the preservation of the Asuka area was carried

out by the Ministry of Construction. Thus, in this key national historical site, archaeologists have been denied the chance to define the history of their country. Instead, they spend much of their time excavating endangered sites throughout the rest of Japan.

CHAPTER 7

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY ADMINISTRATIVE ARCHAEOLOGY SYSTEM

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the Japanese administrative archaeological system which grew out of the reorganization of rescue excavation work during the 1970s and 1980s. The chapter will be a backdrop to the next one which will discuss the role of archaeologists in Japanese society.

I have two goals in this chapter. First, I will describe the general features of the administrative archaeological system. This will include a brief review of the important legal documents and precedents which affect archaeological administration, a summary of the levels of government at which archaeological administration occurs, including an outline of the various governmental, semi-governmental and private agencies which are involved in the archaeological excavation, and a description of the kinds of people who work either directly or indirectly within administrative archaeology. I will use examples from Chiba Prefecture, one of my research areas in Japan, to illustrate general trends.

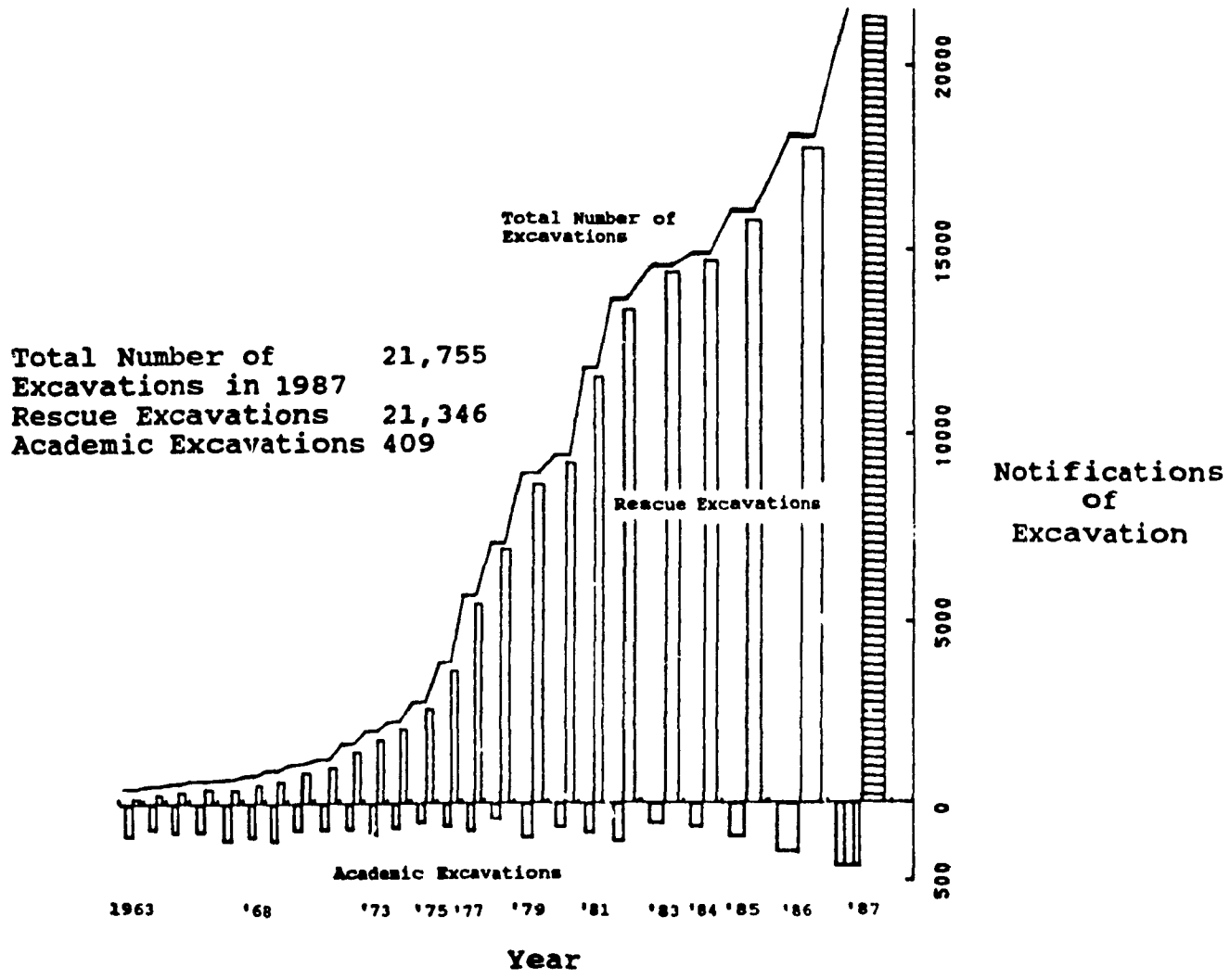
In addition to describing the formal structure of administrative archaeology, I will illustrate the importance of interpretation and negotiation in the Japanese administrative archaeological system. Thus, I will show how the actual day-to-day administration of archaeology is a process of interpretation which occurs within a political and economic context.

Description of the Formal Structure of Administrative Archaeology in Contemporary Japan

Most archaeologists active in Japan today work within the administrative archaeology system. Figure 5 shows the rapid increase in the number of rescue excavations carried

FIGURE 5

Graph showing changes in the number of notifications for excavation of buried cultural properties: 1963-1987



Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo
Maizo Bunkazai Senta (1989: 1)

out by Japanese archaeologists between the early 1970s and the 1980s. In fact, in terms of the quantity of earth moved, the number of people employed and the amount of money spent, archaeology in contemporary Japan is largely administrative archaeology. Academic archaeologists have been drawn into the administrative system as consultants on decisions about site preservation, the teachers of future administrative archaeologists and the interpreters of the materials produced by the administrative system. Consequently, they have had a greater influence than their numbers would suggest. Nevertheless, in contemporary Japan, it is administrative archaeology which largely defines the discipline.

The Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties: The Base for Administrative Archaeology.

The Japanese administrative archaeological system is based on the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties, the original purpose of which, as described above, was to halt the excavation of sites by unqualified people by bringing archaeological survey and excavation under closer government control (Shiina 1977: 218). This goal was achieved by creating a notification system whereby individuals or groups planning to excavate buried cultural properties could do so legally only after receiving formal approval from the cultural affairs section of the Ministry of Education, which has been, since 1968, the ACA and before that was the CPCP (Shiina 1977: 218; Tsuboi 1986: 485).

The notification system, established by the 1950 version of the Law, forms the framework within which postwar Japanese archaeology has grown. In its initial form, however, the Law failed to take into account what has become the most important element of postwar Japanese archaeology; the necessity of performing rescue excavations on sites threatened with imminent destruction due to land development. One reason for this omission was that, in the

late 1940s when the Law was written, administrators did not realize how destructive land development could be to the archaeological resource base since, at that time, Japan was still trying to recover economically, socially and politically and little land development was being done.

Another problem with the original version of the Law was that it failed to list buried cultural properties as a discrete category. Rather, these items were grouped within "concrete cultural properties" (Article 2, Clause 2) and "commemorative things" (kinenbutsu) (Article 2, Clause 4) (Bunkacho Bunkazai Hogo Bu 1989: 224). This complicated the protection of buried cultural properties (Shiina 1977: 218).

The 1954 revision of the Law addressed both of these problems. In Article 57, Clause 1, of the 1954 revision, buried cultural properties were defined as "cultural properties buried underground" (Bunkacho Bunkazai Hogo Bu 1989: 225). Furthermore, the 1954 revision created a system of notification in which public and private land developers, as well as research archaeologists, had to notify the government before excavating an archaeological site. Thus, beginning in 1954 "the submission of applications for land development threatening archaeological sites became obligatory" (Tsuboi 1986: 485). But as Tsuboi points out, "Even then there were no specific investigative procedures or means of financing them. Consequently, many sites were destroyed" (Tsuboi 1986: 485).

As I have shown in Chapter 5, throughout the 1960s land development and the consequent destruction of buried cultural properties increased in quantity and in pace. In 1968, the Law was revised again. This revision did not change the actual procedures for handling buried cultural properties. Rather, it simplified the administrative system. The main effect of this revision on the management of buried cultural properties was that, from 1968 on, all decisions about cultural properties, which until this time had been made by the CPCP within the Ministry of Education,

were channeled through the newly-formed and independent ACA (I6 1984; Shiina 1977: 42).

With the rapid development of land in the late 1960s and 1970s, administrative archaeologists and developers put pressure on the government to revise once again the sections of the Law dealing with buried cultural properties . In fact, since the Law had been partially revised many times over the years, the 1975 revision was significant simply because it was in this revision that the main principles that had come to underlie the notification system as it developed within the new bureaucratic framework of the ACA and prefectural boards of education were explicitly stated. Thus, after 1975, consultation procedures between administrative archaeologists in the ACA and the prefectural boards of education and both private and public developers were formalized and notification procedures were clarified to give administrative archaeologists a better chance to arrange for the preservation or excavation of sites (Chiba Ken Kyoiku Cho Bunkaka 1983: 36-37; Shiina 1977: 222-248, 253-259).

As I have shown above, in the original 1950 version and in subsequent revised versions of the Law, the basic premise has been that Japanese archaeological administration is based on a system of notification rather than permission. In this notification system, the excavators, whether they be archaeologists or developers, must take the initiative of notifying the government of (1) their intention to dig in an area where buried cultural properties are know to exist or (2) the discovery of buried cultural properties during construction (Shiina 1977: 220). Once this notification has been filed, the government can respond in two ways. It can either halt construction work for a limited period while an archaeological investigation is carried out, or it can arrange to buy the land (or have another level of government buy the land) and designate the area as a protected historical site. Thus, the two options are to declare the

site area either designated or available for excavation. Threatened sites are never destroyed before excavation.

The allocation of administrative and excavation work to the prefectural boards of education is another feature of the Law which has affected the way Japanese administrative archaeology has developed since the late 1960s. Although the Law indicates that notification of excavation should be made to the Head of the ACA, its 1975 revision states that archaeological administrators working at the prefectural (and sometimes, the municipal) level boards of education should take the responsibility for most hands-on archaeological administration and excavation. This is specified in Article 98, Clause 2 (Bunkacho Bunkazai Hogo Bu 1989: 229). Furthermore, in Article 58 of the 1975 revision, ACA archaeologists are given the mandate to deal directly with excavation only when a site is extremely important or the excavation exceptionally demanding technically (Shiina 1977: 248). In all of the cases mentioned above, the revision merely formalizes conventions which had already been established by administrators working within the system (Shiina 1977: 250).

Thus, it is officials working in the prefectural offices who have the job of examining sites, assessing their relative importance and organizing committees of experts to decide whether preservation is necessary. It is these administrators, furthermore, who arrange the time tables, finances and personnel to dig those sites which are to be excavated. Finally, it is these local level officials who begin the financial and political arrangements for the designation of a site as a historical site.

One Japanese archaeologist pointed out that, because it is so difficult to find the money to pay for land on which a designated site is located, ACA officials are often reluctant to designate sites. Consequently, site designation procedures and negotiations will begin at the level of the ACA only if an individual official at the

prefectural or municipal level pushes hard to have a site saved (I100 1985). Thus, the onus for encouraging preservation through designation often falls to the lower level, local officials.

Although bound by regulations such as the Law and various prefectural cultural properties protection acts which provide a framework for cultural preservation policy in the various prefectures (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 27), the work that the local level and national level archaeological administrators do is highly interpretive. In formal (tatemae) terms, laws and policy are decided by government agencies, such as the ACA, in consultation with scholars. In fact, however, the decision-making process is much looser and most decisions are made at the lower level of the prefecture or city through individual administrators in the various local boards of education. These people deal with the day-to-day negotiations of archaeological administration. They decide, for example, where and when to build a road. They are intimately involved with decisions about which sites should be excavated or even which can be excavated. Individual administrators within the system, if strategically placed, hold a lot of power, although consulting archaeologists, many of whom are university professors or museum curators, are also very influential when decisions about site preservation and excavation have to be made. The restriction on the power of the local level administrators and their advisors comes when an administrator moves too far away from officially approved procedures. In such a case, bureaucrats in the ACA will offer directions to get the administrator back on track. The result of this system is that most decision-making happens at the local level (I50 1984; Tanaka 1984: 84-86).

But administrative archaeologists working at all levels, from the small town to the ACA, are subject to political pressure. First, although the criteria for preserving a site are (1) the site's historical importance

for Japan and (2) its academic value in terms of its size, features and artifacts, there are often debates about these criteria when it comes to evaluating an individual site. Designation, in fact, depends on the context of each site at any particular time. Shifts in public or academic opinion about the value of the site will change its status in the eyes of the archaeological administrator. As an archaeologist who had worked as a national administrator pointed out, "the importance of each site changes according to academic and societal consciousness. This can happen in a very short time. A good inspector is someone who can grasp these changes. The job of a Japanese official is to reflect social attitudes. Japanese officials don't work according to the Law except when they need an excuse" (I50 1985).

Nevertheless, cultural properties officers are not always influenced by direct public pressure to save a site. In fact, as an academic archaeologist who had also worked as a national administrator pointed out, a vocal site preservation movement might even make ACA officials about to designate a site change their minds (I100 1985). In contrast, political pressure on bureaucrats is relatively effective. Preservation groups and archaeologists can sometimes exert pressure indirectly on administrators at the municipal, prefectural and national levels by convincing elected representatives (giin) to ask questions about the destruction of cultural properties in the national Diet (Japan's national legislative assembly), prefectural assemblies or municipal councils.

Differences in opinion about the value of various sites create tension within the archaeological community, since not all administrative and academic archaeologists agree about which sites should be preserved and which should be excavated and hence destroyed. Critics of the policy of selective preservation point out that the government, by selecting a limited number of sites for preservation, allows

thousands of sites to be destroyed each year. These archaeologists believe that excavation before destruction is only a slight compensation for the destruction of part of the Japanese people's cultural heritage. Thus, for archaeologists who interpret the postwar paradigm strictly, a great many more sites should be preserved. Furthermore, those sites which are preserved should be linked to the history of the Japanese common people rather than to the history of ancient elites such as the imperial household.

The result of this balance between centralized national control, as represented by the ACA, and the transfer of administrative action to the prefectural boards of education is that the Japanese administrative system demonstrates both national centralization and regional differentiation. On the one hand, as Barnes points out, "In Japan, the prefectural governments are part of the national rather than the local government, which is one reason why the archaeological bureaucracy is so tightly centralized and its development throughout Japan is so homogeneous and thorough. Local government only begins at the municipal level, and the cities, towns and villages have invariably copied the national solution for public archaeology" (1990: 193).

On the other hand, archaeological administration has developed from prefecture to prefecture and from municipality to municipality as needed, depending in part on the pace and style of land development in each region and the local government's previous experiences in buried cultural resource management. In fact, the rate of development of the buried cultural resource management system was so rapid that the organizational structure could not keep up. Originally, all archaeological work was to go through the boards of education, but in the end, this has not been the case (I8 1984). Although some administrative solutions are more popular than others and have been copied from place to place (for example, see below for a discussion of the formation of cultural property centers (bunkazai

senta) as foundations which can act as corporate persons (zaidan hojin)), in general, different regions have created institutions which perform analogous functions but which are structured as responses to their unique needs. Saville (1986) describes a variety of such Japanese cultural properties centers. In addition, the power of the various local government archaeological administrative offices in relation (1) to each other, (2) to private developers and public developers at various levels of government and (3) to the national government's archaeological administrative structure differs from place to place. These regional differences are also reflected in the quality of excavation and the kinds of excavation policies used (I1 1983).

The Formal Organization of Administrative Archaeology at the National Level

The Japanese administrative archaeology system is extremely complex. As I mentioned above, administration is done at the national level through the ACA and at the prefectural level through various boards of education. Those archaeological administrators who deal with buried cultural properties at the national level, that is, through the ACA, work in the Commemorative Items Division (Kinenbutsu Ka). This is one of the five sections which make up the Cultural Properties Protection Department (Bunkazai Hogo Bu) (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 27). In 1985 there were 7 officers doing this job (I100 1985).

The job of these officers is to develop general policy and ensure that buried cultural properties are dealt with as efficiently and effectively as possible. They resolve especially difficult preservation problems. They decide how to allocate government funds when covering part of the expenses of archaeological administration and excavation at the prefectural and municipal levels (I100 1985). They fund national archaeological research institutions, such as the Tokyo National Cultural Properties Research Institute (Tokyo

Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo) and the CAO of the Nabunken (I1 1983; Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo 1989: 69).

The archaeologists who work in the ACA, at the top national level of the cultural preservation administration, come from various past careers. Some are introduced from the Nabunken which, in recent years, has played an important but unheralded role as a training ground for cultural resource officers (Barnes 1990: 193). Although not all the archaeologists working at the Nabunken are promoted to the ACA, recently many of the ACA's administrators came from there. An archaeologist working at the CAO in 1984 said this about the connection between the Nabunken and the ACA:

> In the old days some people went into the ACA directly. Now most of them are from the Nabunken, especially if they will be dealing with sites. In order to enter the research center (Nabunken) there is an exam. This is the exam that the excavators of the site (Heijokyu, the ancient palace site located in Nara which is being excavated by a department of the Nabunken) take. Once the new archaeologists get in I watch them and I find those who have the ability to do administrative work. Then the people from the Commemorative Items Section and I make the decision. In this sense the opinion around Nabunken strongly affects cultural property administration (I50 1985).

Another route to a position in archaeological administration at the national level is by passing a high-level national government examination and subsequently being transferred into the section of the ACA dealing with buried cultural properties (I100 1985). Candidates who do this may not know much about buried cultural property protection; in fact, they may know more about land development than site preservation, having worked previously in the Ministry of Construction or Transportation. Nevertheless, once these administrators move to the ACA, their dedication will shift to negotiating for the preservation of sites. This is because Japanese employees are taught to work hard for their present employers. Some archaeologists think that the

occasional new blood provided by a bureaucrat from another Ministry can be useful since he will have perspectives and personal connections which are essential when negotiating for site preservation (I50 1985).

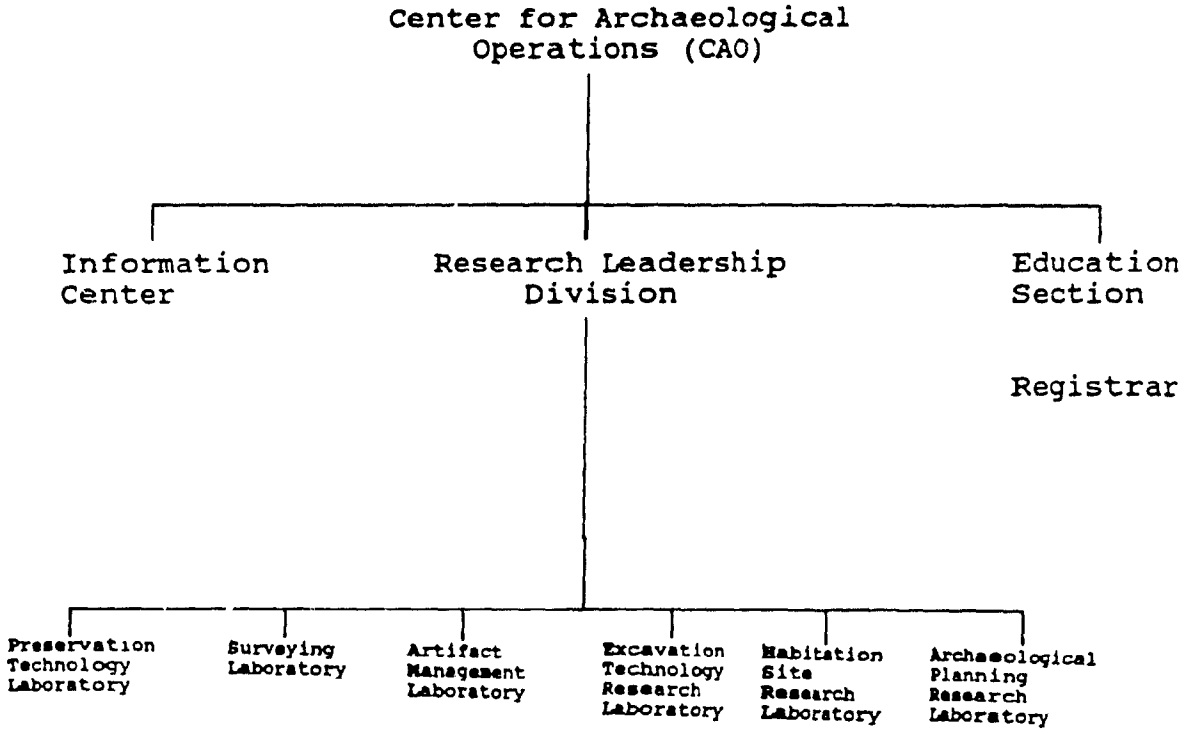
A final route to the ACA is through the prefectural cultural property administrative system (Barnes 1990: 193). Individuals who take this route do not have to take an examination, but are accepted into the ACA on the strength of their proven archaeological administrative abilities. One of the reasons for their acceptance is that there are not enough archaeologists at the Nabunken to supply the ACA without depleting the Nabunken's staff. The ACA, furthermore, needs people who are proven administrators, not just those who are excellent at examinations (I50 1985). After serving in the ACA at the national level of archaeological administration, many archaeologists find work teaching at a university, working in a national-level museum or at a research institute.

In connection with the formal organization of administrative archaeology at the national level, mention should be made of the Center for Archaeological Operations at the Nabunken. This agency is one of the institutions which brings together Japanese archaeology at a national level. The CAO was formed in 1974 with the mandate of (1) providing advice to archaeologists working all over Japan, (2) teaching basic and advanced excavation and preservation skills to archaeologists from various government-connected archaeological centers throughout the country, (3) creating a central bank of information on excavations done in all the Japanese prefectures and (4) developing new techniques of excavation and preservation for buried cultural properties (Barnes 1990: 193; Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo 1989: 70-71). Figure 6 illustrates the organizational structure of the CAO and shows the functions of its 6 laboratories.

One of the most important roles of the CAO is consultation which takes its staff archaeologists (of whom

FIGURE 6

The Organization of the Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute's Center for Archaeological Operations



Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo (1989: 73)

there were just over 20 in 1988 (Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo 1989: 73)), each an expert in his own field, to sites all over Japan. Another important function is the education of prefectural archaeologists. This takes place in specialized seminars organized at the CAO in Nara (Barnes 1990: 192). These seminars not only give young archaeologists a chance to learn new methods and techniques but also enhance communication between workers in various parts of the country.

Policy and Organization at the Prefectural and Municipal Levels: Administration and Excavation through the Boards of Education, Maizo Bunkazai Centers, and other Local Organizations

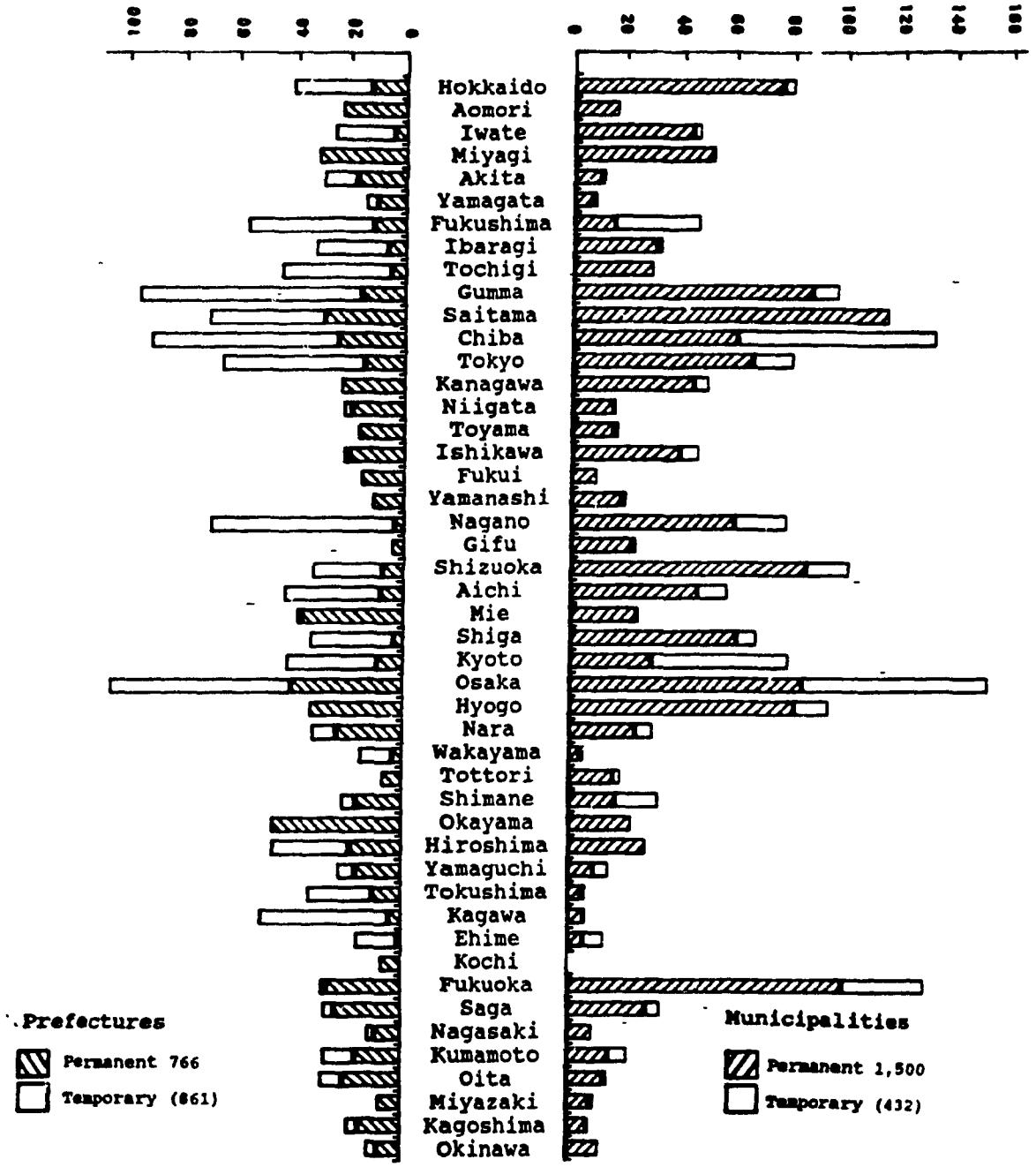
Although the principles of administrative archaeological policy are decided at the national level, most government-employed archaeologists work at the prefectural and municipal levels. Many of the archaeologists working in administrative archaeology at the time of my research had found their jobs during the previous decade when, between 1975 and 1985, the number of people employed as archaeologists by prefectural and municipal governments increased from 898 to 2972 (Inada 1986: 117). Figure 7 illustrates the distribution of archaeological personnel by prefecture in 1988. The right side of the graph shows the number of municipal-based archaeologists, while the left side shows how many archaeologists worked through the prefectures.

Administration of cultural properties at the prefectural and municipal levels

At the prefectural level, preservation administration is handled by officials who work for the Cultural Affairs Division (Bunkaka) of the board of education. Depending on the region, the Cultural Properties Protection Office may be called the Cultural Affairs Division (Bunkaka), the Cultural

FIGURE 7

Buried Cultural Property Specialists
working in the Prefectures and Municipalities
in 1988



Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo
Maizo Bunkazai Senta (1989: 3)

Properties Protection Division (Bunkazai Hogo Ka), the Cultural Properties Preservation Division (Bunkazai Hozon Ka) or the Social Studies Education Division (Shakai Kyoiku Ka), among other names (I1 1983; I6 1984; I50 1989; Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 27).

The prefectural and municipal board of education officials who work on cultural properties are called "officers in charge of cultural properties" (bunkazai tanto shokuin or officers) (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 27). Those who deal with buried cultural properties are almost all archaeologists. The local official's job includes (1) the evaluation of sites to decide whether they should be designated as historical sites at either the national or the prefectural level, (2) the organization of funds to buy the land on which the site is located, if it is to be preserved, and (3) if the site is not valuable enough to be preserved, the facilitation of negotiation between the archaeologists who perform rescue excavations and the developers who want to begin their construction projects as quickly as possible.

The job of an officer is not easy, especially for those archaeologists who must spend several years doing administrative work rather than working in the field or doing research. Tanaka (1984) presents a vivid description of the work of an archaeological administrator who is engaged in negotiations with developers. On the other hand, working as an archaeological officer is a step up the career ladder for ambitious young archaeologists. After several years in an administrative position at the prefectural level, these archaeologists may return to field archaeology as directors of administrative excavation centers or they may be promoted to more important administrative posts within the civil service.

As well as being a means of moving up professionally, working as an administrator gives regional and local archaeologists a chance to influence the implementation of cultural resource management policy. As mentioned above,

although the Law and the various prefectural cultural properties protection laws guide the general policy of cultural resource management in Japan, the actual day-to-day operation of the system depends on decisions taken by regional and local officers. Consequently, these officers can make important decisions about archaeological preservation that are only broadly constrained by the Law.

The Chiba Prefectural Board of Education Cultural Affairs Division (Chiba Ken Kyoiku Cho Bunkaka) has 12 employees. Three of these people deal with general administration, 3 deal with cultural property preservation administration and 6 belong to the cultural property investigation group (bunkazai chosa han). One of the jobs of the cultural property investigation group is to assess the need for archaeological preservation in construction projects planned by either public or private developers. Another job is to determine which parts of a valuable site will be preserved and and how the site will be preserved. This decision is normally made in consultation with the land developer, the municipal board of education and the prefecture's Cultural Affairs Division. The cultural property preservation group also has the task of negotiating in cases where a site is discovered after a construction project has already begun (Chiba Ken Kyoiku Cho Bunkaka 1983: 38).

Thus, in the Chiba prefectural government, the job of an officer is not excavation (with the exception of brief evaluative excavations) but evaluation and assessment. These tasks often involve making subjective decisions about a site's absolute and relative importance. It is not always clear whether a site is valuable enough to be saved and, as mentioned above, in many cases, political and economic considerations are extremely important parts of the evaluation procedure.

The organization of excavation at the prefectural and municipal levels

The late 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s was when the various prefectural and municipal governments worked out their individual ways of dealing with the large numbers of sites that had to be excavated in the areas under their jurisdiction. In the late 1960s, rescue excavations were carried out by archaeologists working as either part-time or full-time employees of the prefectural boards of education (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1971: 28). During this period, the number of archaeologists working for the prefectural governments increased rapidly. In 1967 there were only 27 people officially employed in the cultural properties sections of prefectural boards of education throughout Japan. By 1970 this number had risen to 121 and by 1975 it was 456 (Inada 1986: 114).

Through the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, the prefectural and municipal governments accommodated the increased demand for rescue excavation by developing a variety of institutional forms. Below I will discuss how chosa kai (investigation associations), maizo bunkazai centers (buried cultural property centers), the boards of education (particularly those at the municipal level) and private excavation companies began to organize and perform the excavation work of Japan.

Chosa kai, which are still used by some prefectural governments and by many municipal governments, were originally (in the 1960s and early 1970s) one of the most common kinds of excavation group. Chosa kai were originally formed to administer and excavate large sites or groups of smaller sites found on land scheduled for development by a private or, in some cases, a public agency. The mandate of a chosa kai was to administer and excavate the site(s), analyze the excavated materials and write and submit to the board of education authorities a site report. The excavation work was to be completed within a limited and

well-defined time period, often one year. In many cases, chosa kai had strong connections with the local prefectural or municipal board of education, whose officers issued permits for excavation, appointed archaeologists as directors of the chosa dan (excavation group, the excavation section of the chosa kai) and watched over all stages of the project (I239 1985; I292 1984).

The archaeological field and laboratory directors and support archaeologists who worked within the chosa dan were sometimes archaeologists already employed by the local board of education as officers. In such a case, the officer was usually assigned to the project for its duration. There were cases, however, in which the chosa kai remained quite autonomous from the board of education, its only link being the initial notification of excavation and the submission of a report. The best examples of this were excavations in which a university professor was appointed as the director of a chosa dan. The professor was responsible for staffing the project, which meant finding field and laboratory directors and excavators for the excavation. Often these were his ex-students, graduate students and undergraduate students who did much of the work. In some exceptionally autonomous projects, the professor-director negotiated directly with both the developer and the various government cultural preservation agencies for funding and time to excavate.

Chosa kai are still used in Japan, especially at the municipal level. In Chiba Prefecture, for example, a cultural properties (bunkazai) center has been formed to excavate all public development projects at the national and prefectural levels. Excavation that results from private development projects or public projects at the municipal level is handled (1) directly by archaeologists of the municipal board of education, (2) by one of the municipal bunkazai centers, (3) by a private excavation company or (4) by a chosa kai under the direct guidance of the municipal

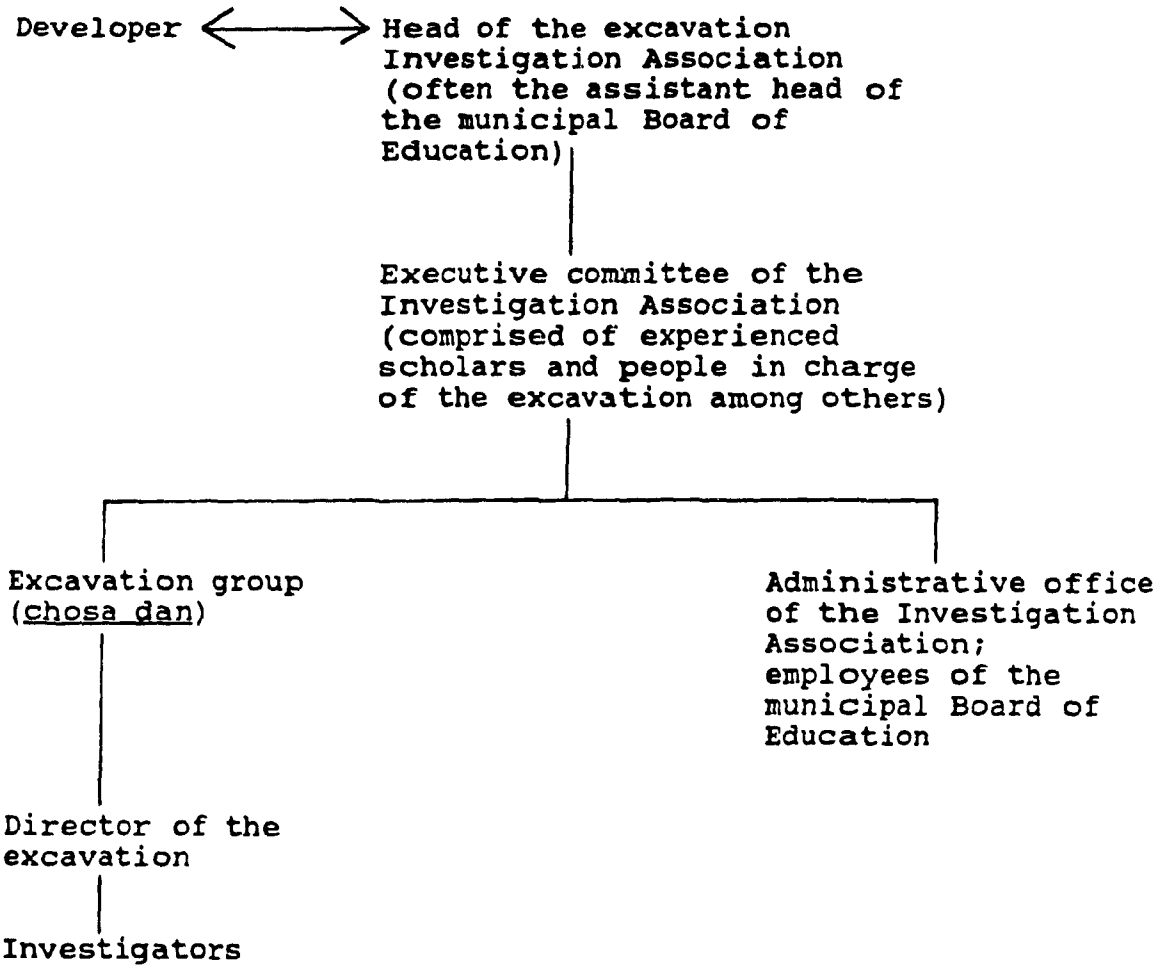
board of education (I6 1984; Chiba Ken Kyoiku Cho Bunkaka 1983: 105). The structure of a chosa kai operating in Chiba Prefecture during 1983 is shown in Figure 8.

By the 1970s, there were so many sites needing excavation that archaeologists working for the prefectural and municipal governments could no longer keep up with the work. Furthermore, the need for rescue excavation seemed to be increasing each year. Archaeological administrators at the prefectural and later at the municipal levels decided that, rather than create more chosa kai, they would develop a new solution to their problem. Thus, following the lead of the national government's CAO, which opened in 1974, they developed maizo bunkazai (buried cultural property) centers in prefectures throughout Japan (I1 1983; Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai 1981: 252-254).

Most of the increase in the employment of archaeologists at the prefectural level during the 1970s and 1980s was due to the development of these prefectural maizo bunkazai centers, of which there were 21 in 20 regions (Osaka had two) as of 1985 (Inada 1986: 118). By 1975, the number of archaeologists employed directly by the prefectural boards of education had leveled off at 456. This number increased slowly until 1980, and then stabilized again, so that, in 1985, it was only 664 (CAO 1983: 3; Inada 1986: 118). In contrast, the number of people working for units attached to the boards of education, i.e., the maizo bunkazai centers, increased rapidly so that, by 1985, there were more people working for the maizo bunkazai centers than directly for the boards of education. During the early 1970s, the demand for prefectural centers was the result of land development by public developers. Through the latter part of the 1970s and into the 1980s, this sort of development leveled off or even decreased in some regions. Consequently, in some parts of the country, there have been fewer or shorter projects and some young archaeology graduates have experienced difficulties finding steady

FIGURE 8

Administrative Organization of a Municipal Investigation Association (Chosa Kai)



Chiba Ken Kyoiku Cho Bunkaka (1983: 105)

employment (I1 1983).

Many of Japan's maizo bunkazai centers (or bunkazai centers as they are called in some areas) are classified in legal terms as zaidan hojin (foundations able to act as corporate persons). They are independent, non-profit organizations. The majority of Japan's maizo bunkazai centers were created using funds which came either from the prefectural government or from a group of municipal governments which pooled their resources to form a single center. Some maizo bunkazai centers, those which are not zaidan hojin, but rather public institutions (koritsu maizo bunkazai centers), continue to receive part of their annual operating costs from the government, the rest of the money required for excavation, analysis and report completion being provided by the developers whose projects threaten the sites. The administrative and archaeological employees of these public centers are all civil servants, hired directly by the prefectural or municipal governments. Other centers operate as independent institutions. These independent centers depend on an initial input of funds from the government but then must fund themselves using rescue excavation contracts. With some exceptions, maizo bunkazai center employees are hired by the center and not the government (I8 1984). Maizo bunkazai centers are administered by archaeologists, who are overseen by boards of directors comprised of administrative archaeologists, academic archaeologists (university and museum staff) and members of the municipal and prefectural boards of education.

Maizo bunkazai centers act as clearing houses for archaeological work. But most of the archaeologists who are employed by them also consider research and public education about buried cultural properties as integral parts of their job. Frequently, a maizo bunkazai center will have a mandate to handle only certain kinds of work. For example, in Chiba Prefecture, the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center

works only on construction projects implemented by government ministries, agencies or foundations (such as government housing or road construction agencies). They do not deal with private construction cases (I6 1984; I292 1984; Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta 1982: 7-10). This is not true of other prefectures and municipalities, whose maizo bunkazai centers do accept contracts from private developers during periods when the center is less busy fulfilling the demands of public developers. In Chiba, private contracts and public development initiated at the municipal level are both handled by the municipal boards of education and the municipal maizo bunkazai centers. However, whether the client is a public or a private developer, it will pay approximately 80% of the excavation costs. This money either goes directly to the maizo bunkazai center doing the work or is channeled through the board of education to be redistributed to the maizo bunkazai center (I6 1983).

The Informal Structure of Administrative Archaeology

A Portrait of Public Archaeology in Japan: The Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center at Work

The Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center was founded in 1974, when it became apparent that, because of the rapid pace of development in Chiba during the late 1960s and early 1970s (including the building of Narita International Airport and its service roads (see Table 3)), archaeologists working for the prefectural Board of Education could not complete the work alone. The Bunkazai Center was funded with an initial input of 3 million yen from the Chiba Prefectural government. After this the Center, which is a zaidan hojin, was expected to fund itself through excavation contracts with developers. The Center has been successful at doing this. In 1983, the Chiba Bunkazai Center had a gross income of 2,235,841,237 yen. Total costs for that year were 2,233,865,866 yen, making a net income of

TABLE 3

Trends in the number of buried cultural property notifications in Chiba Prefecture: 1970-1983

Kind of Land Use	1970	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'76	'77	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83
Academic	9	22	14	17	14	10	10	15	9	10	16	10	9	12
Housing	16	13	19	27	21	24	24	25	40	41	71	98	125	104
Schools	2	2	6	3	2	6	5	14	13	8	16	14	14	8
Roads	0	4	1	4	4	8	10	13	26	22	35	64	58	42
Railroads	1	0	9	2	0	0	1	0	6	3	1	4	1	1
Airports	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	11	4	5	6	3
Land Rezoning	4	2	10	24	13	18	14	16	22	26	49	41	45	68
Farm Adjust-ments	2	1	0	0	3	0	3	17	8	6	15	15	23	21
Sand & Gravel	6	3	2	11	8	10	10	9	15	11	21	18	16	20
Golf Courses	0	0	1	2	4	1	4	1	2	11	0	3	1	7
Other	1	0	7	1	4	10	13	9	37	70	75	140	107	99
Total	43	47	69	91	73	87	95	120	173	219	303	412	405	385

Chiba Ken Kyoiku-cho Bunkaka (1984: 47)

1,975,371 yen. This amount was added to past net incomes to make a total income of 32,165,406 yen by 1983 (I6 1984).

The mandate of the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center is (1) to perform excavations and research on buried cultural properties within Chiba Prefecture, (2) to develop a plan to foster and diffuse ideas about the preservation of the prefecture's cultural properties among the people of the prefecture and to promote a harmonious environment for development and (3) to contribute to the improvement of the culture of the local people and the region (I6 1984).

When the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center opened in 1974, it had a staff of 3 people. In 1984, the Center had a total staff of 91, 19 administrators and 72 field and laboratory archaeologists, called investigators (chosain) or researchers (kenkyuin). The administrators and a few of the archaeologists worked at the Center's main headquarters. Most of the archaeologists, however, were distributed throughout the prefecture in investigation excavation groups. When I visited in the summer of 1984, there were 8 such groups, each comprised of from 7 to 10 people. Each excavation group was given the responsibility for overseeing the survey, test excavation and excavation of sites in its area. The archaeologists also analyzed the excavated materials, wrote site reports, published short research papers on their work and held explanation meetings about the site for interested lay people (Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta 1982).

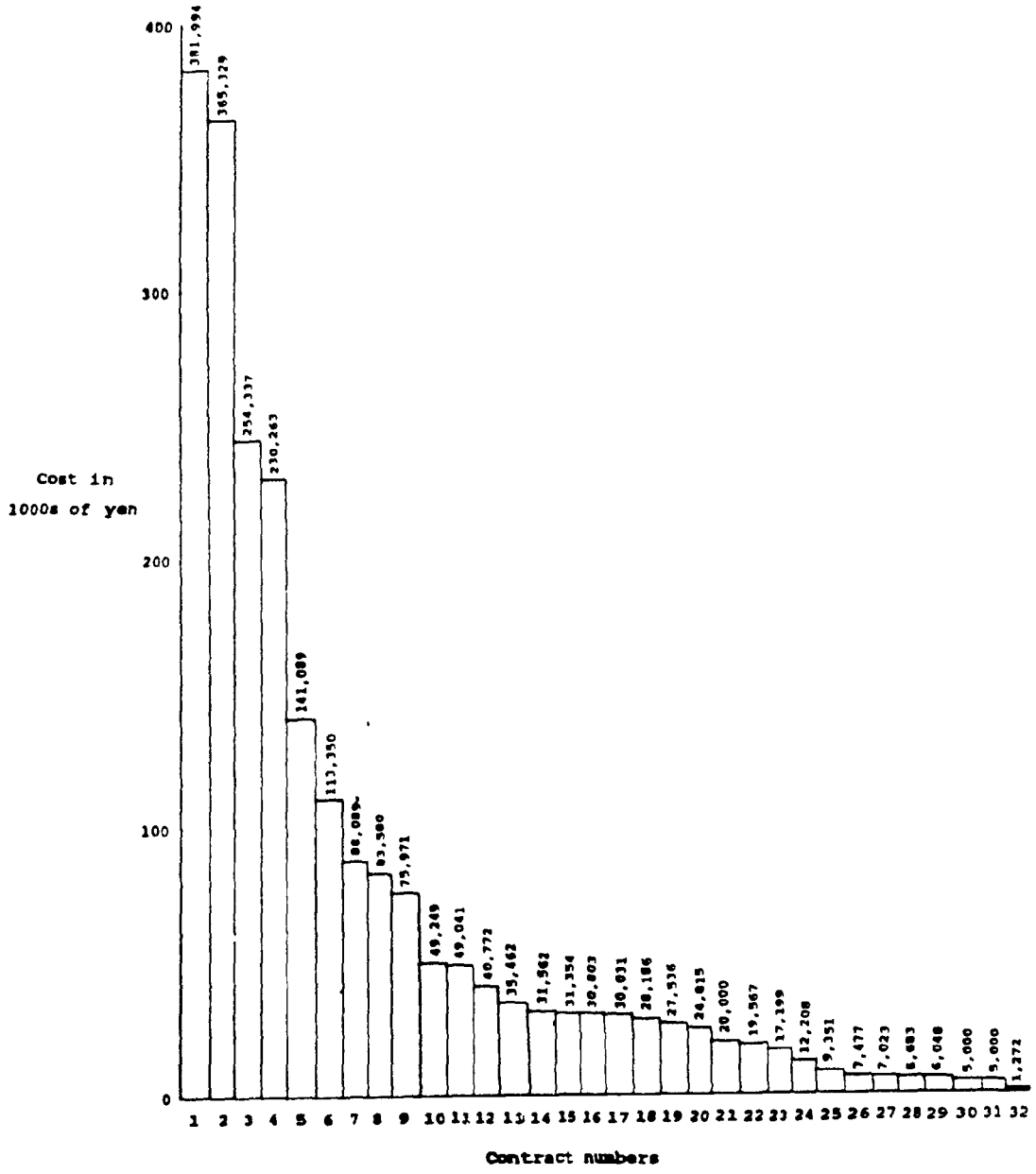
The size and duration of the projects taken on by the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center vary. During the fiscal year ending on March 31, 1984, the Center accepted a total of 32 contracts from public agencies and the Chiba prefectural government. Of these, 18 contracts were for an entire year. The rest were for shorter periods of time. The shortest contract began on December 28, 1983 and, like the others, ended on March 31, 1984. The average value of the contracts was 66,400,000 yen. The smallest contract

came from Chiba Prefecture and was for 1,272,000 yen. It was for the completion of a site report. The largest contract was from the Chiba Prefecture Land Development Corporation (Chiba Ken Tochi Kaihatsu Kosha). The amount was for 381,994,000 yen. This was the cost of (1) verifying (survey and test excavation work) (a) 6 sites for a total of 15,690 square meters out of an area 236,800 square meters in size and (b) 2 sites for a total of 7,990 square meters out of an area 159,800 square meters in size and (2) excavating (a) 7 sites totaling 25,100 square meters and containing 23 kofun and (b) 9 sites totaling 33,840 square meters and containing 23 kofun. The contracts specified a variety of jobs which were to be completed by the Bunkazai Center archaeologists, including (1) verification and test excavation of land (usually, but not always, a tenth of the total area that was to be destroyed), (2) site excavation, (3) analysis in preparation for writing site reports and (4) the writing of site reports (Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta personal communication 1984) (Figure 9).

Details of the 26 field projects carried out by the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center in 1982-83 show that, through the year, the Bunkazai Center archaeologists--that year there were 75 excavation and research archaeologists at the Center working in 8 teams--spent a total of approximately 323 months in the field doing various kinds of field work. Each field project could contain multiple sites (as few as 1 and as many as 19 in the year I chose to analyze) involving work at various stages of completion. Some of the projects were long-term, and had been running for almost almost 10 years. One of the two main types of field work carried out on these sites was verification, in which 10% of the estimated total site area was dug. The aim of this preliminary excavation was to give archaeologists an idea of how to plan the following seasons' excavation work. In 1982-83, 60,116 out of 593,006 square meters were verified. The other main type of work was the planned

FIGURE 9

Graph showing the value of contracts given to the Cultural Properties Centre of Chiba Prefecture in the fiscal year ending March 31, 1984



Source: Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta
Personal Communication (1984)

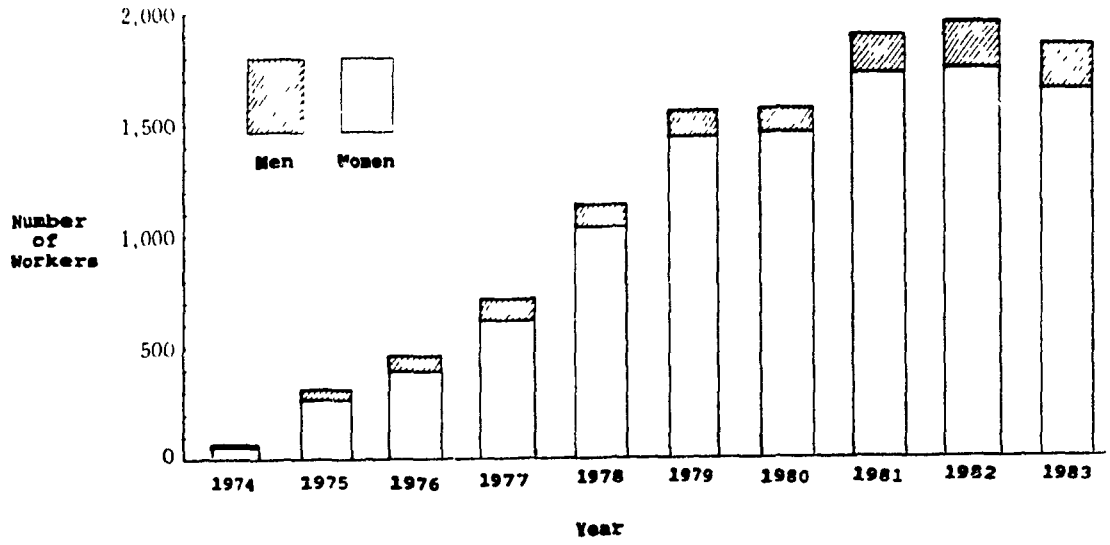
excavation which followed or went along with verification.

Over the 1982-1983 year, the Bunkazai Center's archaeologists excavated 432,328 square meters on 65 different sites for an average excavation size of 6651 square meters. They also dug 19 mounds, 15 kofun, 5 embankments (for a total of 530 meters) and one pit trap, and site surveyed 161,900 square meters of land. Throughout the season, there were 4 long excavations, lasting between 11 and 12 months. These long excavation projects were of large (i.e. 27,000 or 37,000 square meters), multicomponent or complicated sites, such as those containing many kofun or other mounds. Less complicated sites and smaller sites were dug more quickly. An 18,500 square meter Paleolithic site, for example, was dug in 3 months. The shortest excavation was the excavation of 500 square meters. It lasted 2 weeks. The average length of time spent on any one field project was 3 months (Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta 1982: 4).

As in almost all Japanese excavations (the exception being some research excavations), Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center archaeologists usually did not physically dig the sites they directed. Instead, they planned and oversaw the excavation, drew maps and diagrams and supervised manual labor, which was carried-out by teams of unskilled workers. The diggers on Japanese sites are usually women or retired men from towns and villages located near the site (Figure 10), although in some cases when local workers are unavailable or untrained, crews may be bussed in from other areas. This is easy in the case of a Prefectural Bunkazai Center which has a central administration. At some sites university students (from all disciplines, not just archaeology or history) also work on excavations during their holidays. In rural areas, many of the workers are the farmers whose fields are being destroyed by development (Saville 1986: 42). Urban and suburban sites employ housewives or older men living in nearby apartment buildings or housing estates.

FIGURE 10

Graph showing the increase in site excavation workers in Chiba Prefecture: 1974-1983



Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta (1985: 76)

The workers on Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center excavations closely resembled those working at a site I visited in the Tama New Town area in the outskirts of Tokyo. Tama New Town, although on the opposite side of Tokyo from Chiba is in an area which has also been developed rapidly through the 1970s and 1980s. The site, which was being excavated by the Tokyo Metropolitan Buried Cultural Properties Center (Tokyo To Maizo Bunkazai Senta), employed about 100 workers. They were supervised by 5 field archaeologists and had the assignment of digging a total area of 5,000 square meters in 6 months.

I visited the Tama New Town site on a sunny, humid and blistering hot day in July. The area being opened at that time was crisscrossed by a complex system of conveyor belts, which removed dirt from the squares. Down the hill, at the far end of the conveyor belt, the backdirt was dumped near the road where it was shoveled into trucks by a front-end loader and then carted away. Some of the workers knelt in the squares digging under the instructions of the archaeologists. Others helped with mapping, doing jobs such as holding the stadia rod or the tape measure (on some sites the more experienced workers map the features and profiles themselves). One of the supervising archaeologists explained to me that the workers excavating this particular site were mainly married women (most of them mothers) in their 30s and 40s or older men who had retired from full-time employment. They did this work to supplement the family income. Archaeological work was relatively popular among the women since they were paid by the day and could thus take time off whenever they needed it (for example, if a child were ill). They also enjoyed the sociability of the job. Some women, however, would not do this work because it involved being outside in the sun, rain and wind. Few of the workers had any real interest in archaeology, although some developed an interest after beginning work on the project. Wages, which differed slightly depending on the

region, were about 5000 yen per day in Tokyo during the mid-1980s. Workers in the Kansai area received less, about 3600 yen for the same kind of work. Many of the workers on the Tama New Town site had been farmers before development began in the area. In the volcanic soils of the Kanto Plain, where slight differences in color and texture are difficult to distinguish, such workers are valued by archaeologists for their ability to "read" the soils. Workers often stayed on the crews of the Bunkazai Center for years. As they gained experience, they were given more seniority and were often asked by the university-trained archaeologists, who were sometimes relatively inexperienced in the field, for their opinions on stratigraphy (I3 1984).

In addition to field work, the Chiba Prefectural archaeologists were responsible for supervising temporary workers, often housewives or students, as they washed and catalogued artifacts. Archaeologists also analyze, describe and quantify the site remains, do field and laboratory photography, draw artifacts for site reports, prepare maps, cross-sections and diagrams and write site reports. Since these reports have to be finished by the end of the financial year, archaeologists often work many unpaid overtime hours (Saville 1986: 43). In 1982-83, the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center archaeologists published reports on 17 sites (Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta 1982: 6). The cost of all of all work done by archaeologists on a project is included in the contract negotiated between the Center and the developer.

Since the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center has a mandate to do research as well as rescue archaeology, its employees are expected to devote some of their efforts to research papers or reports which will be published by the Bunkazai Center in its research series (i.e., the Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta Kenkyu Kiyo) or in other separate reports (Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta 1982: 6). Archaeologists are also encouraged to submit work to academic journals. In

addition, occasional lectures are given by Center archaeologists to their colleagues, other archaeologists, interested site workers or members of the public.

Another job for archaeologists at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center and for archaeologists working on rescue projects throughout Japan is public education about archaeology. In Chiba, this is accomplished in several ways First, the Center, often in collaboration with board of education officers, organizes a lecture series dealing with archaeological topics. The lectures are given by academic archaeologists based at universities or research centers who have professional connections with the Chiba area. I attended one of these lectures on July 29, 1984. It was delivered by Otsuka Hatsushige, a Meiji University professor, who serves on the Board of Directors of the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He is a Kofun Period specialist who knows the area well and is often called in by Center archaeologists and archaeologists working at the prefectural board of education to consult on the value of sites threatened with destruction.

A second means of public education is the mass media. Newspapers regularly publish articles on sites and archaeological finds. Important discoveries will be found in the pages dealing with national news, while local sites are usually discussed only in the regional editions of the national papers. Television news reports on archaeology are also common in Japan, both at the national (for important sites and finds) and the local levels. The archaeologists working at the Bunkazai Center are often interviewed by newspaper and television reporters about their excavations.

Finally, the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center holds frequent site explanation meetings (genchi setsumei kai) at sites currently under excavation. On the day of an explanation meeting, the archaeologists open the site to the public. Explanation meetings are advertised in the local newspapers, and the national newspapers in the case of

especially important sites, so that local people and others from farther afield can attend. Generally, the format of an explanation meeting includes a site tour led by one or more of the site's archaeologists and an exhibition of artifacts found at the site. I have also seen site explanation meetings where the archaeologists tried to help the visitors understand how the people who occupied the site had lived by, for example, building a Jomon pithouse or cooking, over a reconstructed hearth, the kinds of food Yayoi people might have eaten. Visitors listen to the explanations of the experts and ask questions. These meetings are held on weekend afternoons. Participants are usually local people (unless the site has gained exceptional fame through the press). Many of the visitors are older men and women or mothers with primary-school aged children. These meetings are of less interest to high school students working to pass university entrance examinations, working people (young and middle-aged men and women in their late teens and early twenties) and mothers with infants or toddlers. Site workers often attend site explanation meetings, since they get little appreciation of the meaning of their work in the day-to-day exercise of digging. The following section from my field journal gives a feeling of the mood at a site explanation meeting held at a site in rural Chiba Prefecture on February 16, 1985:

> The site was a broad expanse of brown lying deserted under the cold, blue sky. Grid lines ran at regular intervals over the earth. I walked towards the open area down a dirt road with fields on either side. As I approached a cluster of tents which had been erected next to a grove of evergreen trees, I noticed that the site was not totally deserted. Cars were parked near the tents in tidy rows and two men in workmen's jackets bearing the insignia of the maizo bunkazai center stood behind a desk awaiting visitors.
>
> I signed the visitors' book and walked over to a cluster of people standing around a young man with a megaphone. I assumed that he was an archaeologist since he was using the megaphone to explain the

intricacies of the site's stratigraphy and features to the crowd of about 50 people.

In the crowd there were people of all ages from elderly men and women bent double from years of work in the fields to primary school children accompanied by their parents. Several older women at the front of the group seemed especially impressed by the presentation. They craned their necks to see over each other's heads and shoulders and responded to each of the archaeologist's statements with whispers of "Ah, it's old", "Weren't people clever then", "Look at what they made" and "It's wonderful, it's amazing". Other eager listeners were older men and a few younger men in their 40s or 50s. Three teenage boys who had arrived at the site on bicycles seemed less interested spending their time horsing around under the disapproving eyes of the other maizo bunkazai center archaeologists.

There were three mothers with primary school aged children in the group. One women, who was perhaps in her mid-thirties, was accompanied by a boy of about 10. She was an especially eager listener who, with each move to a new part of the site, pushed her way to the front of the crowd dragging the boy after her. From there she asked the archaeologist a stream of questions about the age of the artifacts and features and how they had been used. After the presentation I asked her if she was interested in archaeology to which she answered "yes". I also asked the boy who answered "no".

As the meeting progressed members of the audience became less shy about asking questions. By the time we reached the tent where specimens of pottery had been laid out for inspection, everyone was asking questions without hesitation. People clustered around the tables touching the artifacts and taking photographs. One elderly man came up to me to explain that he used to be an archaeologist. Unfortunately, I was unable to discuss archaeology with many of the other visitors (or the archaeologists for that matter) since they were, as usual, more interested in discussing me.

Public education extends to school. Sometimes, a special site explanation meeting is arranged to teach primary school children (usually in the 4th, 5th or 6th year) about archaeology and Japan's ancient past. At some sites, children are actually given a chance to excavate for a morning. Such visits may be arranged through the board of

education and serve to sensitize children to the importance of archaeological sites.

Explanation meetings are generally more popular among archaeologists in the Kansai than the Kanto area. Kanto area archaeologists prefer to avoid the political problems which potentially can arise when dealing with the public, so they tend to deemphasize this side of archaeological work (Il 1984). On the other hand, many archaeologists consider site explanation meetings an essential public relations gesture, since people whose land is to be developed are able to visit the site and find out what work is being done, local tax payers can see how their money is being spent and hopefully neighborhood hostility to the excavation can be reduced.

Variations in Administrative Archaeology in Chiba Prefecture and Beyond

The descriptions given above of the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center and its activities illustrate many points common to public archaeology throughout Japan. One point, which strikes many foreign archaeologists visiting Japan for the first time, is the extraordinary quantity of archaeological work being done. In the case of Chiba Prefecture, the work of the Prefectural Bunkazai Center is extremely important, but we must remember that other groups also carry out excavations in the prefecture. At the municipal level, for example, there were, in 1983, 77 archaeologists working for boards of education throughout the prefecture and another 11 employed as permanent workers in municipal-level hojin zaidan maizo bunkazai centers (Bunkacho Bunkazai Hogo Bu Kinenbutsu Ka 1983). These municipal level archaeologists work on the excavation of many of the sites that are not within the sphere of activities of the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center.

As I noted above, in Chiba Prefecture, all national and prefectural government works are handled by the Chiba

Prefectural Bunkazai Center. Other work, relating to municipal-level public development projects or development by private companies, is completed by municipal boards of education. At the municipal level, there are three ways to handle excavation: (1) through projects initiated and carried out directly by the municipal board of education archaeologists, (2) by developing chosa kai (established by and under the control and leadership of the municipal board of education) and (3) through the creation of a municipal bunkazai Center. In Chiba Prefecture, such municipal centers were developed during the first half of the 1980s according to a 5-year plan which went into effect in 1981. Between 1982 and 1984, five municipal bunkazai centers were opened in Chiba Prefecture (Chiba Ken Kyoiku Cho Bunkaka 1984: 49). In most cases, these centers were built with the pooled resources of several municipalities all of which needed a more efficient means of excavating sites in their area (I6 1983; Chiba Ken Kyoiku Cho Bunkaka 1983: 105).

This trend towards the development of local excavation crews at the level of cities and towns was common throughout Japan in the early 1980s. Unlike the prefectural governments, most of the growth at the municipal level, to date, has been the result of more archaeologists being hired directly by the boards of education, rather than through municipal maizo bunkazai centers (although, as mentioned above, some municipalities have formed maizo bunkazai centers). Because excavation is handled directly by the boards of education and because they put more money into excavation than do developers, excavation at the local level tends to be controlled by archaeologists. The same cannot be said for prefectural administrative archaeology, where work is often channeled through maizo bunkazai centers where the developers' wishes carry more weight.

Even with the creation of prefectural and municipal maizo bunkazai centers, some prefectures, such as Chiba, find that they still do not have enough staff to excavate

all the sites which are threatened by development. A solution to this problem emerged in the 1980s with the expansion of established, and the development of new, private, contract-excavation firms in areas where the demand for excavation is especially high. I found collecting information on these firms, several of which worked in Chiba Prefecture, quite difficult. Amongst most Japanese academic and administrative archaeologists, contract excavation for personal financial gain is considered archaeological prostitution. Consequently, these firms have a bad reputation (I1 1983).

Many administrative and academic archaeologists in Japan believe that the ideal excavation is an academic project which tries to understand the Japanese past, an evaluation derived from the postwar paradigm of Japanese archaeology. For most (with the exception of some academic purists), rescue excavation done by qualified administrative archaeologists is considered an acceptable compromise so long as the work is of high quality, a research component is present and the archaeologists are not making a profit out of the destruction of archaeological sites. Of course, the administrative archaeology done in some areas or by some institutions is considered much better than that of others because of (1) the quality of the archaeologists and equipment and (2) the ability (or desire) of some archaeological rescue institutions to resist the pressures put on them by developers to finish projects rapidly. Since all of my contacts were administrative or academic archaeologists, I was not encouraged to seek out private firms, which were considered, in the words of one highly-placed administrative archaeologist, "disgraceful". On the other hand, an archaeologist at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center told me that when the Chiba Prefectural Board of Education has to excavate a site that is to be destroyed by a private company, it will often contract out the job to a private excavation firm. Furthermore, these

private firms sometimes receive work from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center itself when the Center cannot complete the amount of work it has been given (I6 1984).

An academic archaeologist, who had worked for several years in administrative archaeology at the national level, told me that private excavation firms are necessary because maizo bunkazai centers are set up by the prefectural or municipal governments to dig sites which result from public construction projects. When private firms want to develop a piece of land, the prefectural and municipal maizo bunkazai centers and boards of education usually have so much work that they cannot handle another excavation. In such cases, a private company will be contracted to do the work. Although these private excavation companies make a profit, they perform the same function as a maizo bunkazai center. The difference is that the maizo bunkazai center, as a non-profit organization, has a ceiling on the amount it can charge for excavation. My informant felt that the goal of these private companies was to do an adequate excavation and that they generally succeeded at this goal. The problem is that the company doing the development is in a hurry to finish the excavation and often tries to pressure the private excavation company into cutting corners, thus encouraging the archaeologists to do a poor job. Ultimately, however, the archaeologists' ideal of doing good work and the pressure to finish quickly balance to ensure adequate excavation. This informant added that board of education officers check the site to make sure that the excavation is done in an appropriate mannner. Unfortunately, this check is usually just a formality. He concluded that "I think the most important thing is the relation between the archaeologist and the site. The money-archaeologist relation is another dimension. One needs to separate where the money comes from and the individual archaeologist's aims...Many people say that contract archaeology is bad but they all do it through government

agencies at the national, prefectural and municipal levels" (I100 1985). Obviously, the debate over the ethics of contract excavation companies touches on one of the fundamental issues with which Japanese archaeologists have struggled since the late 1950s; the tension between the necessity of excavation in the face of development and the desire for preservation.

The administrative archaeology system of Chiba Prefecture is only one model among many. As I mentioned above, each prefecture in Japan has developed its own administrative system based on its unique needs and past traditions of cultural resources management. In Nara Prefecture, for example, excavations are carried out by several institutions. First is the Nabunken and its affiliated branches, which carry out research excavations. Second is the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute which is an archaeological research center and museum funded by the prefectural government and developers' contracts. The Kashiwara Archaeological Institute performs the same role as Chiba's Prefectural Bunkazai Center, that is, it handles national and prefectural development contracts. Finally, there are many archaeologists in Nara who work through municipal boards of education or maizo bunkazai centers.

An examination of the administrative rescue archaeology system of Chiba Prefecture and its various municipalities shows that there are a variety of ways in which excavation work can be organized. Furthermore, none of the categories is clear-cut, even within one prefecture. For instance, although the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center is a zaidan hojin and should thus be separate from the government, all but 11 of the chosain and the majority of the administrative staff (14 out of 19) were actually hired by the Prefectural Board of Education. Thus, they were not paid by the Bunkazai Center, but by the prefectural government. In this way, the Bunkazai Center was able to keep its costs low and the people working through the Bunkazai Center were

guaranteed employment even if the number of excavations decreased and the Bunkazai Center closed. All of the archaeologists had teaching degrees, so they could simply be transferred into other jobs, either teaching history in public schools or into a board of education administrative post, if the center were to close.

Conclusion

The development of a complex administrative system for the management of Japan's buried cultural properties has profoundly affected the aims and methods of archaeology in Japan. Not all Japanese archaeologists are happy about the growth of the administrative system. Some believe that it encourages excavation and hence site destruction rather than designation and site preservation. Others think that the rescue system Japanese administrators have designed is the best solution to an insoluble problem. They recognize that development and conservation are contradictory goals and attempt to make the best of a difficult situation. Still others point out that, without land development and the rescue network that has been put in place as a result, Japan would have more intact sites but Japanese archaeologists and the Japanese people would know less about the past. In the following chapter, I will discuss how archaeologists working in Japan during the mid-1980s view the contemporary administrative archaeology system.

CHAPTER 8

THE FACE OF CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE ADMINISTRATIVE ARCHAEOLOGY

In the previous chapter, I outlined the organization of Japan's contemporary administrative archaeology system. I will now examine the role of archaeologists within contemporary Japan. This will be discussed from two perspectives. First, I will use data derived from a series of interviews with Japanese administrative and academic archaeologists to describe the attitudes of professional archaeologists toward their work. Second, I will use my field observations to discuss these opinions and draw conclusions about their significance within the context of the historical development of contemporary Japanese archaeology. Thus, I will give the bureaucracy of Japanese archaeology a human face, by allowing archaeologists working within the system to speak for themselves about how and why they do archaeology and about how they view the role of archaeology within contemporary Japan.

The discussion is based on the responses to interview questions posed to 59 people engaged in some kind of archaeological work between March 1984 and April 1985. Some informants were experienced senior researchers and administrators working in universities, museums, research laboratories or government offices. Others were young university graduates beginning their careers. I do not include interviews with either students or hojoin (part-time archaeological investigators) who were working on the excavations I visited. Most of those interviewed worked in Chiba or Nara Prefectures, although I have also included a series of interviews with archaeologists from Kyushu (I216-I225), with whom I was fortunate enough to speak while they were visiting the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute in Nara Prefecture.

In conducting these interviews, I had a standard list of questions which I tried to ask all informants. Appendix

A lists these questions and they are discussed in Chapter 2. Although I was able to maintain this format, depending on the circumstances, questions were sometimes missed--for example, if an interview had to be cut off due to time limitations--or misinterpreted by the informant. In addition, I added some questions to later interviews as it became obvious that they were relevant, or altered questions when it became clear that earlier versions of the same question were often being misunderstood. I also modified the wording of some of the questions depending on the context of the interview. Senior archaeologists who could give me specialized information were not asked all of the standard questions. This was because I always felt pressed for time talking to these extremely busy men. Since I did not want to request more of their time than absolutely necessary, I focused on specific questions which only they could answer.

This chapter will analyze the answers to 10 questions extracted from the approximately 20 used in a standard archaeological interview. The questions I have analyzed are:

1. Why are archaeology and buried cultural properties important?
2. Do you think Japanese sites should be excavated completely or sampled?
3. Do you think that it is necessary to spend tax money on archaeology?
4. If an archaeological site were found on land where a new primary school was to be built in your neighborhood, would you support excavation? Would your support continue even if the children were inconvenienced by having to travel a long distance to another school during the time when school construction was held up by archaeological excavation?
5. Where do Japanese people get information about archaeology and buried cultural properties?

6. Why are Japanese people interested in archaeology and buried cultural properties?
7. How has Japanese archaeology changed over the past 20 years?
8. How do you think Japanese archaeology will change in the future?
9. Do you think the quality of Japanese archaeology is high?
10. Do you think the Imperial Tombs should be excavated? Why does the Imperial Household Agency forbid such investigations?

In the next section, I will summarize the answers given to these questions.

Question 1: Why are archaeology and buried cultural properties important?

All but one of the informants who answered this question said that archaeology and buried cultural properties are important because they are part of the study of history. An archaeologist in his mid-thirties, working as an investigator for the Kumamoto Prefectural Cultural Properties Center (Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center) in Kyushu, told me, for example, that "...if history is important then archaeology is important, they go together" (I225). His response was echoed by that of an archaeologist in his early thirties, working as an investigator for the cultural properties section of a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture, who said that "Archaeology is real evidence to fill in the blank spaces in history left by sites which have no written records" (I220). A retired archaeologist in his early sixties, who had worked extensively in Kyushu, agreed, saying "Yes archaeology and buried cultural properties are important and necessary. Why? I think that history is necessary to people. To understand some parts of history you have to do archaeology" (I222).

Archaeologists working in all parts of Japan agreed with their colleagues from Kyushu that archaeology is a subset of history. An archaeologist in his late thirties, working at the Sakura National Museum in Chiba Prefecture, told me, for instance, that "Archaeology is part of history. It is one part of historical study" (I9). An archaeologist in his mid-thirties, working as an investigator at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute, said that "Archaeology is important because it's one form of historical study" (I118). Only one archaeologist, an investigator from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute who had spent several years working towards a degree in the United States, said that Japanese archaeology could be considered anthropology

(I131). Thus, for most of my informants, archaeology and buried cultural properties were important because they can expand our understanding of history. That Japanese archaeologists take such a position has already been noted by Ikawa-Smith (1975: 17; 1982: 302) and Pearson (1986a: 5).

Archaeology's special position as a discipline which uses material remains, that is, buried cultural properties, rather than documents, to study the past was discussed by several archaeologists. For example, an archaeologist in his early thirties, working as an investigator for the Miyagi Prefectural Board of Education Cultural Properties Division (Miyagi Cultural Properties Division), pointed out that "Archaeology is a way of knowing about the lives of people who lived when there were no written records" (I224). An archaeologist in his late twenties, working as an investigator on excavations for the Saga Prefectural Board of Education, added that "In the historical periods before written records and writing, historical study can use only things. The method of study (for archaeologists) must be research on 'material culture'(<u>busshitsu bunka</u>)" (I218). An investigator in his mid-thirties, working in the Heijokyu Section of the Nabunken, agreed saying "...for the ancient periods, very few written records remain. It is very important to use this (archaeological) information in which we have confidence" (I145). An administrator in his late forties, working for the Chiba Prefectural Board of Education's Cultural Properties Preservation Section (<u>Bunkazai Hogo Gakari</u>), explained that "First of all let's think of archaeology with its artifacts and sites. In periods when there is no writing and there is no information, they are something we can get hold of. You can get not just ideas but solid evidence of things from this kind of scientific study" (161). When I asked an investigator in his mid-thirties, working in the Heijokyu Section of the Nabunken, why archaeology and buried cultural properties were important he laughed and said "I wonder.

Because I like them. First of all, they are important parts of the cultural heritage. They are historical data which provide information where there is no written information about the past. For that reason, they are important" (I146).

These respondents stressed methodological differences between archaeology and history and noted that, as a consequence of its unique methodology, archaeology can provide information about historical developments in times and places for which there are no written records. They included historical archaeology within the category of archaeology and pointed out that archaeological work, because it uses material culture as its data, often helps historians understand aspects of past Japanese life not discussed in documentary texts. Most archaeologists, furthermore, remembering the ultra-nationalist histories written before 1945, feel more confident about creating history from material remains than from semi-mythological documentary sources such as the Kojiki or the Nihon shoki.

Many of the informants expressed the idea of continuity from the past to the future, that is, the idea that archaeology and buried cultural properties are important because they allow us to understand the linked temporal sequence of past to present to future. For example, a cultural properties administrator in his early thirties from a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture told me that "Basically, archaeology is a problem of the past but in a broad sense it is a problem of the future....We are concerned with our ancestors" (I217). Although, he did not say so explicitly, archaeologists are also concerned with their descendants. An investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center also expressed this thought saying, "I think that if we do not understand our own roots, we cannot understand who we will become" (I89). An investigator in his early thirties, working at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute, agreed, saying that "Archaeology and buried

cultural properties are important because to understand the first people is important when making decisions about our own future" (I131). An investigator in his mid-twenties, working at the same institution, seemed more interested in the present than the future, saying that the importance of archaeology and buried cultural properties is that "By looking back at the past it is possible to look at the present" (I141). An investigator in his early twenties, working at the Nara City Buried Cultural Properties Investigation Center (Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center), pointed out that "Buried cultural properties are important because they tell us how our present situation came about, about the development of the Japanese people and of Japanese society. There is also the idea that this will help us to know what to do in the future" (I149). One of his colleagues, an investigator in his late twenties working at the same institution agreed saying "Historical study is important and archaeology is important as a part of historical studies. Using archaeology, we can shed light on the steps that human beings took so that we can tell what to do from now on" (I152).

This concept of temporal continuity is familiar to historians and to archaeologists working within the historical tradition in both Japan and the West. In this paradigm, history is understood as a line stretching through time. Historians observe this line, learn from the past and then apply what they have learned to understand the present and attain a better future. Many Japanese archaeologists adhere to this paradigm of history, as is shown by the following quotation taken from an interview with a Professor of Archaeology teaching at a university located in the Tokyo area:

> I think that archaeology is history....History has time depth....In general, it is useful when appraising what sort of culture we have today. But, there is another reason (why it is useful). More constructively, we

> have to ask how we should support (our present) culture in the future. Should we change it? (Using the past) we can tell a little if this would be good or bad. So we have a little choice...If we look at today's culture and find its major faults--not all but some--and then we look at the Jomon culture and we find out how they dealt with the same things, perhaps we can insert some of their ways into our culture and find them useful....There are people who want to form a social movement to do this systematically....for example, a number of Marxist archaeologists (I100).

This idea of temporal continuity ties into two broader themes. First, is the idea of progress through historical time; the notion that human beings in general, and the Japanese people in particular, have progressed or developed from the past to the present. Several archaeologists pointed out that their discipline provides evidence of human development which would otherwise be unavailable. An archaeologist in his late twenties, working as an investigator for a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture said, for instance:

> I think that it is important to know that you are over the remains of a site. It tells us why we have this sort of lifestyle. We cannot understand to what point we have progressed just by looking at where we are now. Only by searching for the past can we know to what point we have progressed (I221).

In response to the question "Why is history important?" an archaeologist in his mid-thirties, working as an investigator for the Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center, explained that:

> People progress on their past experiences. We need to study the past to understand the future. This is the meaning of the past. In order to know where we might go in the future, we Japanese need to know what path we have followed to get to where we are now (I225).

It is not surprising that the concept of historical progress appears as a major theme of Japanese archaeology.

Beginning in middle school, Japanese children are taught a progressive view of Japanese history using history textbooks which "...detail the characteristics of each historical period and show how contemporary Japan is a result of accumulated experiences..." (Fawcett and Habu 1990: 223). Later, those children who grow up to be archaeologists continue to work within a paradigm which defines each period--the Paleolithic, the Jomon, the Yayoi, the Kofun--in terms of progressive technological, social, cultural, economic and political developments.

One source of this paradigm is a general view of historical progress which has been present in Japanese archaeology since the late 19th century. As Ikawa-Smith points out:

> When Japanese archaeologists speak of archaeology as history, the term 'history' is not used in the derogatory sense that some American archaeologists used it in the 1960s. To present a historical interpretation also implies...the discussion of human behaviors and societal relations. Miyake Yonekichi (1860-1929), one of the founding members of the Archaeological Society, believed that the purpose of historical research was to 'discover the outline of human development and regularities of social transformations' (Yajima 1977). 'History' for Japanese archaeologists includes the 'process' of American archaeologists" (Ikawa-Smith 1982: 302).

Furthermore, the works of Wajima Seiichi--an influential Marxist archaeologist who provided the theoretical framework for Japanese settlement archaeology, a field of archaeology which has become extremely important since the advent of large-scale administrative excavation in the late 1960s--are based on ideas about developmental social change derived from the works of Morgan and Engels (Habu n.d.: 3). Translated works of V. Gordon Childe, a Marxist archaeologist who provided a progressive view of historical development and social change, are another source for the paradigm of historical progress.

A second theme which relates to the idea of temporal continuity is a notion, still common in contemporary Japan of continuity through time from the ancestors to those living today to descendants who have yet to be born. As an archaeologist from the Heijokyu Section of the Nabunken told me, "For the ordinary public, archaeology and buried cultural properties are important as the remains of their ancestors. For example, I would think that the grave of my father was important. In the same way, people think right back and feel close to those people" (I145). An investigator working at the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center added that "We are now in a modern society, so we have to construct buildings and develop. This development destroys buried cultural properties. So our discipline (archaeology) saves information about our ancestors, the historical information. For that reason, buried cultural properties and the discipline of archaeology are important" (I151).

This concept of continuity from ancestors to descendants finds expression in many facets of Japanese culture. Prior to 1945, it was characteristic of the family system, in which the individual was only considered a social entity with legal status within the context of an extended family. The responsibility of the male family head was to ensure both proper respect for deceased ancestors and the continuation of the family line through the birth or adoption of sons. Even today, Japanese citizens do not have individual birth certificates; rather, they are listed on family registers (koseki) which serve the same function. These traditions are rooted in Confucian notions of filial piety. They are also tied to Buddhist ideas of the afterlife, which stress reverence to the ancestors who, after death, become one with Buddha. In both of these systems of philosophy and religious belief, those still living have the responsibility of respecting both their immediate and distant ancestors. In the case of archaeology, this responsibility becomes the obligation of

ensuring the preservation, or at least the complete and adequate excavation, of archaeological sites. Thus, most archaeologists would agree with the statement that "Archaeology and buried cultural properties are important because they help clarify the history of the Japanese archipelago and its dwellers" (I157).

These two themes are strengthened by the notion of cultural, racial and linguistic homogeneity which pervades contemporary Japan (Mouer and Sugimoto 1986). Such a worldview encourages and perpetuates the view of Japanese history as a single line reaching back into prehistory. Although the Shinto creation mythology has been replaced by tales of the Jomon people or even the Paleolithic people, as discussed by Ikawa-Smith (1975), as the Japanese ancestors, the underlying theme--that all contemporary Japanese are descendants of the same peoples who have gone through a relatively unilinear process of development within the geographical boundaries of the Japanese archipelago--continues to hold a powerful sway on archaeological and historical interpretation.

Although the concept of historical continuity was an important theme in many of my interviews, some archaeologists were uncomfortable with the idea of continuity if it implied a single line of Japanese racial, cultural and national descent. For instance, a museum curator in his mid-thirties from Kita-Kyushu City pointed out that "For example, you have the concept that the Japanese came from one line. Archaeology has the power to defeat this concept" (I219). Thus, he recognized the power of archaeology to bring into question the generally accepted worldview of Japanese cultural, ethnic, racial and linguistic homogeneity. As numerous excavations, including the opening of the famous Takamatsuzuka tomb, have shown, continental influences were crucial in the early development of Japanese society and culture and perhaps even for the

creation of the nation of Japan itself (Kidder 1973; Pearson 1986a: 1-2).

It may not only have been external introductions which added diversity to Japanese development; regional diversity also made a difference. An archaeologist in his late thirties, working at the Sakura National Museum, brought up just this point when asked whether he thought regional history or Japanese history was more important. He said that "You don't necessarily need archaeology to understand the outline of Japanese history. You can understand the bare principles from, for example, a primary school textbook. At the moment the image of Japanese history is that of a straight line. But in actual fact, the lifestyles of ancient people were integrated in a more complex way than this. There were regional histories and there was the one line of the country's general history. When you put these together you get the big outline of Japanese history" (I12).

Two other archaeologists, with very different backgrounds, had a more global view of their discipline. An investigator in his mid-twenties, working at the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center, told me that "Buried cultural properties are humanity's inheritance. Human beings have always been interested in the history buried in the ground" (I150). One of his seniors, an archaeologist at the Nabunken's CAO, said this about the importance of archaeology in Japanese society:

> I can't say objectively whether or not it is important, because I am an archaeologist. As an archaeologist, I think that my discipline is important because it allows us to understand state formation and the beginning of differences in social status. Second, written records are limited and archaeological data can fill in the gaps. The point is how to get sites and artifacts to tell us about history. In other words, the question becomes, why is the study of history important? In my opinion the importance of history is to make Japanese nationality or identity clear. This will in turn be useful when trying to understand the international place of Japan (I50).

The idea that archaeology could and can provide a view of history which contradicts the emperor worship ideology (tennosei) of the prewar ultra-nationalist Japanese government was mentioned by several archaeologists during the course of my interviews. For instance, an investigator in his mid-thrities from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute pointed out that, although archaeology is not particularly important now, "...during the time of the ultra-nationalist government, archaeological study could talk about history differently (i.e., differently from the mainstream nationalist view of history in which the imperial line was seen as descending from the founding Goddess, Amaterasu Omikami). Of course, there were ultra-nationalist archaeologists but not all archaeologists were ultra-nationalist" (I118). An investigator in his early thirties from the Heijokyu Section of the Nabunken echoed this sentiment saying:

> Archaeology and buried cultural properties are important because in our day-to-day lives our perspective tends to be limited to the present. Although this may be unfortunate, it is alright when the political situation is peaceful as it is now. However, when a nation tries to consolidate its power, for whatever reason, it often uses the past. In the case of Japan the concept of a minzoku (people or ethnic group) is created by the country. It is not, furthermore, a good concept. The concept of the Japanese minzoku is very different from the consciousness of a minzoku in Europe. Archaeological data can be very useful in determining whether or not a Japanese minzoku really exists.... (I144).

These statements are important because they show that some of the younger archaeologists, born well after 1945, continue to think that archaeology has a potentially important role in the politics of contemporary Japan. Their seniors, some of whom were educated in primary and middle schools before and during the war years, were even more articulate in explaining how important they thought the

study of history and archaeology are for Japan. When asked why he thought that archaeology and buried cultural properties were important, a senior Professor of Archaeology, working in an archaeology department of a university in the Tokyo area, answered as follows:

> Japanese buried cultural properties are what we excavate. Japan lost the war. I am the old kind of Japanese who had the old style of education with the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki, with myths and the story that Japan is a country made by the Gods. When I studied history, no matter what books you looked at, Japan had never lost a war. In the dangerous times, the Gods would always come to help. This is what we were taught in history classes during primary and middle school. I heard absolutely no criticism of this point of view, so I too believed that Japan would win the war. I believed this from the age of 7 to the age of 18.
>
> During the war, I entered the marines from 1944 to 1945. In 1945 the boat I was on was sunk by an airplane. I ended up swimming in the ocean. So, through my own experience, I realized that Japan would lose the war. I was picked up by a boat and taken to land. The military then sent me to Shanghai but my boat was sunk again, this time just off Kyushu. Again, I was picked up and taken back to Japan. The second time, all of the other people with whom I had left Tokyo died.
>
> It was during all of this that I decided to study archaeology. I decided that all of the things which I had learned about history should be investigated using scientific methods....I entered Meiji University in 1946 to study ancient history. The first university lecture I attended was in archaeology. It was given by Professor Goto Shuichi, who is now dead.
>
> During the war, Tokyo had been burnt to the ground. When I started studying you could see the ocean near Nihonbashi from the Meiji University campus. All of the city had been burnt except for a few buildings, such as Meiji University. But, because Tokyo had been completely burnt, you only had to dig down 30 cm. to find artifacts of the Jomon Period. Then you would know that a site was located there. So I knew that, although Japan was a bad country which had lost the war, you only had to dig a little bit and the remains of the Japanese people's ancestors would appear. I was very impressed by this. I could feel the hearts of the

> Japanese, the loss of the war and their present selves....Buried cultural properties were things which could be excavated. They could help us understand the roots of the Japanese people through scientific methods. Buried cultural properties differed from the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki. Sites and artifacts could be believed. They are the hearts (kokoro) of the Japanese people (I20).

It is interesting to note that very few of the archaeologists interviewed mentioned their discipline's value as a means of debunking ideological views of history derived from the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki as an important consideration in their work. For most archaeologists under the age of 35, archaeology is a pragmatic discipline which gives them a chance to pursue an interest in history and provides them with interesting employment. Such an attitude leads some older archaeologists to say that their younger colleagues are merely diggers, with no dedication to or understanding of the true importance of their work (I20; I100; Kobayashi 1986: 495). Perhaps in some cases they are right. As an investigator working at the Heijokyu Section of the Nabunken told me "Archaeology and buried cultural properties are important for archaeologists because they provide them with a job. There are people who are interested simply because archaeology can provide them with employment" (I145). Nevertheless, most of the archaeologists I interviewed seemed to be truly interested in their work. Perhaps they did not mention the political importance of their research because they take it for granted.

Not all of the archaeologists I interviewed were optimistic about the value of their work. Several archaeologists told me quite bluntly that they doubted that archaeology could be of value in the modern world. An archaeologist working at the Kyushu Historical Information Center said, for instance, that "I think they (buried cultural properties) have very little relation to everyday life.... except to tell us about the history of today's

customs" (I216). An investigator at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute also expressed great cynicism about the value of his work saying "Actually, archaeology and buried cultural properties are not important but we have to say they are important to outsiders. In the broader sense, they are part of the historical process" (I140). Finally, a university professor working in the Tokyo area said that the primary importance of archaeology was that it could produce data:

> The reason I study the Jomon culture is because I want to know. It gives me great satisfaction. When somebody listens to my opinion and says 'That's interesting', I find it interesting. So I don't really think in terms of it being useful. News is like this. When you look at the reports on sites in the newspaper, it does not strike you as particularly useful. But you read it avidly anyway. This is because you read the information. This is natural for humans. So the feeling of the people who excavate the site and the people who come to watch is the same; they all want information. So I don't talk about archaeology often because it is useful. Most people don't want to know the wonderful things, only the many ordinary things. If this is so, the purpose of archaeology is to make information available to all the people who want to know it (I100).

In conclusion, most Japanese archaeologists feel that the work they are doing is important for contemporary Japan. They argue that archaeology, because of its special methodology, which extracts behavioral information from material culture, can provide the Japanese people with a scientific view of their own origins and subsequent historical development. Thus, prehistoric archaeological research gives historians insight into periods which did not have written records and historic archaeology provides information about aspects of past Japanese life that would never be known from documentary evidence alone.

Question 2: Do you think Japanese sites should be excavated completely or sampled?

The advantages and disadvantages of large-scale excavation was a topic addressed directly in this question. This topic was also touched upon by informants answering Question 4, dealing with the relative values of site excavation versus the construction of a public facility, in this case a primary school, and Question 7, which examines changes in archaeology over the past 20 years. A complete analysis of Questions 4 and 7 follows in this chapter. In this section, I have brought together the answers from all of these questions to discuss attitudes of archaeologists toward large-scale excavations.

Large-scale development has encouraged many large-scale excavations. These enormous projects have created problems for archaeologists, since the larger the area excavated, the greater the destruction of cultural properties. On the other hand, many archaeologists realize that the excavation of large-scale sites has given researchers an enormous amount of information which would not otherwise be available.

The size and number of sites excavated in Japan has increased dramatically over the past several decades. A Professor of Archaeology, working at a university in the Tokyo area, describes excavations before the development of administrative archaeology:

> In 1950 and 1951 I was between being a fourth year student and an assistant. That year, the university conducted about 25 or 26 excavations. At that time, archaeological excavations carried out by universities usually took only 5 days to a week. Those which lasted for 2 weeks were considered large. Throughout this period, we were working out the relationships between the various pottery types. For example, the pottery of the Final Jomon Period was being divided into ever smaller parts. The purpose of most of our excavations was to discover the relationship of the various pottery

> types to each other by looking at their relative stratigraphic positions. Consequently, a typical site took only 2 or 3 days to excavate since we only had to excavate the levels that we needed (I20).

Contrast this description of excavations in the early 1950s with statistics I compiled in Chapter 7 on excavations conducted in Chiba Prefecture during the early 1980s. In the 1982-83 fiscal year, the average size of the sites excavated by Chiba Prefectural archaeologists was 6651 square meters, the average length of time spent on any one field project was 3 months and the shortest project lasted 2 weeks. According to my informant quoted above, this would have been considered a very long project indeed.

When talking to archaeologists about these changes, I discovered that some of them (in fact, several of the younger archaeologists) looked back at what they believed to have been "the good old days" when sites were much smaller and the question of preservation versus destruction did not arise.

An archaeologist in his early forties, working for the Kyushu Historical Information Center, spoke of the ambivalence he feels about the new versus the old forms of excavation:

> One thing is that now we dig broad areas, while before we did trench excavations. Now we excavate the whole thing so we understand all of the site. On the other hand, the site is destroyed. In the past, when we became conscious of a problem we excavated more and more new sites, accepting this challenge. I don't know which of these ways of digging is better. Another difference is that in the old days we had time to think about sites and the things we excavated from them. Now, so much comes out of even a small area that, rather than think, we feel as if we spend all our time managing, treating and disposing of the material. We are always thinking about processing the material for the reports. We don't have time for deep thought. In the past, it took ten years to put together one project, so we had time to think. Now, when we broadly excavate an entire site, we understand it from a new perspective. There are good sides to this but I wonder

> which is better..... If we had time to think, today's situation would be good but....this is not the case, so it's a problem (I216).

A younger archaeologist in his late twenties, working as an investigator for a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture, discussed his perception of the advantages and disadvantages of large-scale excavation:

> Archaeology used to be straightforward (jimichi) work. It used to be work you didn't have to think about a lot. It is because large-scale destruction has increased recently that many people have become aware of it. There are good sides to this as well....The good side is that we have information from all over Japan. The bad side is that sites are being destroyed (I221).

This notion of archaeology having become less wholesome with the advent of large-scale development was echoed by an investigator in his early thirties, working for the Miyagi Cultural Properties Division. "Japanese archaeology" he pointed out, "used to be a straightforward discipline but, after the beginning of the rapid growth period, the number of investigations with excavations increased and archaeology became nothing but facts" (I224). The same archaeologist pointed out that the structure of administrative archaeology discourages academic work. One reason for this is that, although developers provide money for large-scale excavations thus creating a potential fund for research, the area to be excavated is clearly delineated by the construction plans. Consequently, academic work, which bases decisions about where to excavate on research problems rather than on considerations of which parts of the site are to be destroyed, is impossible. Sites slated for excavation by administrative archaeologists are out of bounds to research scholars, even when these sites contain potentially interesting materials. Developers are afraid that archaeologists pursuing academic goals will not work quickly

enough and will want to excavate beyond the boundaries of the construction site (I224).

One of the problems that was starting to trouble administrative archaeologists in the mid-1980s was the dependence of the entire administrative archaeology structure on development projects and hence on Japan's rapid rate of economic growth. Archaeologists realize that, so far, during the decades of economic expansion, growth of the administrative system has occurred in tandem with Japanese infrastructural development. Some archaeologists are afraid that, if and when Japan's economy falters, there will be less money available for archaeological excavation. The informant from Miyagi Prefecture quoted above pointed out that developers are already trying to decrease the amount of money they put into excavation:

> Until recently we have been given 100% of what we requested as excavation expenses. But now the basis upon which we estimate our demands has changed. For example, if we request 1 million yen (from the developer), that amount includes estimates of the cost of wages, wear and tear on equipment and other expenses. We have to produce a document for the developers which estimates all of these details..... (The problem is that) if we excavate a site, it may turn out to be multi-component, with two or three layers. The costs of the excavation may increase if there are more layers to dig. When you understand the excavation, you can estimate how much it will cost to dig an area of a certain size. Furthermore, in Kansai and Fukuoka, for example, the wages for site workers are 8000 yen per hour. In Miyazaki they are only 4000 yen per hour. Without calculating precisely, it is easy to see that twice as much money will be needed in some places as in others (just to cover the higher wages). Unfortunately, from the perspective of the developers, excavation should cost the same amount throughout the entire country" (I224).

Some archaeologists, such as an investigator from the Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center, mentioned specific examples of the problems arising from large-scale excavations in the face of development:

> We face this kind of situation every day. We do the work while, of course, feeling the contradictions. This is the most painful and annoying thing we deal with. Right now, the biggest problem in our area is the Kyushu Shinkansen (super-express train line). At the moment it goes to Hakata but it will be extended to Kumamoto and Kagoshima. This project will be carried out from year to year. (Another problem is) the enlargement of rice paddies as a result of agricultural improvement projects. These are the most difficult situations (in Kyushu today). Each of the sites (excavated for these projects) will be 300,000 to 400,000 meters square. They will take 10 years to excavate. Unfortunately, our ability to excavate what needs to be excavated and the funds to do the excavation are limited. Consequently, every year there will be an area which we are unable to do. Still, for the sake of the site, we do as much as we can each year. When we plan the work for the next year, we do not, of course, whittle away at the site and cover the rest with mud so that the ground is even. We do not go as far as this. I think that all archaeologists feel as I do (I225).

Although the archaeologists quoted above, thought that large-scale projects often lowered the quality of archaeological work, others argued that such projects have a number of advantages. These include the possibility of recovering more data and different sorts of data. An archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum discussed the importance of large-scale excavations for the recovery of settlement pattern data:

> Twenty or thirty years ago sites were merely points.....With the old point maps of sites, there was a site, then an area with no sites and then another site. Recently, large-scale site excavations have begun. Looking at these excavations, you can clearly see the remains of the village or, in another area, the remains of a rice paddy. You can find the river remnants, then more paddy remains and finally another village. With these kinds of excavations we can understand the entire face of the site since all of the dirt is removed (I13).

The archaeologist quoted above was not totally in favor of large-scale excavations, despite the useful settlement

pattern information they provide. He pointed out that, with the old-style, small-scale excavation procedures of academic and rescue archaeology in its early years, more of the site could be preserved:

> In the old days....only the ground through which the planned highway was going to run was dug. If an important site appeared, the road was moved to avoid it. Now, when you find a site in one place and begin to look in another you will often find a site there as well. Sites can no longer be avoided. In recent, large-scale excavations there are sites everywhere. This is the most difficult point today. Even if you could change the location of the school, there would be another site so it's a difficult question (I13).

Discussions of the value of large-scale excavation inevitably touch on the conflict present in every discussion of administrative archaeology in Japan. In brief, as an archaeologists from the Sakura National Museum told me, "Unless you destroy the site, you'll never know what's inside it" (I12).

Of course, this problem is not unique to Japan but is found all over the world and is of concern to all archaeologists. Japan's archaeologists give the problem of site destruction through excavation considerable thought. There may be a number of reasons for this. First, although it is not often stated directly, there is an underlying feeling among Japanese archaeologists that sites and artifacts are the only safeguard the country has against any attempt by the Japanese state to return to a nationalist view of history. This idea, of course, comes from the postwar paradigm. One reason for the tenacity of this faith in archaeological data is that, in the postwar period, archaeologists have indeed been able to create a prehistory for Japan using material remains. Although younger archaeologists cannot personally recall the ardent enthusiasm for recreating history felt by their seniors

during the early postwar years, they were educated and work within a system created by men who do remember.

Second, as mentioned before, many Japanese people feel a responsibility towards their ancestors. In the case of archaeologists, this is translated into a feeling of responsibility to do all they can to preserve sites because they contain remains left by the ancestors of the Japanese people.

Third is the large quantity of sites in Japan. Most of these sites are located in areas where development has taken or is presently taking place. Some archaeologists take a positive attitude towards the present situation and point out that, although excavation is destructive, it can result in a new form of preservation; preservation through research reports. A retired archaeologist from Kyushu points out that Japan's small size, large population density and large number of sites could prove to be an advantage. "(Since) the landmass of Japan is very small, there are advantages to being unable to stop excavating....Because, in Japan, there is a relatively large number of sites and the population density is relatively high, many sites (need to be excavated). We cannot save most of the sites, so we preserve the important ones and excavate the others to preserve them in reports" (I222).

On the other hand, an archaeologist from the Nabunken's CAO pointed out that:

> Although much more detailed information is being produced, thousands of sites are destroyed through excavation each year..... In the future, archaeologists will have to begin working only with stored data. While I am alive, I think that there will still be archaeology but.... In the future, what will happen to archaeology? (I51).

Almost all of the archaeologists to whom I posed the question of whether threatened sites should be excavated completely or partially sampled, thought that ideally, a

site which is going to be completely destroyed should be totally excavated (I7, I10, I12, I14, I15, I17, I18, I19, I24, I39, I90, I91, I92, I94, I95).

That the complete excavation of large-scale sites has become possible was seen as one of the strong points of the contemporary Japanese administrative archaeology system. As an archaeologist working in an administrative post for the Chiba Prefectural Cultural Properties Division pointed out:

> Things have changed a lot for us over the past 10 years. We used to put in a trench and excavate what we could. Now we excavate according to both the surface area and the stratum. If these can be excavated, it is better to do them. Of course, in principle, we excavate the entire site but this depends on the time and the money (I24).

He adds that the reason he considers complete site excavation to be superior to trench excavation is that, with complete excavation, archaeologists can identify the form of the community as it is represented in the archaeological remains. Thus, he confirms that a knowledge of settlement patterns is an extremely important outcome of large-scale excavation in contemporary Japan.

An investigator working for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center pointed out that, in some cases, the limited rather than the extensive nature of a construction project may become a barrier to understanding the settlement patterning of a particular site:

> I think the whole thing should be excavated since, if you don't try to excavate the entire site, you will not be able to understand it. If, for example, it is a village site, you must think of its limits. It is a problem when you have to keep in mind that you can only dig so far (I94).

What this archaeologist is referring to is an excavation procedure, found on some sites, in which only the areas directly affected by construction are dug. Because these

areas are sometimes quite small relative to the entire site, only portions of the site can be examined by archaeologists.

An archaeologist, working at the Sakura National Museum, pointed out that some of the descriptions of sites made on the basis of the partial trench excavations carried out in the early days of rescue archaeology turned out to be incorrect when the sites were finally excavated completely. He concluded from this that:

> ...there is a strong argument which says, that if the site is not entirely excavated, you will not be able to understand it totally. Even in the case of habitation or village remains, one uses imaginative inferences so that (reconstructing) the other half of the site after excavation is done with one's imagination (I95).

Since Japanese archaeologists lay great importance on understanding history from material remains in order to avoid imaginative or ideological interpretations of history, partial excavations are considered inadequate by some archaeologists.

An investigator working at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center agreed that the complete excavation of sites is an ideal to which Japanese archaeologists should aspire. On the other hand, he admitted that in practice "...excavation accompanies problems of development, so complete excavation has gradually become impossible" (I90). This is, as mentioned above, because the limits of the construction area rarely follow the boundaries of sites or features.

Another investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center pointed out that "If you excavate, you excavate all. If you excavate in parts, you will not understand....By using labor and money, an efficient excavation can be done. For this reason, an investigation covering the whole site and all the features is necessary. Even if nothing is found, this kind of excavation will be valuable" (I92).

Several archaeologists said that completely excavating a site was necessary when the entire site was in danger of being destroyed by a construction project. On the other hand, they believed that, in the case of an academic excavation, archaeologists should excavate only the part or parts of the site needed to answer their research questions (I7, I9, I12). Thus, these archaeologists concluded that settlement pattern archaeology is best done within the context of the complete excavation of sites doomed to destruction by construction projects.

In summary, I found that many archaeologists are strongly against the destruction of entire sites through archaeological excavation, an attitude that clearly shows the lingering effects of the postwar paradigm. As Tsuboi (1986: 485) points out, the objection of archaeologists to the random sampling method "...stems from the national consciousness of the Japanese people: quite simply, we want to preserve any and all of our ancestors' remains". Nevertheless, given the inevitability of land development, most archaeologists prefer large-scale excavation of all threatened parts of the site to partial sampling followed by the destruction of much of the site with no excavation, a process they regard, rightly or wrongly, as common in other parts of the world. In addition, archaeologists realize that the excavation of large areas can provide valuable settlement pattern data. In fact, many informants emphasized that the advent of large-scale excavations has helped establish settlement studies as one of the prime focuses of contemporary Japanese archaeology.

Question 3: Do you think that it is necessary to spend tax money on archaeology?

The Japanese taxpayer supports academic and rescue archaeology in a number of ways. First, much of the funding for academic archaeological research comes from grants issued by the national government's Ministry of Education. Second, most administrative archaeologists work within government or semi-governmental institutions ranging from the national government's ACA and the cultural properties divisions in boards of education of the prefectural and municipal governments to the national, prefectural and municipal buried cultural property centers. Third, since many of the development projects are done by public development corporations, Japanese taxpayers support archaeological work necessitated by government-funded construction projects. In most cases, taxpayers are unaware of their contribution to archaeological research and rescue work. The exception is when local excavations raise municipal tax rates. Then local people often question the value of archaeology.

To assess the attitude of archaeologists towards the idea that the Japanese public should be responsible for financing their work, I asked the question "Do you think it is necessary to spend tax money on archaeology?"

Not all of the archaeologists interviewed were asked this question. Out of the 17 who answered it, 11 thought that tax money should definitely be spent on archaeology, 3 said that tax money should not be spent and 3 were unsure.

Among those archaeologists who agreed with the government's policy of spending tax money on archaeology, several stated that the expense was justified because "It's the shared property of the Japanese people" (I152). Consequently, as an investigator from the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center told me, covering these expenses should be "...the obligation of the national government. Since we are

finding out about the Japanese people's history, the Japanese people have an obligation to pay with their taxes" (I150). An investigator from the same Center emphasized this point by saying "Theoretically, the national government should pay for everything. The present system, in which the developer provides the money, is not reasonable. The national government has the responsibility of paying" (I152). Another investigator working for the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center focused on the value of archaeology and buried cultural properties in the study of human history and archaeology in general. He thought that tax money should be spent because "...they (cultural properties) are common property that should be shared by all the people in the world" (I149). An investigator working at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, who favored spending tax money on archaeology, pointed out that the Japanese public agreed to spend government funds on archaeological work because "People are interested in archaeology here, unlike in foreign countries" (I48).

On the other hand, there were archaeologists who thought that using tax revenue to pay for archaeological projects was fundamentally unsound. An investigator from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute answered "That's a difficult question. Theoretically, it is not logical that the government is providing money for academic studies. Culture shouldn't be formed by the national or local governments, but the reality is that it is" (I140). A curator working in the museum of the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute agreed, saying that "Archaeology needs a lot more money than other fields. A lot of this money comes from taxes. I don't know if it is worth this money. But once the sites are destroyed, it's true that they can't be brought back" (I156).

In general, most archaeologists felt that, since cultural properties are the common property of the Japanese

people, the government should provide funding for archaeological work

Question 4: If an archaeological site were found on land where a new primary school was to be built in your neighborhood, would you support excavation? Would your support continue even if the children were inconvenienced by having to travel a long distance to another school while the school construction was held up by archaeological excavation?

I asked archaeologists their opinions about the value of using tax money to fund archaeological excavation in order to evaluate how they assessed their work in terms of the support it should receive from Japanese society as a whole. To clarify this point further, one of the questions I included in my interviews of non-archaeologists was aimed at evaluating their attitudes towards archaeological projects which could potentially affect their daily lives. My goal was to set up a hypothetical problem which would deal, in more concrete terms, with the issue of public support for archaeological activities. The wording of my question was "Imagine that a primary school was to be built in your neighborhood. During construction, a site was found and an excavation was begun. As a result of the excavation, which lasted from 2 to 3 years, the children had to commute to a school located quite far away. Do you think that, given these circumstances, the excavation should be done?" Although the question was aimed principally at the general public, I also asked many archaeologists for their opinions. As the interviews progressed, I realized that many of the archaeologists found the question meaningless since, in their situation as professional curators of buried cultural properties, they were, by definition, interested in the excavation rather than the destruction of sites. Consequently, in some of my interviews, I changed the question to read "What do you think about the problem of development and preservation?". In this way I was able to address the same issues in a more abstract way.

Many of the informants replied that, from their perspective as archaeologists, when a site is threatened in a situation such as this, a salvage excavation should certainly be done (I7, I8, I9, I10, I11, I14, I15, I17, I19, I24, I37, I39, I40, I41, I42, I48, I91, I92, I94, I118, I144, I145, I146, I149, I150, I151, I216). Such a position shows that archaeologists working in the administrative archaeological system have a sense of professional commitment and obligation towards the cultural remains of the Japanese past. This position also demonstrates an acknowledgement and acceptance of the impossibility of preserving every site, given the desire of politicians and the Japanese public to develop the Japanese archipelago.

Several archaeologists spoke of their commitment as professionals to the preservation or adequate excavation of buried cultural properties. An investigator working at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center pointed out that "This is a difficult question. My own position is of someone working within the field. Of course, if another place for the school could be found, a place without a site, that would be best" (I39). An investigator from the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center added "Yes, (I think that the site should be dug). It is a responsibility and obligation (gimu) of my job." Then in an acknowledgement of the context of buried cultural property management in contemporary Japan he continued "It is another problem how it (such an excavation) might be evaluated in the society in which we live" (I150). Another informant from the same Center talked of the selection process inherent in the Japanese administrative archaeological system, saying "In the case of buried cultural properties there are not "good" or "bad" sites and features. I do this work and am really interested in these things. If a few pieces of pottery appear, I want to say 'Leave them alone!'. I want to save the site" (I151). An investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center said "Yes, I guess we'd have to do it. People want to know about

their cultural development. When we don't know about the real objects and sites that are being destroyed, it is the responsibility of those of us living now (to save the sites)" (I91). An archaeologist working as an investigator for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center told me that "The sites we excavate are for preservation by report. Other than through reports, sites cannot be preserved. Sites are destroyed when excavated, so reports are necessary" (I14).

A number of archaeologists pointed out that the inconvenience the children might suffer because of the excavation should be balanced against the value of the cultural properties which had lain buried in the ground for many thousands of years (I11, I48, I49). An investigator working for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center told me that "If the children only had to wait for a short time, it (the site) would be excavated. The site has been there for many years. If it is a question of just a few years of excavation, it would be dug" (I48). In addition, the site could be valuable for creating a local sense of history as this archaeologist from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center points out:

> The local people made these things and it is our local history, so the site should be excavated. In terms of the children, the fact that we have to excavate these sites is inconvenient, but we need to know all the history of the local area and people (I19).

In addition, several archaeologists pointed out that the excavation of the site could be turned into a valuable experience for the children, who would learn about archaeology and the value of buried cultural properties first hand (I11, I49, I90, I156). An investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center told me that:

> I think that it would be best to dig the site. First, the excavation will take only 2 or 3 years. Second, teaching children why they have to go to a school which is farther away is another sort of education. We can

> tell them about the things that will come out of the site where their school is to be built....and during the time that the school is being built, the children can participate in the excavations (I90).

An archaeologist working in the Cultural Properties Division of the Chiba Prefectural Board of Education, agreed pointing out that:

> Yes, the site would be excavated. First of all it is thousands of years old, so the inconvenience of a few months is worth the excavation. Second, the site can be made into an educational aid. The teachers can tell the children that the place where their school stands used to be a site (I49).

A curator working at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute's Museum told me that the excavation could be valuable for the local people and for the students:

> This is a big problem in contemporary Japanese archaeology. The preservation of cultural property and public convenience are always in conflict. The point is to make the local people understand why the site should be excavated, why money should be spent and why it takes time. It will be an important impact for the elementary school students as one part of their historical education. It will be one step in their learning about history (I156).

An investigator working for the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center said that site preservation should be thought of as part of development and excavation as part of education, thus merging these seemingly conflicting goals:

> Without thinking in terms of the excavation being a moral imperative, school education is not an isolated institution. It is possible to regard the preservation of cultural properties as part of education, not as a conflict between these two things. Preservation can be part of development. So archaeology can also be thought of as an important part of education. We have many problems like this. So it's best to do this as soon as possible. The excavation should be done, and then the school should be built (I152).

Several informants noted that archaeologists who carry out site excavations, such as the hypothetical example of the school, have a responsibility to report excavation results to the local people (I141, I220). One way of doing this is to create and maintain museums. One archaeologist, who has worked extensively in the Kansai area where he is now a univeristy professor, pointed out that:

> As you know in Kansai there are a lot of archaeological sites. When a road or a railway is built archaeologists are asked to excavate. The general public is very familiar with these excavations which are very large. Many of the remains excavated from these sites are stored in big warehouses. However, some of them are displayed in large museums. Almost every city has an archaeological museum, with the exception of Tenri City. Tenri has the university museum. In Kashiwara there is a good museum. These museums are very good for educating the general public (I52).

An investigator, who works for the Cultural Properties Section of a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture, agreed, saying "I think that our real work is to enlighten these people. We shouldn't just excavate sites. In order to educate people, we need to make museums and research reports a little easier to understand" (I220).

On a more practical level, a number of archaeologists pointed out that, in a situation such as the delay in construction of a school due to an archaeological excavation, the schoolboard would certainly take steps to sidestep this sort of problem before it occurred or to minimize conflict between citizens and archaeologists. An investigator from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute pointed out that "In Japan, each elementary school has its own district, so children would never have to go to a school located farther away" (I140). An investigator in the Heijokyu Section of the Nabunken added that "Of course it should be excavated. Usually when it's a site which has to be excavated for a school, the excavation will not take

long, so it can be done well before the students begin school. Plans can be made so that a problem will not occur" (I145).

An investigator working at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center pointed out that, perhaps because the Japanese people have a high level of education or realize that archaeological sites are the remains of their own direct ancestors (that is, the ancestors of the Japanese people), most people in Japan think that excavation is necessary. Nevertheless, they want the work done quickly (I94). An archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum agreed, saying that he thought the local people would be patient and wait (I9).

Some archaeologists pointed out that, in a situation such as this, they would not consider excavation to be the best solution. The investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center mentioned in the previous paragraph told me that "I know that it is natural to excavate sites, but the best thing to do would be to demand land in a place where there was no site. If this didn't work out, then do the excavation" (I94). Another archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum added:

> In these circumstances, I think an excavation should be done....The best thing would be to do nothing, to leave the site alone. Your example is of a public project, but even if the land belonged to an individual and property rights were involved, excavation would still be necessary. This is because archaeological information cannot be regenerated today. The value of the information that these limited things from the past carry also disappears (with excavation). This is why excavation records must be preserved (I10).

An archaeologist from the same museum agreed, saying:

> When an archaeological site is destroyed, it cannot be reconstructed. And if the original plans are changed to a place where there is no site, the school can be built there. The problem is that Japan has a small total land area so that, if land is suddenly bought and

> then (the owners) realize that there is a site, I am not sure whether the site would be dug or whether the school construction project would be stopped. For the site and the school to coexist, the site would have to be excavated. I am an archaeologist, so that I would prefer to see the plans for the school changed before I saw the site dug. I would like to see the primary school moved to another place (I7).

One of the more senior archaeologists, an archaeologist in his early forties, who works for the Kyushu Historical Museum, sees an administrative archaeological system, in which sites are excavated rather than simply destroyed, as extremely important. He pointed out that there are sites in Japan which are destroyed without excavation, therefore, excavation is better than nothing. "Sites on which excavation can be done are limited. There are many sites which are destroyed without excavation. The number of sites which can be excavated is small. The number is small, but there are some excavations done aren't there? These are one-time excavations. They cannot be done a second time. No matter how careful or how rough an excavation you do, sites which are excavated one time are gone (disappear)....I think we should just be able to excavate the sites" (I216). It was the occasional comment such as this one which made me wonder how many sites actually are destroyed with no excavation in Japan each year. All my evidence shows that excavation is the norm and few sites reported to the authorities are destroyed without at least a cursory excavation. The age of this archaeologist suggests that he may have been referring to a time before the present administrative archaeological system was put in place.

Several archaeologists expressed the idea that a balance must be established between the need to preserve cultural properties and the everyday needs of people living in Japan. An archaeologist in his late twenties, working for the Saga Prefectural Board of Education, told me that:

> Basically, the right of the people living today is a natural thing. (Still), we must not destroy all the sites. That is to say, we are beginning to be able to include cultural properties in the plans for the lives of the surrounding people. We are harvesting many natural things. But we must also harvest cultural properties. We need to hurry up and plan cities which allow these things (people, cultural properties and nature) to live in harmony. To plan this, we need to know where the sites are. Furthermore, if we understand these issues quickly, we will have fewer problems with sites being destroyed during construction. Thus, we need to do surveys quickly. We need to confirm where the sites are. I think this is very important. We need to be getting on with this kind of thing (I218).

Continuing on this theme of integrating archaeological sites and development, an archaeologist in his mid-thirties who works as a curator in a museum in Kita-Kyushu City, suggested that:

> If it comes to the question of whether or not houses should be built, do we always have to think of development as the most important thing? Rather than protecting buried cultural properties for the sake of buried cultural properties, perhaps we need to consider the preservation of the entire environment and decide whether or not development is a plus for the entire human lifestyle....I think that leaving some areas undeveloped is all right.....This way of talking is a little excessive, but it is what I think (I219).

A cultural properties manager (<u>bunkazai shuji</u>), working for the Chiba Prefectural Board of Education, added:

> Our attitude is that if a site is destroyed it will be gone forever, so we try to preserve sites. We start from this principle. But getting back to your earlier point of why ancient things are important in our lives. Today's things are important and old things are also important so, depending on the case, what we do is we leave some of the site and destroy other parts. The parts we don't destroy are considered preserved....We usually excavate all the parts which are going to be developed, but this also depends on the amount of time and money (available) (I62).

An archaeologist in his mid-forties, working at the Sakura National Museum, said "Of course, when thinking of the history of our own ancestors and the history of humans, sites are very important things. So I think that it would be best if they could be left....But the situation with today's buried cultural properties protection administration (maizo bunkazai hogo gyosei) is that those sites which are to be destroyed are at the very least excavated. Thus, the report from this excavation remains." He went on to point out that most Japanese people understand uncomplicated excavations. Consequently, archaeologists usually do such excavation. "So, if a situation such as the one you described occurred in the town where one lived, I would say that it would not matter if the time was taken for an uncomplicated excavation. For this purpose, if it were necessary we would have to do convincing work. Whether the site should be preserved or not is another problem" (I95).

Several archaeologists demonstrated a clear sympathy with, and empathy towards, the people whose lives or land are directly affected by archaeological excavation. An archaeologist working in administration for the Chiba Prefectural Cultural Properties Division said that:

> Yes, a research project should be done (Of course), I am involved in this sort of work. Consequently, I think this way. If I weren't (doing archaeological work), I don't know if I would understand why archaeology was important. I realize that I understand why cultural properties are important because archaeology is my profession (I24).

An investigator for the cultural properties section of a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture agreed saying:

> This is the most difficult question in administrative archaeology. When I was a student, we thought that sites should always be left intact. But since I have begun to work, although I like history, I realize that if this (sort of thing, i.e., the discovery of an

> archaeological site), happened in a place where I wanted to build my house, I would understand (why archaeologists wanted to preserve the site) but I would not support preserving the site. In the case of a site like Heijokyu, which is not my land, I personally would support a preservation movement, but I'm not sure if the people who have land in the area of Heijokyu would support a preservation movement (I220).

This response is interesting, since it not only demonstrates a sensitivity to the feelings of the people who are inconvenienced by excavation but also shows the change in attitude of archaeologists as they enter the work force and have to face the practical problems involved in administrative archaeology. As my informant points out, their ideals as students often fall away.

An archaeologist in his early twenties, just out of university and working at his first job as an investigator for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, had a more idealistic approach to this problem. He told me that:

> If the circumstances are clear from the beginning, I do not think that the site should be excavated. If we look at sites which were excavated in the past, we can see that the work done on them was very old-fashioned. Similarly, if we excavate sites now, in the future people will find that we could have extracted more information from them (I18).

One of his older colleagues, an archaeologist in his early thirties also working at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, disagreed saying that:

> ...An investigation should be done, but the problem is that in an archaeological excavation, you cannot get everything, so you have to get the important information through excavation but leave the rest. The question is not whether we should excavate the site or not, but how we should do it. We have to make a schedule which is as short and effective as possible (I17).

In summary, the hypothetical primary school question brought out a range of responses from archaeologists. These

responses show that many Japanese archaeologists accept the necessity of archaeological excavation in contemporary Japan. While realizing that excavation results in site destruction, most archaeologists focused on the positive benefits of excavation including the chance to study the Japanese past and the chance to teach children about their country's history through archaeology.

Question 5: Where do Japanese people get information about archaeology and buried cultural properties?

Information about Japanese archaeology and buried cultural properties is available to the Japanese people from a number of sources. According to my informants, the public learns about archaeology through the mass media (I224), including newspapers (I7, I9, I10, I11, I12, I13, I14, I15, I17, I19, I90, I92, I100, I118, I216, I218, I222 , I225, I131, I132, I140, I141, I144, I146, I149, I150, I151, I152, I156, I157) television programs and television news (I7, I9, I12, I13, I17, I19, I92, I131, I132, I140, I141, I144, I146, I151, I152, I157) and magazines (I11, I13, I90, I132, I149, I150, I216). They also read books about archaeology (I13, I89, I132, I144, I217), are introduced to the discipline through school textbooks and teachers (I9, I10, I11, I14, I150, I217), visit sites (I10, I14, I18, I217, I218, I221, I222, I132, I151) as well as museums and archaeological information centers (I10, I11, I14, I17, I18, I19, I92, I132, I144, I152, I156, I219, I221), attend buried cultural property center lectures (I14, I151, I218) and hear about it from friends (I89). Opinions were divided on the quantity and availability of archaeological information. While some archaeologists said that "information is limited" (I13), most felt that the public could find an abundance of information about archaeology. Several archaeologists told me that, in their opinion, the amount of information on archaeology had increased over the years.

The amount of information produced by the mass media about archaeology has certainly increased over the past several decades. Journalistic interest in archaeology began with the Toro excavations in the late 1940s. With the confusion of the postwar period, the Japanese people were eager to read about recent studies of the ancient history of Japan (Niiro 1986: 216). Through the 1950s and 1960s, articles about archaeology continued to appear in the

Japanese press. Many of these newspaper stories discussed the problems faced by archaeologists trying to preserve sites in the face of development. Thus journalists were instrumental in saving a number of sites and raising the public's consciousness of the site preservation problem (Niiro 1986: 218). But it was in the early 1970s, with the excavation of the Takamatsuzuka tomb, a late seventh or early eighth century mounded tomb in the Asuka area, that journalistic coverage of archaeology expanded dramatically. During the 1970s and into the 1980s, there was a noticeable increase in the amount of archaeological news available through Japanese newspapers. Some of this interest was spurred by the unusual nature of the Takamatsuzuka tomb, which contained numerous, well-preserved wall frescos suggesting Japan's early connections with continental Asia. But even when the initial excitement over the Takamatsuzuka find ended, articles about archaeology and buried cultural properties continued to appear in the Japanese press. This reflected an increasing awareness of archaeology resulting from the dramatic expansion of the administrative system during the 1970s and 1980s (Yamaguchi n.d.).

An archaeologist from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute pointed out that there is now a greater public awareness of archaeology than in the past. He attributed this to more archaeological education and to an increase in archaeological news on television and radio and in newspapers. When asked why there is now more information about archaeology in the news, he pointed to the rapid increase in the number of excavations all over Japan. Archaeology is simply more available to the average person than it was 10 or 20 years ago (I145).

A curator from a museum in Kita-Kyushu City pointed out that, not only has the quantity of archaeological information increased, but the new information "....is written in a way that is easy to understand so the understanding of the general public has also progressed"

(I219). Archaeological information is also more readily available, as explained by an archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum:

> Yes, there is a lot of information about archaeology and excavation reports in certain sections of the newspapers and in specialty magazines. Compared with 20 years ago there is a lot of information. A greater amount of archaeological news has been appearing in the newspapers for the past 10 years. Consequently, many more ordinary people are able read this information....In addition, there are books for people just starting to learn through to people who already know a lot. There are archaeological introductions and general treatments of archaeology. There are also specialty books in the discipline, for example, books on Jomon typology, among other topics. A lot of information is available beyond what is found in newspapers.... (I11).

However, according to a colleague from the same museum, information on archaeology is more readily available in some parts of Japan than in others:

> A comparison of eastern and western Japan shows that eastern Japan has relatively little information compared to the large amount in western Japan. Even for the same newspaper, the percentage on archaeology can be different in the eastern and western parts of the country. One reason for this is differences in the consciousness of the reporters working for the newspapers and the mass media.
>
> Another reason is that in some regions, such as Chiba, the self-governing bodies (i.e., the municipal and prefectural government bureaucracies) don't let the people know much about the area in which they live. In eastern Japan, the suppression of things that people would like to know is strong. This is the researcher's point of view but, if you are looking at the suppression from the point of view of the administrative archaeologist, then you would have to say that the press tends to emphasize sites which halt the construction of housing. If a site protection movement gets larger, then there is posturing in the media which says that the administrative archaeology is a problem and that the investigation should be ended. There are many cases like this in eastern Japan.....The reason for this is that there are many excavations in

> eastern Japan and there is a lot of trouble organizing these excavations, so the administrative archaeologists working in this part of the country have problems. Another reason is that when compared to the work of archaeologists in western Japan, the work of scholars in eastern Japan is not progressing (I12).

My field work showed that archaeology in western Japan did indeed have more media coverage than in eastern Japan. For example, I counted the number of articles published in the Kinki region that were listed in the monthly "Cultural Property Information" (Bunkazai Joho) during 1984. There were a total of 503 articles. I then compared this with the total number of similar articles for the Kanto area. During the same time period, 250 articles were listed as published in Kanto area newspapers, almost exactly half that in Kinki (Information extracted from Bunkazai Joho, January to December 1984). Furthermore, in a content analysis of archaeological material published in Japanese newspapers during the mid-1980s, Yamaguchi noted that not only the content but also the format of the articles on archaeology varied significantly depending on the region (Yamaguchi n.d.: 43-44, 46). Archaeological stories aired on the NHK television 6:30 news showed a similar pattern in a more dramatic way. During the month of March 1985, the Osaka region 6:30 NHK news had a total of 13 reports dealing with archaeology. In the Tokyo region there were 3 reports on the 6:30 news during the same month (I253).

There are several possible explanations for these regional differences in archaeological reporting. One explanation is simply that there are more excavations in some areas than in others and hence, more archaeological articles are written about these areas than others. For example, more articles on archaeology appear in the newspapers of communities from Tokyo to Hiroshima because about half of present Japanese excavation is done in central Honshu. A second explanation is that some areas, notably the Kinki region, have not only more sites but more sites of

national importance. These tend to command more national and regional attention. Third is the explanation given by the archaeologist above, that some communities try to suppress archaeological news stories. Although this explanation is possible, I saw no clear evidence to suggest that regional censorship takes place in a systematic way.

During my interviews and discussions with non-archaeological informants I found that those living in the Nara area were much more aware than their counterparts in Chiba of the existence of archaeological sites in their neighborhoods. This might reflect the relative availability of information in each region or greater contact with actual excavations in Nara than in Chiba. My Nara informants were also sensitive to problems of cultural property management and site protection. When asked about the delay in the construction of a school due to excavation, Chiba residents were more ready than Nara ones to accept the excavation of the site despite delays. People living in Nara Prefecture, having had real experience with similar situations, better understood the actual impact of excavation on their daily lives.

Although newspapers are the most readily available source of information about archaeology for adults, school textbooks, which give an outline of Japanese and world prehistory, and school visits to sites and museums are, according to several archaeologists, the first introduction most people have to the subject. Fawcett and Habu (1990: 217-227), for example, present a discussion of the teaching of archaeology in Japanese schools. When asked where people learn about archaeology, archaeologists answered "If they go to school, from textbooks....Many people go to museums with their school" (I12), "First of all textbooks" (I9), "I think that people have an interest from their school textbooks" (I10), "....if there is a museum in the area, the primary school children are taken to see it" (I92), "For the students, the teacher in the school library" (I217). An

archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum told me that "Japanese people know about archaeology from textbooks....The first time that most people come across archaeological information is in school textbooks when they are about 13-years old. After this, in high school, archaeology constitutes one section of Japanese history. Within the Japanese educational system, only one year of history education, which includes archaeology, is obligatory in middle school" (I11). Discussions with non-archaeologists confirmed these ideas. Many people had a basic knowledge of archaeology gleaned in school. It was on this base that they continued to build a picture of Japanese prehistory.

In terms of public education, site explanation meetings are an easily accessible medium of instruction. As I mentioned in Chapter 7, most Japanese school children visit a site at least once during their primary school years. As more and more sites are excavated in the suburban areas surrounding the large Japanese cities, an increasing number of adults are also able to visit excavations in progress. Many people find these visits more informative and more fun than visiting a museum, since they are able to see work in progress--often in their own neighborhood.

The archaeologists giving explanations to local residents try to provide information in a form that non-archaeologists can easily understand. For many, this is a challenge and quite difficult. For example, an archaeologist working for a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture, when asked what he wanted to teach at explanation meetings, said that:

> Basically, I can't present anything difficult. The vocabulary I can use is limited to that familiar to students in the highest grade of elementary school, that is, 11 to 12-year olds up to 15 to 16-year olds in high school. The grade 5 and 6 students have learned some Japanese history from their textbooks. At this age, the children show their interest. If you teach

> them easily and carefully, the things they learn will be useful for them when they have to understand the subject in more depth later on....(I217).

Thus textbook knowledge, combined with school visits to sites and museums, provides most of the people educated in Japan since the 1950s with enough basic knowledge to follow discussions of archaeology in the newspapers and on television. Understanding this, archaeologists aim much of the information they write for the general public at a middle or high school level. The following comments illustrate this point.

When asked what kinds of articles he generally writes, an archaeologist, who works as a museum curator in Kita-Kyushu, answered that he is aiming the history of Kita-Kyushu City he is presently writing at the level of high school students. In this way, it will be comprehensible for the general public (I219). An archaeologist who works for the cultural properties section of a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture, expressed a desire to write material aimed at middle school students, but added that "....for some reason, when you are working within the administrative system, you end up using difficult phrases in your writing" (I220).

After leaving school, Japanese people continue to learn about archaeology from a variety of sources. Newspapers, magazines and the television are three of the most common sources of archaeological information, followed by museums, site explanation meetings and books or lectures about archaeology.

Archaeology is certainly a popular topic in the Japanese press and on television. Small reports discussing local and national excavations and archaeological discoveries appear almost daily in Japan's largest newspapers, the Mainichi Shimbun, the Asahi Shimbun and the Yomiuri Shimbun. In fact, during the mid-1980s, in one year and excluding redundant stories, 2000 articles on

archaeology were published in regional and national newspapers throughout Japan. One thousand five hundred of these dealt with excavations (Niiro 1986: 220). Niiro (1986: 220) also comments that, in the mid-1980s, approximately 1500 site reports were published annually in Japan. Since site reports are too technical for the general reader, newspapers extract the information wanted by the public. Since the Takamatsuzuka excavation in the early 1970s made front page news, archaeological stories quite frequently have been placed in prominent positions, even occasionally, as the first item on the front page of the big Japanese dailies. So many reports on archaeological materials have appeared that a specialized monthly journal, Bunkazai Joho, is now published for use by archaeologists and the public. This 200 page publication contains copies of newspaper articles on archaeological excavations and discoveries from all over Japan.

In addition to newspaper articles, popular magazines, such as the "Asahi Graph" (Asahi Gurafu), often publish reports on archaeology. These are illustrated with photographs of artifacts and sites and have a written commentary. The Asahi Newspaper Company (Asahi Shimbunsha) also produces small booklets, for example, "Ancient History Excavations 1978-1982" (Kodaishi Hakkutsu 1978-1982) which summarizes archaeological finds throughout Japan over a period of several years (Asahi Gurafu Henshubu 1983).

Another published source of information on archaeology is available through any newsstand (these are found in or near all medium or large Japanese train stations) in the form of popular books and journals. Niiro (1986: 221) lists several of these journals including, for more specialized archaeological audiences, the monthly "Archaeological Journal" (Kokogaku Janaru) and the "Archaeological Quarterly" (Kikan Kokogaku), and for general readers interested in archaeology "Ethnos" (Etonosu), the "Yamataikoku Quarterly" (Kikan Yamataikoku), "East Asian

Ancient Culture" (Higashi Ajia no Kodai Bunka), "Opinions on History" (Rekishi Koron), "History Notebook" (Rekishi Techo), "History Reader" (Rekishi Dokuhon), History and People" (Rekishi to Jimbutsu) and "History and Travels" (Rekishi to Tabi).

Popular journals on history, such as the Rekishi Dokuhon series, offer the amateur archaeologist, school children and other general readers summaries of archaeological work presented in a format that is easy to read and understand. The text is written using less technical vocabulary than in an academic journal. The editors of the individual volumes and authors of many of the articles are university professors or specialists from archaeological research centers and museums throughout Japan (including, for example, the Nabunken) although sometimes the articles are written by non-specialists. The focus of the papers tends to be questions which would be of interest to the public. Rekishi Dokuhon articles may, for instance, talk about the puzzles and mysteries of Japanese ancient history. For example, an issue of Rekishi Dokuhon entitled "One hundred puzzles of Japanese ancient history" discusses 10 debates over the origins of the Japanese ethnic group and 10 puzzles about the ancient Japanese emperors (Rekishi Dokuhon 1973). Both of these sections were written by university professors. In a 1984 edition of Rekishi Dokuhon entitled "The ancient people's wisdom and lifestyles" ("Kodaijin no chie to seikatsu") archaeologists discuss the lives of the ancient Japanese people as understood through archaeological data. Also found at some newsstands and in all bookshops are books entirely devoted to historical, including archaeological, topics put out by a range of publishing companies. In 1983, 1,974 books were published on historical topics in Japan. This was 6.3% of the total volume of publications for that year (Shuppan-News Co. Ltd. 1984). There are even archaeological comic books produced for children (Kodama 1984).

As mentioned by several informants, television is another important source of information about archaeology. The NHK often reports important discoveries on the national news and discusses local excavations on the regional news. For example, during the month of March 1985, there were a total of 21 items dealing with archaeology presented on the Kinki area NHK morning news (I253). Programs on archaeological themes also appear quite often on Japanese television and are very popular. In many cases, the central theme of the program is not an excavation itself, but a broader question such as "Where did the Japanese people come from?", "A voyage through Chiba Prefecture" or "The Temples of Ancient Asuka". Archaeological information is introduced as part of the presentation. An excellent example of a popular television show which incorporates archaeological information is "Silk Road", which traces the ancient route by which silk was brought from China to Europe. This program brings in archaeological and anthropological information to draw a historical picture of the route and the people who travelled it. According to an NHK producer, "Silk Road" is one of the most popular television programs ever produced by the NHK (I286 1985).

Archaeologists had differing opinions about the quality of the information available to the general public through the mass media. A few had praise for it and a number said that, although not perfect, it was not all bad (I145, I152). One informant, for example, told me that the fastest way for Japanese people to learn about archaeology was through the mass media which "...puts out some good things" (I220). Another archaeologist added that "At the moment, they (newspaper and TV reports) are usually quite accurate" (I222). Two others said that reports are about 80% accurate (I131, I157), adding that "The details are sometimes inaccurate but if there is a big mistake it will be corrected" (I131). When I asked an archaeologist from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute his opinion of

archaeological reporting in the newspapers and on television he told me that:

> It's good that the things we dig up can be dealt with the same day. This is important, so I welcome the mass media. But the newspapers can't give the opinion of the people who do archaeology. They end up focusing on artifacts. Of course, these artifacts are often important in certain sites and, of course, we archaeologists have the responsibility of telling the reporters why the artifacts are important. In all news...it is not only the information which is important but also the opinion. Unfortunately, what the newspapers and television present is not always what archaeologists want (I139).

These were the most positive remarks made by any of my informants. More typical was the response of an archaeologist from the Kyushu Historical Information Center, who thought that magazine and newspaper articles written by archaeologists were of high quality but those written by journalists were poorly done (I216). Or an investigator at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute, who laughed when asked if mass media coverage of archaeological news is accurate and answered "The news is influenced by subjective ideas" (I141).

This sentiment was echoed by many informants. Few thought that all popular archaeological writings were poorly conceived and executed, but many had reservations about those articles and books written by non-archaeologists (I118, I132, I140, I146, I150). In general, criticisms of the popular press fell into two categories. Archaeologists either felt that newspaper reporters had a tendency to misquote them to present only certain elements of the entire story and thus distort the tone of the information in the article or they said that reporters always stress the biggest, the best, and the oldest in published stories (I144, I151). As an archaeologist working as an investigator for the Saga Prefectural Board of Education said, when asked if he thought the information produced by

the newspapers and television was accurate, "Compared to the past, the collecting of information is more like studying--it is more accurate but it still has parts which are inaccurate." When asked where the inaccuracies lie, he added "The media go for the popular topics (and report) the oldest and the biggest in Japan. They try to catch the attention of the largest number of people. The reports are exaggerated along these lines. Although the researchers say 'We can only go so far in saying things about this find', when the report appears, it is always exaggerated. This is crazy. Although we always say that what we know about archaeological artifacts is never certain, the people who write the reports don't understand this" (I218). An archaeologist from the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center agreed saying:

> Some mass media reports have a correct side, but they are often exaggerated and over-emphasized to make them more interesting. Since newspaper reporters learn from the site investigators, the reports certainly are partially correct...but the stories are not presented within the context of an academic discipline. From the perspective of archaeologists, non-archaeologists exaggerate the meaning of the information and present hypotheses without much evidence (I149).

These criticisms of mass media reporting were echoed by other archaeologists (I157). Even those who said that they sometimes use newspaper reports to keep up to date on archaeological discoveries and research in other parts of Japan added that they do not trust this information enough to use it directly. Two archaeologists, one a young investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center and the other a senior researcher and administrator at the Sakura National Museum, said that they "pick up" facts from the newspapers or television and then send a letter directly to the excavators of the site, requesting a site report from which they can extract accurate information (I7, I90). In conclusion, archaeologists seem to trust articles written or

produced by their colleagues, even when these reports appear in the mass media, in newspapers and on television. On the other hand, they think that newspaper and television reporters have a tendency to misrepresent what they say when interviewed and hence do not have much faith in the accuracy of most mass media reports. Nor do they have much faith in the reporters, who tend to mix up dates and periods (I151).

An archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum told me "I feel that about half of the newspaper reports are precise. The same is true of television reports. I feel that the newspapers try to put across to outside readers the taste of the research results which emerge from the information. They do this to create an interest" (I11). Thus, according to this archaeologist, the mass media create an image of archaeology but they also reflect the image which the public expects. Yamaguchi (n.d.: 47) agrees that archaeological reports tend to reflect the knowledge of the general public.

Another archaeologist, an investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, echoes these thoughts when discussing the quality of the information available to the public through the popular press. He says "I don't think you can say that the information published in the popular press is correct. The information most people get is related to the mass media industry. For example, when an old temple appears, there are many articles about its age and special things. These are the kinds of reports published. It is difficult to see if these things are objective. Recently, what was supposed to be the palace of the Emperor Yuryaku appeared. The people who dug the site had mentioned at the time that this was a possible interpretation of the site, but they couldn't go so far as to say so definitely. In the end, the newspapers put the story on the front page, simply because there was a possibility that the site was an imperial palace. They knew that the paper would sell better with this news" (I92).

When asked about the accuracy of mass media reports on archaeology, an archaeologist working for a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture told me that "Half of the information is accurate, but newspaper articles do not use quotations accurately. But I do think the photographs are presented well. So, in the case of newspapers, we archaeologists soon turn to the photographs". He added that, since academic journals usually don't publish information for some time, archaeologists depend on discussions with their colleagues and newspaper stories to keep up-to-date. However, since newspaper reports often have no identified author, they cannot be quoted directly (I217).

Another archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum, pointed out that the quality of the information on archaeology varies "Depending on the kind of newspaper. Some newspapers provide good information, others do not. I think the problem is at the level of the knowledge of the newspaper editor or publisher. Large newspapers generally have better information. Regional newspapers are poor. In the case of television, they only have 30 minutes so it's difficult to get the information into people's heads" (I12).

An investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center spoke of the same phenomenon in the realm of popular books and magazines on archaeological topics published with the general public in mind. She pointed out that, although as a researcher she uses excavation reports as her primary source of information, she does read books published for the general public from time to time. She finds these books interesting, but adds that they contain little scholarly material. Rather, they discuss "things that everyone knows about. For example, the exact location of Yamataikoku (The name of a country in the Japanese archipelago visited by envoys from China in and just after AD 240. Yamataikoku is described in a 3rd century Chinese book. Its location has been debated by Japanese historians and archaeologists.).

Or the origins of the emperor (Tenno)." Furthermore, they contain "...data on things which interest everyone." She added that "These magazine articles are written by scholars, some of whom are considered unreliable by their colleagues. Popular books on archaeology.....are also written by university professors. Like the popular history magazines Rekishi Dokuhon and Rekishi Koron, these books are read by Japanese white collar workers (salariman) and are readily available in the magazine sections of bookstores, including the magazine and bookstands found in or near most medium to large train or subway stations. My informant told me that she sometimes reads these books, because from time to time they contain important information. But she thinks that they "...although not lies are stories. They are interesting but are they scholarly? Do they have mistakes? These things are not really examined. So the discussion does not advance." When asked what sort of "mistakes" she was talking about, she said that "For example, the question of where Yamataikoku is located has not been solved. But it is an interesting question, so these books answer it. Everyone writes about it" (I91).

Two other archaeologists also had mixed feelings about the quality of popular literature on archaeological topics. One, an archaeologist who works as an investigator for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, said that he used to read books written for the general public but no longer does since, generally, he already knows the contents. He added that these books are usually written by university professors, often in a collaborative effort. There are only a few people working in administrative archaeology who write books for popular consumption (I92).

An archaeologist from a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture added that reports by the mass media are accurate, if exaggerated, when reporters come directly to the site. In contrast, stories written on the basis of

telephone interviews or a professor's comment taken out of context are poor (I220).

A number of archaeologists had even worse to say about writing on archaeology in the mass media or the popular press. One such archaeologist, working at the Sakura National Museum, told me bluntly that "The reports in the newspapers and on television are not correct" (I13). A museum curator from Kita-Kyushu added that "Newspapers are often inaccurate. They exaggerate. Furthermore, they are not interested in those things which are not the oldest or the best. Things which are second do not have news value. In addition, they mix up things which are second with things that are third. Finally, they draw conclusions from one specimen, which is too little data. These are the kinds of things which are common in the mass media" (I219). An archaeologist from the Miyagi Cultural Properties Division added that the kinds of reports put out by the mass media try to appeal to the most people--they emphasize things which are the first in Japan. One of the reasons for this is the interview methods used by reporters, who always want to know where the object or site being presented fits into Japanese history. They particularly want to know its period and whether it is early or late. The problem for archaeologists is that often they cannot answer these questions until the data have been organized and analyzed. But the reporters are impatient and want to know the answers right away. My informant concluded that "we archaeologists who do serious work can't reach the majority of the people. If we can't get people to explanation meetings, then they get a distorted picture of archaeology from the mass media" (I224).

An investigator from the Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center agreed saying that the main problem with articles written for the mass media was that many were written by reporters rather than specialists in archaeology. Consequently, they often contain factual errors (I225). An

archaeologist from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute suggested that it was the responsibility of archaeologists to provide correct information (I118).

An archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum pointed out that the articles about archaeology published in the newspapers are generally written by reporters who do not specialize in archaeology. "For example, in the large papers, such as the Asahi Shimbun and the Yomiuri Shimbun, the reports are done by reporters in the arts section (gakugeibu). The people who know something about archaeology are those who studied ancient history. I don't think there are any people who studied archaeology and then went to work on a newspaper." He added that the occasional articles written by specialists are interesting, but that, in general, "The news that comes out of the television and newspaper deals with 'where' and 'what'...(but)...The people who collect this data and organize it have not studied this kind of thing before." In the case of television, he was more optimistic, saying that "Specialty programs on the NHK and other channels, which are 30 minutes long, concentrate on one topic for 30 minutes. For example, they may discuss the origins of the Japanese state (nation). Although the producer knows nothing about history, he meets with specialists and does interviews. So we are able to hear the opinions of many specialists." He added that the program would be good if the producer chose to meet with good archaeologists and if they devoted enough time to the project. "The programs on archaeology and ancient history are more common in the autumn around Culture Day on November 3 and in the winter around Founders' Day in February. In the latter case, the topic discussed is usually the founding of the Japanese nation" (I7).

This informant also found popular news reports useful for getting initial information about archaeological discoveries. He mentioned the journal Bunkazai Joho as an excellent way of keeping informed about recent

archaeological work across the country. However, he warned me that the articles are taken directly from the popular press so the quality of the work varies from good to very bad (I7).

Another theme which came up in my interviews on sources of archaeological information was the connection between popular writing on archaeology and contemporary Japanese ideology. One archaeology professor from a university in the Tokyo area discussed this at length:

> People say they are interested in the Jomon Period, the Yayoi Period and the Kofun Period, but what they are really interested in is their own history. They want to know more than if the past was real, if it really existed. This is a problem of ideology. The questions they ask are: does Jomon Period ideology connect with that of today? Do we have Jomon ideology today or not? This is the way that people, such as Ueyama Shumpei or Umehara Takeshi (two authors who write on Japanese studies incorporating ideas about ancient Japan), think.....These people say that the Jomon and the contemporary Japanese are connected through a number of elements. But the problem is that we don't actually know if the Jomon Period really had these things. These people look at present Japanese culture and select things which are really Japanese. Then they say that these things can be found in the Jomon Period....Many of their observations are correct (i.e., many of the things they find the same in the Jomon and the present Japanese cultures are the same) but their methodology is wrong. Nevertheless, ordinary people find it interesting. We have Nihonjinron, Nihonbunkaron eh? People find these interesting for the same reason. Nihonjinron and Nihonbunkaron are studies of Japan conducted by foreigners. The Japanese people are curious about their culture (so they want to read these observations). For the same reason, they want to look at Japanese culture from the perspective of the Jomon Period. Umehara and Ueyama look at Japan from the perspective of the West and find things which are distinctively Japanese. They then say that these things originated in the Jomon Period. But they don't really know what the Jomon culture was like. I am interested in the way Umehara and Ueyama work, but my way of working is to study the Jomon Period well and then say how it differs from the Yayoi and later periods. So I can say that the Jomon and the Yayoi are totally different and I can also say how they differ.

> I can pinpoint what characteristics are different? I am interested in these sorts of questions"(I100).

When asked if regional variations are to be found in these discussions he answered:

> That's interesting. Umehara and Ueyama are both from the western part of Japan. Because of this, they can talk about what no one else will talk about, the Jomon Period. In the eastern part of Japan we know about the Jomon, so we do not talk so freely about it, but Jomon sites and artifacts do not come into the hands of Umehara and Ueyama everyday so when they study them they are surprised (100).

He added that he has not actually read books written by Umehara or Ueyama, since few research archaeologists read books written by non-specialists.

When asked for whom they themselves write, a number of archaeologists said that they aimed their writing mainly at specialists (I222), but sometimes tried to write for the general public as well (I219, I224). One archaeologist from Kita-Kyushu told me that "I write journal articles for archaeological colleagues. I am also writing the history of Kita-Kyushu City. This is for the general public" (I219). Another from the Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center said that "First I write for specialists. Recently, I've written a prefectural report, but this was almost exclusively for specialists. My hometown is a village in Kyushu where there are no specialists, so during the summer break I do an excavation. If I were to write only for specialists, the people of the village would not be able to understand, so I divide the report into two parts. One of the parts is about 10 pages, with mainly photographs and maps. The part for the specialists is a little longer with more writing. I produce both. When I did this there was a lot of interest. I began to divide the report into two parts 5 or 6 years ago and the number of visits to the site and to site explanation meetings really increased" (I225).

In general, I found that most archaeologists working as investigators on administrative excavations write mainly site reports, although almost all said that they would like to write more scholarly papers. Their written contributions to archaeological literature aimed at the public are short pamphlets distributed at site explanation meetings.

Site explanation meetings are becoming an important source of archaeological information for the Japanese public. Over the past 10 to 15 years, these meetings have become more and more popular. One of the reasons for this is the enormous number of sites being excavated throughout the Japanese islands. Many of these sites are in suburban areas near housing complexes. The neighboring people are generally curious about the work, especially when the site is on farmland which they previously used or if it interferes with their daily routine. If there are newspaper or television reports on the work, attendance at the site explanation meetings is even better.

An archaeologist from the Saga Prefectural Board of education, when speaking of these meetings, told me that "Lately, when you excavate a site you must hold explanation meetings. This trend is widening in Kyushu. In Saga Prefecture, explanation meetings are not yet common, but I am sure they will become more common in the future. Last year I worked on two projects. At one of them I got the local people together and held an explanation meeting." When asked who attends these meetings, he answered "This does not depend on age. Both school children and older people come as well as all sorts of others. But, in general, there are a lot of school children and old people. There are few working men. There are a few housewives. Younger adults tend not to come, while there are a lot of middle-aged people" (I218). A retired archaeologist from Kyushu agreed that people of all ages attended the meetings, but added that they were all people interested in history (I222).

As we have seen, archaeologists are more comfortable teaching the public about archaeology themselves than leaving this job to the mass media. An archaeologist from a municipal board of education in Kyushu told me, for instance, that public education was a crucial part of his job. "At the moment ....we have a site of the level of the Heijokyu (that is, a site which, like the ancient capital city of Heijokyu in Nara Prefecture, is of national importance) at the prefectural level. I'm working on that excavation. We put out a report on this excavation each year. We also do site explanation meetings. In November, we have something called "Cultural Properties Week" (Bunkazai Kyocho Shukan). During this week, we do a lot of things. We have exhibitions and site explanations. The people who come to the site explanations are members of the "Local History Association" (Kyodo Kenkyukai). Recently there have also been many middle school students. There are also many people over the age of 50" (I221).

An archaeologist from the Miyagi Cultural Properties Division spoke of the common practice of explanation meetings aimed at the workers on the site. The purpose of these talks is to help the women (and men) doing manual labor on the site understand what they are excavating (I224).

Finally, an archaeologist working for the Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center described the growing interest in archaeological site meetings in his region and explained how archaeologists are dealing with this interest. After beginning to publish information about local archaeology 5 or 6 years before the interview, this archaeologist noticed that the number of visits to the site and to site explanation meetings increased. Many of the people who came to these meetings were elderly men and women who have the time to attend such things. Others are teachers. There are few young people. He talked of the change over the years:

> Every once in a while we would have a conference of people who wanted to create a town history. The people were people from the area. They talked about it and many people came. So we began walking around the town site surveying. This was an opportunity. There are Jomon sites in my area. We knew there were several and we went out to rediscover them . School children brought us pieces of pottery and stone which they had picked up. We put these in an exhibition room. But the explanations were wrong. We orga ized them and rearranged them by period, gave them type names and organized the lithics by function. We made an explanatory guide book. We started from these things at the beginning....(When I explain to regular people about archaeology).....facts are facts. I want them to understand the artifacts and the sites. Many people have learned only the details of the standard social education course. I want them to understand accurately things of the past. I especially want to correct the errors learned by the people who were educated before the war. I want to teach them a correct historical framework. I also want to teach young children. People who are 60 or 70 years old don't know the time divisions of the Jomon, Yayoi and Kofun Periods. I want to teach the correct facts about these things.

When asked what people want to learn this, the archaeologist replied:

> There are many older people who have gone to the fields and collected artifacts. They want to know how these things were used and how old they are. People who live in the cities do not feel as if they live on top of sites. People who live in the country walk in the paddy fields and notice things. Many people bring these things along to us. There are primary school children and high school children right up to grandmothers and grandfathers. They all want to know how old the thing is and how it was made. Those who are really interested try to make the things themselves. There are people who make pottery. People cannot do this sort of thing through the Board of Education so they form their own groups. These people made pottery. Now they are trying to make fired dogu. (One of thei goals is)....to make a fire (for firing pottery) to see what such a fire looks like. The work involves many things. They search in the library, they research how do deal with many problems. There are many people who are interested in experimental archaeology (I225).

In conclusion, according to my informants, information on archaeology is widely available throughout Japan. This conclusion agrees with my own observations. In this highly literate and educated society where most people have at least a high school diploma, mass media reporting through newspapers and television is the most popular way of continuing to learn about the Japanese past after school graduation. For children in school, archaeology is taught as Japanese history. Many of the non-archaeologists to whom I spoke associated learning about archaeology with visits to famous sites or museums when travelling or visits to neighborhood rescue excavations on days when site explanation meetings were held. Most non-archaeologists found archaeology marginally interesting and appreciated information about the subject which came their way.

One of the feelings which came out strongly in responses to this question was disapproval of the way the mass media handle archaeological news. In my opinion, archaeologists feel frustrated because they are unable to get across to the public the things they consider important. That is, they are unable to show the public that they are trying slowly and carefully to understand ancient Japanese history using scientific methodology. One of the reasons for this is the time pressures put on administrative archaeologists by developers to excavate sites as quickly as possible and the pressures they put on themselves to do a thorough job. This is a dilemma they are trying to resolve.

Question 6: Why are Japanese people interested in archaeology and buried cultural properties?

The purpose of this question was to understand archaeologists' perceptions of the purpose of their work in relation to Japanese society as a whole. By asking why they think the Japanese public is interested in archaeology, I tried to evaluate whether archaeologists think that their own interests and goals as professionals match those of the public.

A number of archaeologists pointed out that an interest in the past and in history is common to people around the world (I131, I137). Others were unsure whether the Japanese people are actually interested in archaeology (I118) and two said outright that archaeology is not of any interest to most Japanese (I62, I89). On the whole, however, the archaeologists who were asked this question believed that many Japanese people are genuinely interested in archaeology and buried cultural properties (I48, I49, I100; I132, I147, I149). And, as I expected, several archaeologists told me that an interest in understanding the origins of Japan and the Japanese people was at the root of current public interest in Japanese archaeology and ancient history (I49; I100, I147, I149).

To substantiate the claim that the Japanese are interested in archaeology, several of my informants pointed to the recent fascination with history, which is often referred to as the ancient history (kodaishi), archaeology (kokogaku) or Japanese history (Nihon rekishi) "boom" (bumu) (I147, I149). An archaeologist from the Heijokyu Section of the Nabunken, commenting on the public's interest in the Heijokyu Site, Nara Prefecture, noted that "Heijokyu is known by, and of interest to, people from all over Japan. Over the years there has been an increased interest in not just Heijokyu but also archaeology in general. This interest is found throughout the country. This is known as

the 'archaeology boom' (kokogaku bumu). There has also been a phenomenon known as the 'Japanese history boom' (Nihon rekishi bumu). These booms have meant that people have come to visit the Heijokyu site from all over Japan" (I147).

An archaeologist in his early thirties from the Chiba Prefectural Board of Education's Cultural Properties Division explained what he thought caused the archaeology or ancient history "boom". He said that the interest in archaeological research is related to a romanticized vision of an earlier, simpler way of life by people of a now prosperous and highly-developed society. In short, "although Japan now has a lot of money and things have changed since we were children, many people are nostalgic and think back to how good things used to be." This, he felt, was coupled with greater publicity for archaeological finds since the discovery of the Takamatsuzuka tomb in the early 1970s. He added that "There is also a spiritual (seishinteki na mono) side to the 'ancient history boom'" (I49).

In my own opinion, this spirituality can be thought of as a search for purity in a idealized vision of the ancient past when the Japanese people were at home in their natural environment. As mentioned above, this occurs in an age when most Japanese live and work in a densely populated, highly industrialized, urban environment virtually divorced from nature. Industrialization has brought with it problems of pollution and environmental degradation. Archaeology allows an imaginary return to a pure and simple Japanese past. An excellent example of the idealistic spiritual aura which is being built-up around archaeology is the so-called "Jomon Boom" discussed here by an academic archaeologist and Jomon Period specialist from the Kanto area. He told me that the awareness of Jomon archaeology is greater among the Japanese people in the 1980s partly because "...now we are destroying nature. But during Jomon times the environment was not destroyed. Still, we cannot make a value judgment and say

that today's culture is high and the Jomon culture was low. We can make atomic bombs now and we may be making mistakes. On the other hand, we can learn a lot from people who had the Jomon culture. One model of how to make a society is the Jomon. It is a positive opinion" (I100).

Other archaeologists also mentioned the Japanese people's romantic or spiritual feelings about the past. As an archaeologist from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute told me, "the Japanese people are interested in archaeology because they have a sentimental feeling for the past. They feel content and their hearts are eased by things which are not directly related to their everyday lives" (I132).

Whether or not they have spiritual feelings about sites, an archaeologist from the Chiba Prefecture Board of Education's Cultural Properties Division pointed out that the Japanese people were more conscious of archaeology in the mid-1980s than they had been ten years earlier. The reason for this was simply that, with the increase in development and the accompanying destruction of sites, more excavations were done in the mid-1980s than there had been in the 1970s. Consequently, people had more chance to see archaeologists at work. Thus the Japanese people's understanding of, and interest in, archaeology had broadened from a fascination in national class sites, such as Takamatsuzuka, to an interest in local excavations and local history (I61).

A number of archaeologists felt that the Japanese public's interest in ancient history was directed more at national history than at the history of particular regions. For instance, when asked if the general public of Chiba is interested in all of Japan or just in the Chiba area, an archaeologist from the Chiba Prefectural Board of Education's Cultural Properties Division answered that, in general, Japanese people are interested in Kyoto and Nara and then in their own local area or region (I49). Another Chiba-based archaeologist agreed that the public's focus was

more on national than on regional history. He pointed out that people from all over Japan come to Chiba Prefecture to see the Sakura National Museum. The reason these people are willing to come so far to see this museum is that the Japanese want to understand the archaeology of all regions of Japan so that they can understand the Japanese people's roots. Consequently, the archaeological remains in the Sakura area are treated as important by people from all over Japan. These remains are not just used to create a "hometown" feeling for Sakura City (I239).

A professor from a university in the Tokyo area agreed, telling me that:

> It is hard for a foreigner to understand this, but Japan's 300 years of isolation made a great impression. The Japanese are limited by their island environment. Although there may be regional variations within the country, the Japanese language is understood throughout Japan....So Japan has the character of an "island country". People see their home as a box with a history which extends back far into the past. This comes out in history, archaeology and a lot of other disciplines. Furthermore, it reflects the attitude of people studying the economics, politics and culture of Japan in the world context (I20).

There was at least one Chiba archaeologist, however, who told me that most Japanese had regional rather than national interests. He pointed out that people go to see sites because of the amazing or unusual artifacts and features found there. It was this which drew people to visit the Takamatsuzuka tomb in Nara Prefecture. It is what draws them to other sites as well. People are curious about sites that are large and unusual. In some cases, this curiosity means that they want to see things which they have read about in school textbooks or in books. These things are accessible to them only through a book or on the television. When something unusual is found in their neighborhood they are especially interested in visiting it (I292).

When asked why the Japanese people are interested in archaeology, several archaeologists told me about the different kinds of people who show an interest. An investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center pointed out that children often come in groups to visit archaeological sites. They do this out of interest in the site, because their parents send them or because their teachers at school or at the juku (private, extra-curricula schools designed to help students pass school and university entrance examinations) bring them. He added that:

> ...in sites where we don't need to worry about them breaking things, where there is pottery, we let them excavate a bit. They are happy when they find things. In the case of this site, we explain the pithouse remains. If they seem to understand what we tell them, we give them pamphlets etc.....They also come into the office and we explain the site to them and let them look at the pottery. They are usually neighborhood children (I90).

An archaeologist working as an investigator for the Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center pointed out that children are not the only visitors at archaeological sites. As mentioned above, many farming people become curious about the artifacts they find in their fields and visit local sites to find out more about these objects (I225).

My own experience of Jomon pottery making was with a group in Chiba. The majority of the people in the group, including the instructor, were not interested in archaeology but wanted to make replicas of Jomon pottery as an art form, a technical exercise or just plain fun. A large part of the group was made up of parents with their 8 to 12-year old children. They enjoyed Jomon pottery making because it was something both children and parents could do together and which involved outdoor work, for example, when collecting materials or firing the pots.

In conclusion, this question formed a contrast with Question 1, in which I asked why archaeologists thought that

archaeology and buried cultural properties are important. In general, archaeologists tend to think in academic terms about what they do. They feel that their work is important as a way of creating a "true" version of ancient Japanese history by using scientific methodology to uncover and analyze buried material culture. Their perceptions of the public's interests show that they see most non-archaeologists as fascinated by romantic ideals of the past rather than the "true" picture. Like archaeologists, the Japanese people are interested in Japanese origins but in a less rigorous way. Looking at answers to Question 5 adds another dimension to these differences. Obviously, the mass media, which many archaeologists think reports their findings inaccurately, reflects and creates a romantic image of the past for the Japanese public. As I showed in my discussion of Asuka Mura, the Japanese government, business elite and tourist industry also work together at some sites to romanticize the past through archaeology.

Question 7: How has Japanese archaeology changed over the past twenty years?

Turning from questions of the presentation and value of archaeology, the next series of questions (Questions 7, 8 and 9) discusses archaeologists' perceptions of the quality of their work and changes in their discipline over time.

Many of the archaeologists interviewed considered the development of administrative archaeology to be the most significant change to have occurred during the two decades proceeding 1985 (I10, I14, I15, I20, I39, I48, I61, I91, I118, I132, I141, I145, I151, I152, I217, I220, I221, I224, I292). Furthermore, they saw this change as affecting the methods of excavation, the composition of the archaeological work force and the relationship between archaeology and the general public. Some archaeologists welcomed the changes which have accompanied the creation of the administrative system. Others said that, in their opinion, archaeology has become less pure since the loss of its academic focus. Most agreed that fundamental changes have occurred in archaeology over the past two decades. Only a few archaeologists (I9, I19, I92, I131, I219) said that no basic changes had occurred.

The shift from excavation by academic archaeologists in universities to excavation by archaeologists hired or contracted through the administrative archaeology system was noted by several archaeologists (I10, I14, I20, I141, I151, I152, I220, I221, I292). The director of a chosa kai in Chiba Prefecture described his experience of this change:

> About 20 years ago, archaeology was done almost exclusively by university staff and students. But toward the middle of the 1960s to the early 1970s development began. Since Japan has so little land, whenever any construction, for example, of houses or roads, was carried out sites were found. These had to be investigated. Twenty years ago, in almost all of these cases, the professor and students would excavate

> the site together. The problem was that, in many cases, these projects were not completed on time. Gradually, administrators in the villages, cities and towns also began to do archaeology. Thus, both university and administrative archaeologists were excavating sites. The reason why the administrative archaeologists became more common was that the universities could not do large-scale excavations. When I was a student, the sites excavated were usually about 100 square meters in size. The largest were 1000 square meters. When it became necessary to excavate sites of 200,000 to 300,000 square meters, the universities were unable to do the work (I292).

Consequently, as described above in Chapters 4, 5 and 7, an elaborate system of administrative rescue archaeology was created. A social education officer in his early thirties, working for a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture, describes his impressions of the changes that have taken place over the past 2 decades:

> During this period (the 20 years between 1965 and 1985), the Shinkansen (super-express train line built during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s) and "Bampaku" (Bankoku Hakurankai, the Osaka International Exposition held in 1971) and other large development projects occurred. With development, sites were destroyed. At this time, we administrative officials (gyosei no tantosha) hardly existed. In cases when development was planned in places where there were previously unknown sites, these sites were destroyed. At the beginning of the 1970s, the number of people employed as specialized archaeological officials (semmon tantosha) increased at the prefectural level, but there were still few of these people employed in the cities and towns. Since the middle of the 1970s, the number of archaeologists employed at the municipal level has been increasing (I217).

This shift away from academic and toward administrative work has meant a number of things for archaeology and for archaeologists. One of the more significant implications is that many non-academic jobs have been created for archaeologists (I14, I145, I217, I219, I292). As an archaeologist working in the Heijokyu Section of the Nabunken notes:

> Twenty years ago there were not many excavators. Beginning 20 years ago, there were gradually more jobs in archaeology all over the country. But, until 10 years ago, when the number of jobs began to increase rapidly, there were still virtually none and it was very difficult to make a living doing archaeology. Some people worked as school teachers and did archaeology in their spare time. Some had wives who worked while they did archaeology. There were quite a few of these people. Thirty years ago you would never see an excavation which employed 20 or 30 people as you do now. Things have really changed (I145).

As he points out, the administrative system has created a structure whereby people are now paid to do archaeological work. Thus, they are able to turn archaeology, which was in the past largely an avocation, into a career. This pleases some archaeologists, who would otherwise not be able to work professionally, but disturbs others who feel that the purity of the discipline is slipping away. A Professor of Archaeology at a university in the Tokyo area expressed these latter feelings saying that:

> During the 1950s and 1960s, there were about 200 research excavations carried out throughout Japan each year....In the 1980s about 190 to 200 university excavations are done in Japan annually. Thus, the number of research excavations has not increased at all. What has changed is that, since the 1960s, the number of rescue excavations related to development has increased. The most important point about this is that, previously, the attitude of archaeologists, students and university researchers with regards to the discipline of archaeology, their sincerity, their heart-felt purpose, was purer. Now the feeling is "let's work, let's work, let's research, let's research". Now we have the term "salaryman archaeologist" (<u>sararimanu kokogakusha</u>). When I was a student, excavations were done with a science grant from the Ministry of Education. This money came out of the nation's taxes, so the money was limited. Consequently, we would work on a site all night if necessary. Nowadays, when it is 4:00 or 4:30, archaeologists begin to pack up to finish work. I think this is a difficult issue. We used to work hard. It was during the 1960s, particularly since 1965, that

> Japan began to be richer and development really began to pick up. Excavations became very large, cost a lot of money and lasted a long time--even one or two years. In conclusion, excavations used to be very small and slow. Archaeologists were searching for detailed divisions (in, for example, the pottery chronology). Now archaeology has become like all of Japanese society --it is organized around the salaryman. This is how the archaeology of the 1950s and 1960s differs from that after about 1965 (I20).

A younger archaeologist in his early thirties, who works on rescue excavations as an investigator for the Miyagi Cultural Properties Division, echoed these thoughts when he said "Before, archaeology was a more serious and straightforward discipline" (I224). Implying that now, it is something less.

This sense that many archaeologists are less dedicated and earnest than they were 20 or 30 years ago is related to the notion that administrative archaeology, which is done for money, is somehow less wholesome than academic work. As I have shown in earlier chapters, the immediate postwar period was a time when many archaeologists felt that they had a mission--to create a "scientific" and hence non-ideological ancient history for Japan. Those on the political left, furthermore, believed that archaeologists had a responsibility to protect the cultural heritage of the Japanese people, so that material remains would always be available to disprove nationalists and hence ideological notions of Japanese beginnings. These radical archaeologists argued that excavation was only acceptable when directed towards research goals. Thus, excavation conducted within the context of the administrative archaeological system was and remains, for these people, unacceptable. Some of these archaeologists refuse to work within the administrative system. Others work within the administrative system today and handle the contradictions between their actions and ideals by pretending that their work in salvage archaeology is only temporary. They

continue to believe that "Their divine mission is research, and salvage is only a means toward that end" (Kobayshi 1986: 495).

Most archaeologists, of course, do not go to this extreme. Although they worry that the archaeological resource base is being gradually destroyed, they have decided to accept excavation as better than nothing. Over the years they have come to appreciate the information that can be gathered using the methods and money available through the administrative archaeological system. There are many examples of this attitude among my informants. Still, archaeologists tend to express great commitment to their work. As Kobayashi points out "This kind of commitment is never expressed by others in general occupational categories, whose main motivation is simply and obviously to make a living. In the consciousness of archaeologists there is a concern that can be expressed as seeking after the truth, a kind of compelling mission" (Kobayashi 1986: 495).

I think that this sense of mission has grown out of the belief among archaeologists, especially those who began their student or professional careers between 1945 and the student movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s, that they should use their work to give the Japanese people a non-ideological, scientific reconstruction of history. These archaeologists, the creators of the postwar paradigm, have become the teachers of a younger generation of archaeologists, aged 35 and younger in the mid-1980s, who make up the majority of investigators in the administrative system.

To some extent, the beliefs of the older generation have been transferred to their younger colleagues. As my interviews show, most archaeologists of all ages express a sense of commitment to their work. There are some people, however, who work as investigators simply because they are able to earn a living doing so. An excellent example is a young investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai

Center who told me that he is really fascinated by modern history and finds archaeology boring. He was only working as an archaeologist until a teaching post becomes available.

Younger archaeologists come from a generation of students that was much less politically active than their elders. They grew up in a Japan which was not a defeated nation struggling to regain economic strength, but in a country which had already begun to flourish as an economic superpower. By the time they were students, radical politics had been largely forgotten--after all many of those who had protested as students were now living and working as part of the establishment. In the case of archaeology, many of the archaeologists who had protested so vehemently against site destruction were working within the administrative system. Like their peers in other occupations, many younger archaeologists working in the administrative system today would like to expand their lives beyond the limits of their workplace.

This kind of attitude seems to threaten well-established archaeologists, who feel that their younger colleagues should not only be passionately involved in their work but also suffer the privations which they themselves suffered in the pursuit of archaeological truth. It disturbs them that some archaeologists "...sell their archaeological knowledge on demand, being paid for their hours spent. They tend to be fixed into a pattern of movement between the site and their material possessions - and the image of the good life" (Kobayashi 1986: 495). But perhaps this is one of the prices of creating a system in which individuals are able to work as archaeologists within the context of standard salaried employment. What archaeology has gained in terms of higher standards for rapid excavation, analysis and reporting, it has lost in focused attention and passionate devotion to the site and artifacts.

A second change that has accompanied the development of administrative archaeology is an increase in both the number and the size of the sites excavated (I7, I8, I10, I13, I20, I24, I34, I39, I61, I91, I95). As described in Question 2, many archaeologists are ambivalent about these large-scale excavations. On the one hand, they realize that the vast areas opened up during the past twenty years have produced a wealth of information, particularly about prehistoric and historic settlement patterns. But the time restrictions imposed by rescue excavations have resulted in fewer chances to do painstakingly thorough excavations and analyses of these enormous sites. Thus, the detailed study of typology, which characterized Japanese archaeology in the prewar and early postwar periods, has become less important in recent years.

Several archaeologists mentioned that these large-scale excavations have produced more and different sorts of data (I8, I10, I24). With total-face excavations (excavations in which the entire area to be destroyed through construction is opened, including areas with archaeological features and artifacts and those in between where nothing is found), scholars have been able to examine the relationships between the various parts of sites. For example, now they can look at the connection between the living areas and the garbage dumps. This interest in settlement studies has moved archaeology away from the much stronger focus on typology which characterized the discipline until the mid-1960s.

Another result of the shift from academic to administrative archaeology has been an increase in the amount as well as the sort of data produced. This has been reflected both in the publication of more specialized site reports aimed at the growing audience of archaeological professionals and in an increase in the amount of information produced for the general public (I12, I15, I38, I118, I137, I140, I145, I146, I147, I50, I51, I222, I223, I225).

Archaeologists differ in their attitudes towards this information explosion. Some believe that, with the wealth of new data produced by numerous excavations, archaeology has progressed over the past few decades (I12, I222, I223). Others, however, point out that new information has appeared so quickly that it cannot be processed, used and absorbed by the professional archaeological community. As Saville points out "...the reports which do appear tend to be short on discussion; they are technical, sometimes very brief, reports which anticipate future synthesis. Unfortunately, the huge output of excavation reports over the last ten years is such that no-one, even in the universities, can keep up or even attempt to synthesize the accumulating data" (1986: 43). I talked to many archaeologists who blamed the sheer quantity of data produced by administrative excavations for the frustrating situation in which archaeologists cannot analyze and organize new data. As an investigator in his mid-thirties, working at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute, told me "Archaeology has stopped being an academic discipline. There is too much information and archaeologists don't know what to do about it" (I118). Other archaeologists pointed out that the methodology or conceptual framework of Japanese archaeological research could not accommodate so many new facts (I15, I38, I140, 146, I225). An investigator in his early thirties, working at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, had this to say about the situation:

> The number of sites has increased significantly.... Today, throughout all of Japan, there are 10,000 sites dug each year. The number of sites dug has really increased. The amount of information has also increased. But what is the correct historical perspective to use when examining this information? I think this is still vague. I think that in the past, when fewer sites were excavated, it was easier to answer the question of how the excavated material could be examined from a historical point of view (I38).

An investigator in his mid-thirties, working for the Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center, pointed out that:

> Of course, because of development, archaeological excavations have become much larger in scale. One consequence of this has been an increase in the amount of information produced. One person, or even a group of people cannot do all of the analysis. There are also many research reports. In our prefecture there have been over 60 site reports produced in the past 10 years. In Fukuoka City in Fukuoka Prefecture they have produced as many as 100 site reports in the past 10 years. It is becoming difficult to know how to use the information. Although the amount of the information is increasing, we are getting into a situation where we can't use it.... (I225).

Archaeologists may be having difficulty knowing how to analyze the information produced through the administrative archaeological system, but, analyzed or not, this information is becoming increasingly available and of interest to non-archaeologists. My informants told me that, throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, there has been an increasing public awareness of archaeological sites and discoveries (I50, I51, I145, I147). Most archaeologists date the beginning of this awareness to the discovery of the Takamatsuzuka tomb in 1972. An administrator of the CAO in the Nabunken had this to say about the public's interest in the Takamatsuzuka excavation and subsequent interest in archaeology:

> It was after Takamatsuzuka that archaeological news began to be reported as the top newspaper stories. For example, in the original plans for the television program "Silk Road", history was not important. But because many people were interested in history, they changed the focus of the project. Takamatsuzuka is beautiful and it stimulates people's imagination. It is mysterious because very few people have actually seen inside the burial chamber. Even the newspaper reporters were only allowed inside Takamatsuzuka two or three times. In that sense, the site stimulated the people's primitive curiosity and, in my opinion, archaeology is based on people's curiosity about the past. Archaeology is also based on people's interest

> in their own ancestors. In addition, archaeology is able to discuss the relationship between Japan, Korea and China (I50).

Although the publicity surrounding finds such as Takamatsuzuka may have fired the public's imagination and encouraged otherwise uninterested people to think about the ancient past, a more compelling reason for the recent interest in archaeology is that the public is now more exposed to archaeology through a number of sources. An investigator from the Heijokyu Section of the Nabunken pointed out that people have become more interested in archaeology because school textbooks now discuss archaeology, "...the television and radio provide a lot more information about archaeology," and "compared with the past, there are more sites and more archaeologists digging the sites who are willing to guide the public. Wherever you go through Japan, there will be prefectural works being done which require archaeological excavation" (I145). Thus, administrative archaeology has provided the general public with the opportunity to learn about archaeology first hand, through site visits or through the growing amount of information presented in the mass media.

Archaeologists noted a number of other changes that are not directly related to the shift from academic to administrative archaeology. Most of these observations dealt with changes in the methods, theory or purpose of archaeological work.

Some archaeologists, for instance, believe that archaeology has become more sophisticated over the years. An investigator working at the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center told me that "Archaeology has become more sophisticated in an academic sense and it is now more accepted by the public. Archaeology is no longer a treasure hunt, but is a part of historical studies. It is becoming an academic subject, like the study of written texts" (I150). Thus, according to this informant, archaeological

data are now accepted as being a legitimate source of information about history.

An archaeologist working at the Sakura National Museum talked about the changing relationship between archaeology and other disciplines, especially the physical and biological sciences and history. He pointed out that the cooperation between archaeologists and scientists on projects dealing with, for example, the preservation of artifacts has changed archaeology. Previously, archaeology was a solitary discipline distant even from the study of history. Historians worked with texts and archaeologists worked at sites and focused on pottery typology. Now the work scholars at the Sakura National Museum do is more a combination of history and archaeology. He suggests that perhaps a new discipline is being created (I8).

An archaeologist at the Kashiwara Archaeological Research Institute's Museum disagreed with the idea that archaeology is moving closer to history. She pointed out that "The basic techniques of excavation and the drawing of pictures is better than before, but the perspective of the discipline is narrower. Archaeologists think only about details now. There is less flexibility in thinking about history and culture, in making archaeology a part of history" (I156).

A number of archaeologists pointed out that one of the biggest changes which has occurred in archaeology over the past few years has been the development of more sophisticated and advanced excavation and analytical techniques (I11, I38, I93, I149, I156, I157, I292). Changes mentioned included the mechanization of excavation (I93) and the adoption of various scientific techniques of analysis (I38, I149). An investigator working for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center told me, for instance, that "Cooperation with the natural sciences has progressed. The use of Carbon 14 is an example of this. Another example is the reconstruction of floral profiles using pollen

analysis....We are now able to understand things which we could never have understood with the old form of archaeology. In the case of shellmiddens, we use the natural sciences to study animal and fish bones" (I38).

In a sense the two archaeologists mentioned in the above paragraph are both correct in their perception of changes in the relationship between archaeology and other disciplines. They are simply looking at the issue from different points of view. The vast amount of information produced by the administrative archaeology system today results mainly from the trends to excavate more and bigger sites as necessitated by development. In addition, new techniques, derived from the physical and biological sciences, have also meant that new kinds of data or information can be extracted from sites. The result of this information boom can be thought of in either of the two ways described above. Archaeologists either say that the new information provides data which can allow them to view their discipline as an equal rather than an adjunct to history or they can say that they are swamped in information and unable to make broader statements about the historical past because they cannot analyze the information.

In summary, archaeologists viewed the past 20 years as a time when the major change in archaeology was in its organization structure. They see the shift in archaeology from academic to administrative work as being central to this change. They see most of the other changes mentioned--the advent of large-scale excavation, the recovery of more and more data, and increased public awareness of archaeology--as related to this shift. The opinions archaeologists expressed about these changes varied. Some see great advantages in the advent of large-scale excavations, since more and more is being discovered about the Japanese past. Others argue that the vast amount of data produced is proving to be a problem, since they have

little time to synthesize the results and arrive at their ultimate goal--writing a history of Japan.

Question 8: How do you think Japanese archaeology will change in the future?

There was less agreement among archaeologists on how their discipline would change over the next 20 years than over how it had changed during the past 2 decades. The first possible change, discussed by the largest number of archaeologists, was the continued and increasing application of techniques of analysis derived from the natural sciences to archaeology (I7, I10, I11, I12, I14, I24, I89, I95). To provide a context for the discussion of these changes, I begin this section with an outline of the role of natural scientific techniques in contemporary Japanese archaeology. A second future trend predicted by many archaeologists was the continuation of the present archaeological information explosion, which will encourage archaeologists to develop better data processing and analytical techniques (I13, I15, I17, I92, I94, I145, I146, I157, I218, I222). A number of archaeologists also expressed concern over the fate of the rapidly diminishing archaeological data base.

Japanese archaeologists have been exploring possible applications of analyses derived from the natural sciences to archaeological research since the late 1940s and early 1950s, when the multi-disciplinary Toro Site excavations took place (I20). Although, during the 1960s, there was some resistance by a number of older, established and influential archaeologists to the introduction of Carbon 14 dating into Japanese archaeology, the technique is now completely accepted by academic and administrative archaeologists and is routinely used throughout Japan. Ikawa-Smith (1975: 15-16; 1978: 265) discusses these objections to the use of Carbon 14 dating in Japan. Archaeologists working in Japan also routinely use analyses of pollen and other plant remains to reconstruct past floral environments (Crawford 1983; Tsukada 1986; Yasuda 1978; Watanabe 1968), faunal analysis to study subsistence, the

seasonality of settlements and changes in the composition of hunted quarry (Akazawa 1969; 1980; 1982; Koike 1980; Koike and Ohtaishi 1985; Suzuki 1986), the analysis of stable carbon isotopes to examine dietary patterns (Chisholm and Koike 1988; Roksandic et al. 1988) and neutron activation and X-ray flourescence analyses to trace clay sources of ceramics (Habu et al. 1989). Paleobotanical analyses of prehistoric plant remains provide data on the introduction and development of plant cultivation in prehistoric Japan (Akazawa 1986; Crawford 1983; Nishida 1983; Rowley-Conwy 1984). The use of x-ray radiography has allowed scholars to read inscriptions on swords excavated from the 5th century Sakitama-Inariyama mound (Anazawa and Manome 1986). Thus, over the years, scientific techniques have become a crucial part of the Japanese archaeologist's analytical repertory.

Until recently, it has been mainly academic archaeologists who have experimented with the use of analytical techniques borrowed from the natural sciences to understand archaeological data and solve archaeological problems. They were encouraged in this task, during the late 1970s and early 1980s, by two major Ministry of Education research grants. These grants were both of three years duration and were earmarked for academic research into the use of scientific techniques in archaeology. The first of these "Ministry of Education's Special Science Research Fund" grants (Mombusho Kagaku Kenkyuhi Tokutei Kenkyu), entitled "Application of Scientific Techniques to the Study of Sites and Cultural Properties" (Shizen Kagaku no Shuho ni yoru Iseki, Kobunkazai To no Kenkyu), involved the participation of 150 archaeologists and natural scientists from universities, museums and research institutes throughout Japan (including the CAO at the Nabunken and the Tokyo National Cultural Properties Research Institute). The research, which was done between 1976 and 1978 with a final report prepared in 1979, focused on (1) dating, (2) the environment, (3) subsistence, (4) material and technology,

(5) production place, (6) prospecting and artifact analysis and (7) conservation and restoration. The results were presented in a 1980 publication entitled "Natural Scientific Approaches in Archaeology and Art History" (Kokogaku, Bijutsushi no Shizen Kagakuteki Kenkyu) (Kobunkazai Henshu Iinkai 1980).

The second Ministry of Education research grant was entitled "Ancient Cultural Properties in relation to the Preservation Sciences and Humanities and the Natural Sciences" (Kobunkazai ni kansuru Hozon Kagaku to Jimbun, Shizen Kagaku). The purpose of the grant was to facilitate the integration of natural scientific techniques into the human sciences. The government felt that this was especially important in those regional institutions, such as prefectural and municipal boards of education and buried cultural property centers, which deal with the preservation of ancient cultural properties. This grant was allocated to 200 natural scientists and human scientists working at universities, museums and research institutes throughout Japan and was coordinated by Watanabe Naotsune. The fields studied were (1) conservation and restoration, (2) material and technology, (3) production place, (4) environment, (5) subsistence, (6) prospecting and artifact analysis and (7) dating. The results of this second grant were published in 1984 under the title "Scientific Approaches to the Study of Ancient Cultural Property" (Kobunkazai no Shizen Kagakuteki Kenkyu) (Kobunkazai Henshu Iinkai 1984).

Although these grants were made to scholars working within universities, museums and research institutions, the results of their research have been noted with interest by administrative archaeologists. Investigators working on administrative rescue excavations now routinely incorporate increasingly sophisticated natural science techniques into the field and laboratory phases of their rescue projects. Knowledge of, and competence in, techniques move from the

realm of academia to that of administration in a number of formal and informal ways.

Study and training seminars for administrative archaeologists working in prefectural and municipal bodies all over Japan are held at the Nabunken's CAO throughout the year. In 1987, the CAO sponsored 12 seminars with a total of 276 participants. The shortest seminars lasted 2 days and the longest a month (Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo 1989: 64). Participants in these seminars are usually young administrative archaeologists (normally investigators) sent by their employers to learn about the specialized scientific techniques of excavation, analysis and preservation, the preparation of research reports, general archaeological techniques and principles of buried cultural property preservation. The seminars provide an excellent environment for the dissemination of information on the latest scientific techniques, since the regional administrative archaeologists are able to work directly with CAO research staff who are actually developing these new methods.

In addition to its seminars, the CAO also provides technical assistance to administrative excavations throughout Japan. In 1987, official guidance was given to 138 excavation projects in 38 prefectures (Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo 1989: 64-65). This guidance is usually provided during visits to the site by Nabunken experts who work under the leadership of Sahara Makoto, head of the Research Guidance Department of the Institute's CAO. Sahara and his colleagues are available for questions and remain in constant contact with researchers and excavations all over the country (F. Ikawa-Smith, personal communication 1990).

Informal networks also provide information on scientific techniques to archaeologists working in academic and administrative programs. In Japan, there is considerable interaction between academic and administrative archaeologists. To begin with, most professional archaeologists belong to the JAA. Thus, they are able to

exchange information at the formal and informal levels when attending Association meetings.

Academic archaeologists, furthermore, are often named as official advisors to excavations done within the administrative system or they are asked to be members of the Board of Directors of buried cultural property centers and prefectural and municipal board of education sponsored chosa kai. They are thus able to meet regularly with their administrative colleagues to exchange information. In this way, academic archaeologists can keep abreast of new developments in the field and their administrative colleagues may benefit from the academics' broader view of recent activities in archaeological research and excavation throughout the country.

An informal route for the introduction of scientific methods into administrative archaeology grows out of the close ties which remain between university professors and their students, who often find jobs within the administrative system after graduation and then rise to positions of authority. In addition to having studied in universities where professors or senior research assistants were developing uses for the natural sciences in archaeological analysis or cultural property preservation, these younger archaeologists may call on their professors for advice when they encounter problems. In such a case, the professor who, through his position and status has a broader outlook on developments in all parts of Japan, may be able to offer advice on new methods or pertinent information found at other sites. (I100, F. Ikawa-Smith personal communication 1990).

With a strong focus on the development of scientific methods and techniques of analysis, it is not surprising that several of my informants mentioned the application of natural scientific techniques (including the use of underwater archaeology (I24, I223)) as one of the most important changes likely to affect administrative

archaeological work in the future. A senior archaeologist at the Sakura National Museum told me that:

> Environmental archaeology and natural (science) archaeology and other practical things are the new trend in archaeology. In my opinion, the integration or joining of archaeology with the natural sciences has advanced. Nevertheless, we are still at the stage of cooperative work between archaeologists and natural scientists. The next stage is the era when archaeologists themselves will use natural scientific techniques (I7)

When asked about future changes, his colleague working in the museum pointed out that the use of scientific techniques must always be combined with the notion of archaeology as a historical study of human beings:

> Cooperation with the natural sciences has developed rapidly. Previously, the identification of the source of the raw materials and manufacturing area was done with the naked eye. Now natural scientific techniques are being used.....Japanese archaeology has two traditions. The methods used to study the Paleolithic and Jomon and those used to examine the periods after the Yayoi are very different. The conceptual framework is also quite different. The older periods are thought of as prehistory and it is here that cooperation with the natural sciences is quite advanced. For the more recent periods, the Yayoi, Kofun, Nara and Heian, cooperation with the natural sciences has not yet advanced. So I think that, from now on, archaeologists who study time periods after the "stone ages" will have to cooperate more with natural scientists and use more methods from the natural sciences. There will be no problems if the cooperation between the natural sciences and archaeology is done well. Of course, I still think that archaeology is part of the study of history. It is a human science. Consequently, we must always think about archaeology using the methods of historical study (I95).

This comment brings up the question of what "science in archaeology" means to Japanese archaeologists. First, although the informant favors the use of natural scientific methods as standard analytical procedures for sites of all periods, he adds that archaeologists should never forget

that their discipline is a historical science. This use of the word "science" in connection with history was originally used in the early postwar years, when archaeologists felt they had a duty to create a nonideological or "scientific" version of ancient history. At this time, the concept of historical science was closely tied to the Marxist tradition of historical materialism. Unlike in North America, where the concept of scientific archaeology developed around the notion of theoretical rigor as espoused by processual archaeologists, in Japan, archaeology as science meant both archaeology as historical science and archaeology as a discipline which uses natural scientific methods. Thus, a Japanese archaeologist interested in scientific archaeology might use techniques adopted from the natural sciences to create a massive data base of information and then incorporate this information into a theoretical framework based on historical materialism. Or, as is more likely among administrative archaeologists, he might simply collect the data base and incorporate it into a description of the site for publication in a site report or a publication for the general public. The "historical science" aspect of archaeological research is generally an underlying but unspoken theme or organizing principle.

A second theme that emerged, when I asked archaeologists about the future of their discipline, was a concern with trying to cope with the ever increasing piles of information created by the administrative archaeological system (I13, I19, I91, I92, I94, I145, I146, I157, I218, I222, I223). Two informants told me that, although archaeologists are now able to collect more detailed information in greater quantities, they have not yet found ways to organize or use these data (I145, I222). Several others mentioned that, in the future, computers would be used for data manipulation and data storage (I94, I146).

However, a number of my informants expressed concern that some archaeologists might think that computers could

eliminate the human component of archaeological research. For instance, an investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center told me that "Recently, we have begun to use computers. I think computers are one way of analyzing information but I think that, in the end, it is people's eyes that are important. The figures which come out of the computer are one kind of information, but they are not all" (I94). An archaeologist working in the Heijokyu Section of the Nabunken warned that "Data manipulation by computer will occur and, because data accumulation will be done by computer, it will not be considered academic work" (I146).

The idea that, in the future, some forms of archaeological investigation will cease to be considered academic work was echoed by two other archaeologists. A investigator in his early twenties, working at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, told me that, in the future, research archaeologists and administrative archaeologists will be isolated in two different streams. And his older colleague, an investigator in his early forties, working for the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute, said that "In the future, data collection will be more ingenious and data manipulation will be more effective. Those archaeologists whose only abilities are to collect data will be thought of as technicians not scholars. Their relationship to archaeologists will be like that of construction workers to architects. At the moment they are regarded as archaeologists, but in the future they will be seen as technicians" (I157).

Archaeologists foresaw changes not only in the production and manipulation of data, but also in the storage of artifacts. An investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center told me that this could be a potential problem in the future since "There are many artifacts and we have little space. Previously, there were not many artifacts, so they could all go into a museum. In the future, if larger storage spaces aren't built, there won't

be enough room. If it is impossible to build these storage spaces, the museums will have to provide storage space...At the moment the artifacts are being left at the site of the excavation in prefabricated storage places" (I91).

Many archaeologists said that their discipline was bound to change as the number of sites needing excavation decreased over the next few years or decades. Different archaeologists saw various reasons for this decrease. Some pointed out that, with the massive amount of development and excavation being done today, all of Japan's sites would eventually be excavated and hence destroyed. Others told me that they could foresee the day when excavation work would decrease, as the need for construction slowed down and archaeologists ran out of money for excavation. An investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center added that this has already begun to happen. Although there have been no changes in funding for archaeology at the national and prefectural levels, smaller towns and cities have been affected by a decrease in available excavation money caused by a drop in the amount of construction being done (I39).

An academic archaeologist added:

> Japanese society will develop and decline or there will be an oil shock or the United States will cause problems. These economically related things will happen. I don't think that Japan can continue to be this fortunate I think that, in terms of the economy and development, things will get much harder. I think that as money gets tighter and there is more pressure to finish sites quickly, it will become increasingly difficult to do good excavations. In relation to this, the attitude of Japanese archaeologists with regards to society will have to be watched carefully. Archaeological research will become harder to do (I20).

An extreme situation envisaged by some archaeologists is one in which all of the sites in the major urban and suburban areas will have been excavated. At that point, archaeologists will not work at sites but rather, will be

tied to their desks. As an archaeologist from the Kyushu Historical Information Center told me, "Archaeology is a discipline which takes place on the site, but I imagine that, in the future, it will be a discipline which is done at a desk" (I216).

It is interesting to note that most of my informants speculated on methodological changes or changes in the organization of archaeological research. Only a few archaeologists discussed possible changes to the theoretical framework of the discipline or shifts in archaeology's place within Japanese society.

When asked about past changes in their discipline, many archaeologists discussed the development of settlement studies as an especially significant spin-off from the numerous large-scale excavations being done by administrative archaeologists. Several archaeologists mentioned the study of community organization and settlement pattern studies as becoming important fields of study in the future (I11, I13, I218). For instance, here is the reply of an archaeologist working at the Sakura National Museum. He too focuses, to some extent, on the importance of methodological innovations rather than on the theoretical implications of settlement pattern studies.

> In the future, scientific methods will be incorporated into archaeological research. For example, if we have a village, we will be able to tell where the people from the village hunted or where they buried their dead. We will gradually be able to understand these things. Furthermore, we will be able to study the connection between villages, and examine the relationship between the center and the peripheral villages at the time when the centrally organized state was being formed (I11).

On a more philosophical note, at least one archaeologist from the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center said that he worried about the possibility that, in the future, archaeological data might be used for nationalistic

purposes. However, he did not specify how or why this might happen (I152). An academic archaeologist in his fifties, teaching at a university in the Tokyo area said that he thought the tenor of the discipline would change as archaeologists of his age, who had experienced the war and postwar eras, retired. He told me that the students in university today are apolitical and have no concept of the relationship between archaeology and society. They are aware of the things they eat, the books they read and their studies, but they have no conception of the future. This trend makes him worry about the future of Japanese archaeology (I20).

Not all my informants were so pessimistic about the future of archaeology or the future political involvement of archaeologists. A social education officer in his early thirties, working for a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture, told me that, in his opinion, the future would see the archaeological protection come together with environmental protection:

> In the future, cultural properties will become important. Cultural property protection will not be simply cultural property protection, but will be combined with the problem of the contamination of the environment with radioactivity and general problems of pollution. Thus, cultural property protection will be part of the broader problem of the environment. We have to think of cultural property protection within the same framework as environmental protection. If we do this, I think that we can work at both of these problems together. That is to say, the protection of nature is the same thing as the protection of cultural properties..... To date, the environmental movement and the movement to protect cultural properties have never come together. This is because the environmental movement has been quite extreme and has been driven into a corner. But the problem we have now is not simply one of cultural property protection. Cultural property protection must be dealt with in conjunction with the rights of the people for a decent lifestyle and the problem of the natural environment. I think that it is in these areas that the cultural preservation movement will broaden in the future (I217).

In summary, looking into the future, Japanese archaeologists see a continuation of administrative archaeology as the major focus of their work--at least until they run out of either sites or money. Still, while they mention the rapid accumulation of piles of unanalyzed information as a problem that must be solved, they are also interested by the various new kinds of data which can be extracted using techniques from the natural sciences. Consequently, the empirical and inductive orientation of Japanese archaeology coupled with the goal of reconstructing the Japanese past in as much detail and as vividly as possible, may continue in coming years.

Question 9: Do you think the quality of Japanese archaeology is high?

Only a few of the the archaeologists whom I interviewed answered with an unqualified "yes" to this question (I10, I11, I90, I94, I100). One of the qualities these scholars mentioned was the detailed data produced by Japanese excavations (I10, I94). Another positive feature was settlement studies, which many archaeologists considered quite advanced. An academic archaeologist, who had worked in the United States and Canada, pointed out that "...in Japan, we must excavate the whole site. This is a good point when compared to Canada and the USA (I100)". Complete excavation often goes hand-in-hand with the administrative system, another of Japan's strengths. "In Japan, all sites no matter how small are handled through the administrative archaeology system. They are never destroyed. In Canada, where private consultants are often called upon to excavate sites, a small part of the site is excavated and the rest is destroyed" (I100). Of course, in Japan, sites are also partially excavated when only a portion of the site is scheduled for development. An archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum agreed that Japanese archaeologists do a lot of excavation "perhaps the most in the world." He went on to point out that one of the strengths of Japanese archaeological work is the technical proficiency of Japanese archaeologists. For example, in Japan, all archaeologists are able to draw their own maps and pictures of artifacts to be published in research reports. Thus, he upheld the tradition of descriptive site reports on which Japanese archaeologists pride themselves (I13). Being able to collect detailed information by means of numerous excavations and to describe this information well were seen by many archaeologists as the main strengths of their work.

Although few archaeologists believed Japanese archaeology to be of unequivocally high quality, it is heartening to note that few thought it was unquestionably bad. Those who did (I7, I89, I92) said that Japanese archaeology was of poor quality either because the country's archaeological system lacks labor and money when compared to countries such as China, which "do not spare anything...but throw labor and capital into their investigations"(I92) or because the purpose behind Japanese archaeological work is digging, with no conception of how the site being dug fits into broader patterns of regional prehistory (I7). The archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum who mentioned this thought that site reports should more clearly reflect the research orientation of the investigators (I7).

When asked about the quality of their discipline, most archaeologists were able to identify aspects of Japanese archaeology that they considered of high quality and others that they thought were poorly done. An archaeologist from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute pointed out that "The techniques are good, for example, the density of field surveys. But there is no methodology (hoho). The methodology has just been borrowed. So Japanese archaeology will never be a leader of world archaeology" (I132). An investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center agreed that the quality of excavation techniques in Japan is high. He also thought that Japanese typological and chronological studies were quite advanced. On the other hand, he saw Japanese archaeology as lacking in its conceptual and philosophical base, in terms of which he believed Western scholars to be ahead of Japan. Thus, according to this archaeologist, although the techniques of excavation and analytical methodology are strong features of Japan archaeology, creativity in conceptual thought is lacking (I48). An archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum criticized the treatment of information after excavation. He believed the information produced by

Japanese archaeologists to be good, but thought that this information was not being used properly. The research reports contained errors and most were disregarded (I9). Finally, an archaeologist from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute pointed out that, while the quality of work on short duration, large-scale Japanese site excavations is inferior to that of the US and Britain, it is, in general, better than that in Korea and China (I140).

Several informants pointed out that the quality of archaeological work varies from region to region throughout Japan (I12, I13). One of these archaeologists, from the Sakura National Museum, said that the quality of work done in eastern Japan is lower than that done in western Japan. He pointed out that archaeologists from western Japan have difficulty working in the east, because they are unfamiliar with the range of pottery types found there. He also said that archaeologists in eastern Japan tend to be familiar with only one time period because the large size of the universities forces the professors to specialize and encourages the students to root themselves in one research laboratory. Furthermore, they tend to know only one area, since administrative archaeology forces them to work in one district (I13).

Many of the archaeologists with whom I talked turned my question into a comparison between North American and Japanese archaeology. Thus, they pointed out that, in general, field and laboratory techniques, including the presentation of results in a site report, are superior in Japan, while the theoretical aspects of archaeology are more highly developed in Western archaeological research. Some of the opinions on this subject reflect a pervasive feeling among Japanese archaeologists that their work is superior in terms of technical detail and execution but inferior in terms of integrating archaeological information into a broader picture. For example, an investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center admitted to knowing little

about North American archaeology, but then went on to compare Japanese and North American research reports:

> Japanese research reports contain detailed pictures and graphs. The ones from abroad are not as detailed. But the pictures are easy to understand. When you look at one picture you know what the object is. In foreign publications they don't have detailed descriptions, but rather they try to explain in simple sentences so the ideas are easier for the general public to understand. I think the Japanese people would tell us that this was what they want if we asked them. I think there are different ways of thinking about research reports. But you can't say that one way is good and the other is bad. Each of them has good points. What we need is more interchange (I93).

This statement should be treated more as an example of the mixed attitudes Japanese archaeologists have with regard to Western archaeology, rather then as a statement of fact. Japanese archaeologists acknowledge a historical debt to Western archaeology, but claim that now Japanese archaeologists produce more detailed field and laboratory work than do their colleagues in North America and Europe.

Some informants seemed to feel that their discipline was somehow lacking because it does not have an explicit theoretical framework or, as is the case in Euroamerican archaeology, a constantly changing series of theoretical frameworks. However, those who had thought more deeply about this issue pointed out that Japanese archaeology is also theoretically rooted. In the following extended quotation, an archaeologist from the Nabunken's CAO discusses the place of theory in Japanese archaeology. He begins by pointing out that, in Japan, archaeology is a part of history and then adds that "in history you don't need theory. History is a descriptive discipline." When asked if description itself is a kind of theory he replied:

> It is theory but not in the anthropological sense. In history, models are not made. For example a book containing all the genealogies of the famous Chinese

> leaders is a history book. You can't make a model of this work. This is a kind of model, but you can't make an explicit model from this work. Still, there is a model in the author's head. But he described the model as an actual description of people. This is history. We historians all have models, but we don't make them explicit. In Japan, we think that our job is to describe what really happened in Japanese history. On the other hand, Western archaeologists think that models should be extracted from the general trends of history. This is how Western archaeologists and anthropologists think. Consequently, from their point of view, there is no theory (in Japanese archaeology). I think this is alright. There is one other thing that I'd like to mention. I study history which is connected directly to my own ancestors. When I was a student, I studied Russian archaeology, but my main interest was in learning how to excavate and how to process data. I was studying the formation of the state in terms of a group of pastoralists in the USSR. I used this as a model for looking at the creation of the Japanese state. But my main purpose was to describe, in concrete terms, the formation of the Japanese state. The people I studied in the USSR are pastoralists and quite different from agriculturalists. Still, they can be seen as one kind of mirror for the Japanese data.

He then went on to compare Western and Japanese archaeology, by saying that Western archaeology tends to be deductive while Japanese archaeology is inductive. This is shown by the tendency of some Western scholars to ignore the reality of the archaeological record and construct their own reality based on a theoretical framework.

In Japan, on the other hand, although everyone has a theoretical orientation, these are not always explicitly stated:

> Everyone has theory to a certain degree, for example, the Japanese theory of the beginning of the Japanese state. In my case, I studied foreign examples and I have some models in my head but I don't make them explicit. I reflect the model in the processing of the data. The most important thing is how to describe the data which results from this processing. In Japan, we don't write papers if we don't have enough data to support the theories in our heads. The problem with

> foreign scholars is that with very little data they will say something using only their theory.

He points out that the reason for this tendency to write on the basis of theory but little data is built into the system because, in North America, archaeologists must publish papers to get funds for research. Japanese archaeologists, with their relatively well-funded system of salvage archaeology, can always be sure of receiving money to excavate. In conclusion:

> I find the papers written by Americans interesting. The difference between Japan and North America is the use of the inductive and deductive approaches. In North America, history is descriptive as in Japan. The models are implicit as in Japan. So the point is that the difference may be between history and anthropology rather than between the West and Japan (I50).

This last statement comes to the crux of the issue; the difference between North American and Japanese archaeology is the identification of Japanese archaeology with history and of North American archaeology with anthropology.

This attitude is echoed by another archaeologist from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute, who had studied in the United States. He said that "In terms of excavation techniques, Japan is better. But in terms of theory, America has progressed, because it is deductive. In Japan the approach is inductive and chronological" (I131).

In conclusion, Japanese archaeologists are proud of their technical and methodological abilities, which is fortunate since these are the attributes that come to the fore in large-scale administrative excavations. However, they seem to be somewhat insecure about the quality of their work when it is compared to that of Euroamerican archaeology, which they see as more theoretically orientated. Rightly or wrongly, most archaeologists seem to regard theory as being inextricably tied to an anthropological rather than to a historical approach.

Question 10: Do you think the Imperial Tombs should be excavated? Why does the Imperial Household Agency forbid such investigation?

Although most of Japan's prehistoric and historic remains are protected under the Law, there are some sites which do not fall within the jurisdiction of the ACA. These are the Royal Tombs (Ryobo), said to be tombs of direct relations of the imperial lineage including the emperors, female emperors, empresses and crown princes. The Royal Tombs are administered by the Imperial Household Agency.

The Royal Tombs, some of which are of great archaeological importance, are considered sacred by some people and simply of importance to the imperial family by others. Permission to enter these areas is granted only by the Imperial Household Agency. As of 1981, there were 454 Royal Tombs. One hundred and one of these were designated Imperial Tombs, which means that they supposedly house the bodies of past emperors (Minamikata 1981: 171). The most recent Imperial Tomb is that of the late Showa Emperor, Hirohito, who died in January 1989. The total number of sites controlled by the Imperial Household Agency (including non-archaeological sacred places traditionally linked to the imperial lineage) is given as 1160 by Minamikata (1981: 171), 1087 by Ishibe and Miyakawa (1986: 245) and 859 by Imai (1978: 24). Imai says there are 111 Imperial Tombs. He adds that 128 smaller tombs surround these larger ones (1978: 24). Pearson (1986b:72) says that "Some 124 tombs are under the control of the Imperial Household Ministry, although only 39 of these have been determined by local legends and chronicles to be even remotely related to the royal family."

The Royal Tombs are located in 33 prefectures (1 "to", 2 "fu" and 30 "ken") throughout Japan. What is of interest to archaeologists is that 85 of these sites are supposed to date prior to the Nara Period, which began in 710. These

tombs are supposed to contain the remains of members of the imperial lineage who died prior to the accession of Emperor Mommu, the 42nd emperor, who reigned from 697 to 707. Mommu was the last emperor to base his capital at Fujiwarakyo. His mother and successor, Female Emperor Gemmyo (r. 707-715) moved the capital to Heijokyo in 710 (Kidder 1972: 20). Many of these early Royal Tombs were constructed in the classic "key-hole shape" (zempo-koenfun) characteristic of burial mounds dating to the Kofun Period (Ishibe and Miyakawa 1986: 245-246) Since no, or very scant, historical records exist for these early Kofun Period tombs, archaeologists tend to think of them as sites which contain potentially important archaeological information on early Japanese state formation and cultural development.

In recent years, archaeologists have begun to request entry into the Imperial Tomb precincts. They have done this for two reasons. First, they want access to information about early Japanese history, which could be provided by surface surveys of the tombs or by observation of repair work done by the Imperial Household Agency. Second, they believe that the isolation of the tombs carries the prewar tradition of imperial sanctity into the postwar era. To understand this second point, we must briefly review how, when and why these tombs were given their imperial designations.

In the minds of many Japanese people and almost all archaeologists, the Royal Tombs are associated with the prewar emperor worship system. The tombs were first given their royal designations towards the end of the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868) and during the first few years of the Meiji Period (1868-1912), by new leaders whose goal was to reestablish imperial authority as a response to the collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the military government controlled by the Tokugawa family which ruled Japan from 1603-1868. To solidify the claim to leadership of the imperial family and create a sense of Japanese national

identity, these leaders asked scholars to identify the tombs of the ancient emperors using descriptions found in the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki as well as traditional legends surrounding the actual sites themselves (Minamikata 1981: 172-173).

Through the Meiji, Taisho and early Showa Periods, the cult of the imperial lineage grew. The education system was used to inculcate the idea of imperial sanctity to several generations of Japanese children who grew up to be extremely patriotic adults (Pyle 1978). Present and past emperors were worshiped as gods descended directly from the Sun Goddess. Gluck (1985) provides an analysis of the creation of imperial ideology in Meiji Japan. The Imperial Tombs, which were considered sacred places, fed into these legends by giving physical presence, in the form of identified tombs, to emperors who were only known to the Japanese people through myths found in the Kojiki and Nihon shoki. Thus, the tombs were used to stimulate and uphold prewar Japanese nationalism (Minamikata 1981: 187).

After Japan's defeat in 1945 came a renunciation of the concept of imperial sanctity by Hirohito, the Showa Emperor. Despite this, the Royal Tombs continued to be managed by the Imperial Household Agency. Their status, furthermore, did not change with the promulgation of the Law in 1950. They cannot be designated as either historic sites (shiseki) or as important cultural properties (juyo bunkazai). They remain the property of the imperial family, inaccessible to the Japanese people (Minamikata 1981: 176-177).

Today, most of the kofun which supposedly house the remains of ancient emperors (the Imperial Tombs or Tennoryo) are found in the Kinki area. Some of these large, key-hole shaped tombs, such as that which might belong to Emperor Nintoku, are hundreds of meters in length. Most are surrounded by moats. Often they are approached by a path leading under a torii, or sacred gate, which is normally associated with a Shinto shrine. All of these sites are

controlled by the Imperial Household Agency, which does not allow scientific survey or excavation by archaeologists. When the tombs need to be repaired, excavations are carried out by specialists within the Imperial Household Agency. Critics argue that the Imperial Household Agency has used the tombs to retain and nurture a sense of imperial sanctity (Minamikata 1981: 174-176). The Imperial Household Agency counters that they are merely protecting the tombs of the imperial ancestors, just as any other Japanese citizen would protect his or her own family's tomb.

Archaeologists and historians, working through professional groups such as the JAA, the Scientific History Research Association (Rekishi Kagaku Kenkyukai), the History Educators Association (Rekishi Kyoikusha Kyogikai) and Bunzenkyo (Bunkazai Hozon Zenkoku Kyogikai or the All-Japan Association for the Preservation of Cultural Properties) have been trying to gain access to the Royal Tomb sites for years. In 1979, the Imperial Household Agency granted permission for a first "trial entry" by people with archaeological connections and by Kansai area television, radio and newspaper reporters into the precincts of an Imperial Tomb. The tomb chosen was in Osaka. It supposedly belonged to Seinei, the 22nd emperor of Japan (Minamikata 1981: 191).

By 1984, when the Imperial Household Agency invited 214 people with archaeological and media connections to observe a small excavation done while repairing the supposed tomb of Emperor Ninken (r.(488)-498) in Osaka, scholars had already been allowed into the precincts of 5 other Royal Tombs (Shukan Shincho 1984; Miyakawa 1985: 11). Most scholars, although admitting that this openness was a step in the right direction, were reluctant to give unqualified approval to the Imperial Household Agency's new policy. As they pointed out, all Royal Tomb visits were strictly controlled, with only a limited number of visitors being allowed to enter a carefully delimited area for a short period of time.

In the 1984 viewing, for example, 23 specialists were allowed to examine a small portion of a 120 meter long trench for one hour (Miyakawa 1985: 11; Shukan Shincho 1984). Archaeologists continue to argue that the Royal Tombs should be cultural properties controlled by the ACA and freely open to inspection by qualified researchers.

The controversy over the Royal Tombs was stirred up again in the mid-1980s, when Higuchi Kiyoyuki, an archaeologist affiliated with Kokogakuin University (a Tokyo area university with strong historical and contemporary ties to Japan's native Shinto religion), wrote an article about the Royal Tomb problem in the Jinja Shimpo, a Shinto newspaper. In this article, Higuchi objected to the idea that the Royal Tombs be treated just like any other cultural property. He claimed that, when the Imperial Household Agency staff excavate within the precincts of the tombs, they rarely find anything which can or should be used for academic research. He concluded, furthermore, that archaeologists should not be allowed to excavate within the tomb areas, nor should the Royal Tombs be considered either cultural properties or artifacts (Higuchi 1984: 4).

Members of the JAA responded to these criticisms with a formal statement of their position on the "Royal Tomb Problem" (Ryobo Mondai) (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai Ryobo Mondai Sho-Iinkai 1985: 10). They argued that many Japanese people believe that the Royal Tombs are important because of the information they contain relating to the early development of the Japanese people's cultural legacy. These people also realize that this information can be studied scientifically. Members of the JAA think that the study of the Royal Tombs is important for historical studies, historical education and regional historical research, and they would like to see existing scholarly information about the Royal Tombs put to practical use. They also think that these sites should be be accessible, in some form, to the public.

The JAA members emphasized that an open policy does not mean that the tombs would be excavated. Nor does it imply that one group of people would hold power over the tombs to the exclusion of others. What it does mean is that these important cultural properties would be properly preserved and investigated. The JAA statement stressed the members' desire to participate in archaeological education and research based on democratic principles. JAA members believed that the purpose of the Association is to preserve and study the unique cultural products of the Japanese people. They feel that, to date, they have not been been able to do this properly because of the Royal Tomb problem (Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai Ryobo Mondai Sho-Iinkai 1985: 10).

Responses to the question "Do you think the Imperial Tombs should be excavated?" fell into two categories. A large number of archaeologists, many with some hesitation and after some thought, supported excavation. These informants felt that the Imperial Tomb sites contain information so crucial for the understanding of Japanese ancient history that destruction caused by limited academic excavation can be justified (I7, I9, I13, I14, I17, I18, I19, I20, I24, I39, I48, I49, I61, I62, I89, I90, I91, I93, I94, I131, I137, I144, I145, I146, I151, I152, I217, I219, I221, I222, I224, I225, I292). Other informants thought that, because the sites were relatively untouched and would remain undisturbed, they should be left alone. Many said that the Imperial Tombs should not be excavated immediately, since future developments in archaeological methodology would provide better excavation techniques. Many of these informants stressed the necessity of free access to the sites. They wanted permission to excavate, although they had no intention of doing so in the near future (I8, I9, I10, I11, I12, I15, I44, I50, I51, I92, I95, I118, I132, I140, I141, I149, I150, I156, I157, I216, I218).

Informants who answered yes, the Imperial Tombs should be excavated pointed out that the excavation of these sites

would accomplish several goals. Some archaeologists said that excavating the sites was necessary to extract important information about Kofun Period archaeology found there but unavailable from other sources (I7, I13, I17, I18, I20, I39, I48, I49, I90, I91, I93, I131, I145, I146, I151, I152, I217, I221, I225). Others suggested that excavation would be valuable if scientific information about the Imperial Tombs could clarify questions about the tomb designations and dispel emperor-worship ideology.

A statement by an archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum characterizes this first position. He told me that:

> Of course, we archaeologists think that the Imperial Tombs are kofun. In fact, we believe that they are the largest class of kofun and we assume that they contain the largest class of information. But, this is exactly what we are unable to study because we do not have access to the Tombs. It is strange that these sites which may be representative of the kofun culture are "untouchable" for research. You understand that it is not because they are the Imperial Tombs that we want to dig them. We want to excavate these sites to produce data about the kofun culture especially in its center, in the Kinki area. This is my opinion (I7).

An investigator for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center agreed that excavation was necessary, because "there is very little information on this period". But he was quick to add that these sites should not be excavated as administrative investigations. "If an academic excavation could be done, I think that would be good" (I18). An archaeologist working in the Heijokyu section of the Nabunken added that "Yes, if excavation were possible, we could get important results. The problem would be deciding who would do the excavation....The organization of the excavation could be difficult" (I146).

All of these archaeologists, although advocating excavation in order to get information, were conscious of the destructive nature of archaeological research. For instance, when asked whether she favored the excavation of

the Imperial Tombs, an investigator from the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center said:

> When talking about whether or not any site should be excavated, you have to remember that the excavation itself will destroy the site. I don't think it's a good idea to excavate all of the so-called "Imperial Tombs" completely, but it is crucial for an academic understanding of the problem points of Japanese ancient history to examine some of these sites. The Imperial Tombs should be partially excavated (I151).

On the other hand, another archaeologist, an investigator from the Heijokyu section of the Nabunken, suggests that excavation could provide less information than expected, because the tombs might have been opened by grave-robbers many years ago. Although he does not say so, this assumption probably comes from archaeological experience with other Kofun Period burial mounds which have not been given imperial designations and have, therefore, been excavated:

> I think that it would be better to excavate the Imperial Tombs. At the moment we can't even enter the Imperial Tomb areas. Most of these sites were dug during periods when the Emperors were not powerful. So nothing inside the Imperial Tombs is in its original place and most of the artifacts have already been removed. On the Asian mainland, many tombs of kings have been excavated and they contained a lot of riches but the Japanese tombs have little in them. The question of how powerful the Japanese kings were hasn't yet been answered. All we know is how large the kofun are, but we don't know much about the insides (I145).

A social education officer, working for a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture, told me that:

> Recently there has been a lot of debate about the question of Imperial Tomb excavation. We archaeologists cannot get into the middle of these arguments. I think this is a problem which must be solved by the Japanese people. The Imperial Household Agency is not flexible on this point. They have to understand that facts are facts. There will be holes

> in our understanding of Japanese history, if we don't study the tombs. The truth is the truth, so researchers must do these excavations. Furthermore, excavation is not necessarily destruction. I think that we need to open up the Royal Tombs (I217).

A senior archaeologist, working at the Sakura National Museum, agreed that Imperial Tomb excavations would be a great challenge, saying:

> If I had the chance I'd like to excavate. But the Imperial Tomb sites are not easy to dig. They are very large. If you were to dig one, the excavation would take from 5 to 10 years. It would take one year just to excavate the burial chamber. But an excavation such as this would add to Kofun research. It is in this area that Kofun Period research does not progress (I13).

Several archaeologists pointed out that the Imperial Tombs could provide information about Kofun Period chronology unavailable from other sources. An investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center told me that "I think it would be best to investigate the Imperial Tombs because they could give us a lot of information, especially information about the chronology of the Kofun Period and changes in the character of the Kofun" (I17). Another Chiba based archaeologist, who works for the Chiba Prefectural Board of Education's Cultural Properties Division, agreed, saying:

> I don't think all of the Imperial Tombs should be excavated. But kofun burial mounds, such as Nintokuryo (the supposed tomb of Nintoku, the 16th emperor), Richuryo (the supposed tomb of Richu, the 17th emperor) and Ojinryo (the supposed tomb of Ojin, the 15th emperor) are used as the basis for dating other sites. Therefore they, at least, should be opened up. Then we will be able to tell whether or not the chronology for the Kofun Period is correct. I don't know if all of these sites should be excavated, but we should examine at least the ones needed to do a proper chronology (I49).

An archaeologist working as an investigator for the Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center added:

> ...I think that an investigation is necessary, because this is the period with the most vital problems. For example, we have no clear idea of the real time frame and divisions of the Kofun Period. At the least we need to develop pottery time divisions (I225).

Archaeologists also considered excavation crucial for understanding Japanese state formation, especially during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, that is, during the Kofun Period (I20).

The archaeologists quoted above stressed the importance of Imperial Tomb excavation for a broad, scientific understanding of Kofun Period archaeology. Those below, on the other hand, said that the main reason the Imperial Tombs should be excavated was to advance the study of Japan's past by ascertaining the true identities of the individuals buried inside them (I19, I24, I61, I89, I91, I94, I144, I292).

An investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center told me, for instance, that "...specialists are now saying that we don't know whether or not these mounds are really the Imperial Tombs. Depending on this information, Japanese ancient history could really change. Because we need to know what the real history is, we should do an investigation" (I91). One of her colleagues, from the same Center, added "I think that an investigation is necessary. Although we know that they are Imperial Tombs, we don't know which emperor is buried in which tomb. Depending on who you listen to, the opinions change. Until we do an investigation and see, we will not know" (I94). He went on to point out that, in some cases, the Imperial Household Agency's tomb identifications do not match the identifications accepted by archaeologists. In such a case, excavation is the only way to end the debate.

One of the crucial questions of Japanese history is how much contact the Japanese people had with continental Asia during the period of Japanese state formation. As this archaeologist, who works as an administrator in the Chiba Prefectural government's Cultural Properties Division, points out, excavation of the Imperial Tombs could provide information relevant to this question:

> I think that the Imperial Tombs should be excavated. Of course this problem has something to do with your previous question of the origins of Japan. We don't know what ethnic group the people of the Yamato imperial court came from. They might have come from the Korean Peninsula. It might be useful to go to the Imperial Tombs for answers to these puzzles. Although we have sites, such as the Nintoku Tennoryo and the Ojin Tennoryo, we don't know if these mounds are really Imperial Tombs. To be really sure of this, we would have to conduct an investigation. For the sake of the students of Japanese history, it would be better to do an investigation (I24).

Another Chiba based archaeologist agreed:

> I would like to see what is in the Nintoku Tennoryo and the Ojin Tennoryo and other such large tombs. I expect that if we could see inside these tombs, we would discover many new facts. For example, we would find answers to your earlier questions about the origins of the Japanese state. Probably we would find that the ancestors of the emperor came from the Korean Peninsula. This would be interesting (292).

As both of these archaeologists suggest, excavation of the Imperial Tombs could provide information on the early development of the Japanese state and the origins of the imperial line. Since debate still rages over the degree to which continental influences--particularly those from the Korean Peninsula (Barnes 1988; Edwards 1983; Ledyard 1975)--pushed Japan toward state formation, excavation could prove very important, especially because demystifying the contents of the Imperial Tombs could impede the resurrection of

Japanese nationalism based on worship of the emperor, or a renewal of the idea of unilinear imperial descent.

An investigator from the Heijokyu section of the Nabunken addressed this problem of imperial sanctity directly, saying:

> Historians don't have firm evidence related to the Imperial Tombs of the Kofun Period or earlier. The Imperial Tombs have been used as a means of making the Emperor system more sacred. If it is possible to persuade the government, the Imperial Tombs should be excavated with extreme care (I144).

An investigator for the Chiba Prefectural Cultural Properties Division agreed, saying:

> In conclusion, I think that the Imperial Tombs should be excavated. This is because, the idea of the emperor in ancient history has been very important ideologically. We need to get information which goes beyond religion. This we can get from the Tennoryo. But we don't have to excavate right now. There are still too many problems (I61).

Thus archaeologists who told me that they consider the excavation of the imperial tombs necessary were interested in using the contents of the tombs to extend their knowledge of the Kofun Period and Japanese archaeology as a whole. In this way they differ from members of the general public and the mass media, who see excavation as a way of answering the "puzzle of the Imperial Tombs". The question archaeologists ask is "What can these sites tell us about Japanese prehistory". The question the general public asks is "Who is really buried in Emperor Nintoku's tomb."

Many of the archaeologists interviewed thought that the Imperial Tombs should remain unexcavated, at least for the present time. They argued that, since archaeological excavation is destructive, it would be better to leave the Imperial Tomb sites untouched until more sophisticated methods of excavation and analysis had been developed.

While these informants did not favor excavation, a number of them thought that Imperial Tomb sites should be open for study by serious scholars wanting to carry out non-destructive research, such as site surveys and observations of repair work.

All of those informants who disagreed with the idea of excavating the Imperial Tombs at the present time pointed out that excavations should not be conducted unless absolutely necessary. As an investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center told me, "If for some reason it were necessary to excavate an Imperial Tomb, then I would support such an excavation, but I would be against excavating a complete kofun just for the sake of excavation" (I15). An archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum agreed, saying that "This is a difficult problem because, from a scholarly point of view, Imperial Tomb excavation would make history clearer, so I think, excavation is necessary. On the other hand, if they are not opened up but left alone, that is, if they are left as they are now, there is no need to dig" (I10).

Many archaeologists, such as an archaeologist from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute's Museum, pointed out that "Excavation techniques change every 10 years and they will develop further in the future. It's better to preserve the Imperial Tomb sites rather than excavate them without a special purpose" (I156). An investigator from the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center agreed:

> Whether or not they are really Imperial Tombs is a separate question....Everyone assumes that there are important materials inside the Tombs but excavation techniques are not yet good enough to warrant excavation (I149).

Thus it was accepted that, in the distant future, excavation may well be necessary, but that it is not necessary now (I50, I141).

In addition to worrying about the technical deficiencies of contemporary excavation techniques, some archaeologists pointed out that excavations take a long time and a lot of money and resources. When asked if he thought the Imperial Tombs should be excavated, an archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum told me that:

> At the moment excavation is difficult. Many of the tombs measure over 300 meters in length. It would take many days and much money to excavate these sites. Furthermore, excavation methods are still not perfect so we must be careful. When doing archaeology, even scholarly work, you destroy the part of the site which has been excavated. This is a difficult problem to balance (I12).

One of his colleagues agreed, saying:

> In some ways, archaeologists doing kofun excavations in Japan are using old methodology and techniques. In Korea, for example, the government excavated 98 very large kofun, which had guarded the capital of Silla. They did the excavations very systematically. First the roofs were removed. Then a careful, but time-consuming excavation was done. I think that this kind of excavation was natural. Excavating a kofun burial mound takes a certain amount of time. During this time rain will fall, so you need to build a big covering. Inside this covering the excavation can continue for one or two years. In Japan, no large coverings like this are built. Unfortunately, in Japan, we don't have experience with actual large-scale kofun research methods. Consequently, I think it is important that we not excavate, but leave the kofun as they are. Actually, what we would like to do now is to conduct investigations in which we would, for example, collect the <u>haniwa</u> scattered around sites. We would then compare these artifacts with each other and with the styles of <u>haniwa</u> collected from inside the Imperial Tombs. We would like to be able to do this kind of limited investigation. But these plans have been refused (by the Imperial Household Agency.) I think this is really unfortunate (I95).

An archaeologist working for the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute pointed out that:

> Fundamentally, such an excavation (of the Imperial Tombs) would be good but I think that now is not the right time to do it. Even if an archaeologist using high technology were to excavate an Imperial Tomb, he would be able to extract only about 50% of all the information. The best prewar scholars got only 10% when they excavated the Saitobaru Kofun Gun (Saitobaru Mounded Tomb Group). Today, if a first year student were to do the same excavation, he would be able to do a better job in terms of technique. If you excavated the Imperial Tombs right now, you would get about 50% of the information. Another archaeologist might get 45%. I might get 47%. Yet another 50% would be thrown away. If we were to wait, we could probably get 95 to 100% of the information, so we should wait" (I157).

The time and financial pressures already present in the administrative archaeology system were given by some archaeologists as reasons why the Imperial Tomb excavations should be left for the future. Although they were interested in the information excavation might provide, a number of archaeologists said that their first concern was excavating those sites which, unlike the Imperial Tombs, were threatened with immediate destruction. This reflects a general attitude in the Japanese archaeological community that sites should not be excavated unless absolutely necessary. Remember that, in Japan, very few academic excavations are performed each year. During the 1980s, about 200 academic excavations were carried out each year, as opposed to over 10,000 annual administrative excavations.

An archaeologist, working at the Kyushu Historical Information Center, discussed, in a rather contradictory answer to my question, the ambivalence he felt about the need to excavate the Imperial Tombs at a time when so many other sites are threatened with destruction:

> It would be better to do an investigation of the Imperial Tombs, because they are the graves of the most powerful people of that time. I think we would find information which would be quite different from the information we have found up to now. Thus, it would be best to investigate any of the Tombs which we could investigate. But this sort of work would take a lot of

> money and time. The Imperial Tombs should not be destroyed. So, I don't think they should be investigated before the completion of excavation work on sites which will be unavoidably destroyed. I think this because sites which can be preserved can be excavated later. It is better to work on sites which will be destroyed by construction anyway (I216).

An investigator working for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center makes the same point:

> There would be no need to do an excavation. I think that excavation techniques will improve. It's better to entrust the Imperial Tombs to the investigations of future archaeologists. At the moment, with administrative archaeology, the number of excavations is already too large. While there are enough (administrative) excavations to keep archaeologists busy and employed there is no need to excavate the Imperial Tombs (I92).

An archaeologist from the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center added that:

> We must not miss the chance (to excavate the Imperial Tombs). But right now, many other sites are in danger of being destroyed and more effort should be focused on these sites. The Imperial Tombs can be excavated in another 20 or 30 years (I150).

One of the recurring themes in responses to the Imperial Tomb question is the idea that, although Imperial Household Agency management of the Tombs has made them inaccessible to archaeologists, it has also made them largely inaccessible to developers. (Although, as mentioned above, immediately after the War, the Imperial Household Agency did sell a number of tombs for development.) Archaeologists admit that Imperial Household Agency management might, in fact, have saved a number of these sites. This is especially true of the largest Royal Tombs which are located in downtown or suburban Osaka and Nara Prefectures. The land prices in these areas are so high that the ACA might never be able to afford to buy and thus

protect these sites, if the Imperial Household Agency ever gave up its control over them (Miyakawa 1981: 164). The ambiguity of the Imperial Tomb problem is demonstrated in this statement by an archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum:

> According to the newspapers, the Imperial Tombs are the sites of the Japanese people. Thus, some people argue that it would be alright to excavate them. On the other hand, other people argue that the sites should not be excavated. In the end, the techniques we are using right now are not the best, so we wonder whether or not we really should excavate. At the moment, the Imperial Tombs are preserved. They could still be excavated in the future, even 100 or 200 years from now. On the other hand, there are many hundreds of sites which have been destroyed without excavation. Some people say "Why not just excavate the Imperial Tombs?" I think that it would be better to excavate them with the latest techniques and the latest staff. In this way scholarship advances (I8).

This statement brings out another point common among Japanese archaeologists; doubt about whether the quality of the techniques used today is adequate to excavate the Imperial Tombs. Some archaeologists seem to feel that, while Japanese technical expertise is high compared to archaeologists in other countries, it will improve in the future so the excavation of the Imperial Tombs should be postponed until then.

Still, most archaeologists would prefer to have access to the Imperial Tombs, even if they have no desire to excavate them at the present time. For instance, an archaeologist at the CAO of the Nabunken told me that:

> But from our point of view as archaeologists we don't see why we shouldn't excavate the so-called "Imperial Tombs"....The question of their designation as cultural properties should be the first question, not whether the sites should be excavated or not excavated. At the moment, the Imperial Household Agency is saying "Let's fix these tombs". In repairing them, they destroy a little. So first, we have to regard the Imperial Tombs as cultural properties under the Law. If we do this

> the point is that cultural properties should not be destroyed.....Of course, if we excavate the Imperial Tombs, we will know more about the Kofun Period...(I51).

An archaeologist, working for the Saga Prefectural Board of Education as an investigator, told me that he thought that archaeologists would be happy just to enter the Imperial Tomb precincts:

> I think that excavation would be difficult because there is a sense that these sites are the tombs of the imperial ancestors. However, at the moment, not only is excavation forbidden, but archaeologists are not even allowed to enter and watch (i.e. when the Imperial Household Agency does repairs).....The Imperial Household Agency will have to widen the mechanism whereby archaeologists can enter the tomb area and make observations. Excavation is a kind of destruction, but we are not saying that we want to excavate. If we could go in and observe more freely....we would like to be able to take measurements and do surveys (I218).

An archaeologist from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute agreed, saying:

> In the present situation, I can't say that we should excavate the Imperial Tombs right now, but I think that we should be able to enter the precincts. Before excavating, we should map the entire surface. We should excavate to find out the answers to specific problems. We should never excavate unless we need to know something. We should raise the consciousness of the public about the problem and try not just to destroy the tombs (I132).

In conclusion, this statement by an archaeologist working at the Sakura National Museum sums up the feelings of many of his colleagues:

> The excavation of the Imperial Tombs is necessary. I expect that, after the excavation of the Tombs, Japanese history would change, especially our view of Japanese culture at the time the Tombs were built. History as we know it today would change. Consequently, we need to excavate. On the other hand,

> the Imperial Tombs are very large kofun. This is another reason why these sites should be excavated, but it also means that the excavation would take a lot of time. Furthermore, an academic excavation would be necessary. But academic excavations are hardly ever done now. It would be difficult to make the preparations. Thus, it would be dangerous to excavate immediately. We will have to wait until the future to excavate (I11).

After discussing the advantages and disadvantages of Imperial Tomb excavation with my informants, I asked them why the Imperial Household Agency would not allow archaeologists to investigate the Tombs. The answers brought out two points. First, many of archaeologists said that the Imperial Household Agency forbids the excavation of the Tombs because it feels that these sites are the graves of the imperial ancestors. For instance, an archaeologist, working as an investigator at a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture, told me that the Imperial Household Agency forbids excavation because:

> The Imperial Tombs are graves. We would be exposing the graves of the imperial ancestors. This would be destruction. We archaeologists do not feel that we need to expose the graves, rather we would like to excavate them carefully (I221).

A retired archaeologist from Kyushu added that the Imperial Household Agency "...says that these are the individual graves of the imperial line" (I222). An investigator from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute pointed out that the Imperial Household Agency does not deny permission for scholarly reasons but, because the protection of the Imperial Tombs is written into Japanese Civil Law (mimpo)" (I118) Furthermore, the Imperial Tombs are the property of the imperial family (I141, I157), and excavating them might offend the dignity of the imperial line (I149, I151).

Finally, two archaeologist pointed out that the Imperial Household Agency has its own technical and archaeological specialists, who do all the excavations

necessitated by repair work (I20, I216). One of these informants, a professor from a university in the Tokyo area explained, in his own words, the relationship between archaeologists and the Imperial Household Agency:

> The Imperial Tombs cannot be excavated in a scholarly investigation. This situation is like trying to scratch your itching foot from outside your shoe (i.e., trying to investigate what is inside the Imperial Tombs without being able to go inside). This is a pity. The Imperial Household Agency says excavation is impossible because the Imperial Tombs are the tombs of the present emperor's ancestors. So the present imperial family tries hard to preserve the tombs. I have a family tomb. I try hard to preserve my tomb. The Imperial Household Agency says that the imperial family is doing the same thing. So, they do not allow excavation of the Imperial Tombs.
>
> However, although the Imperial Household Agency thinks in this way, the ACA says that the Imperial Tombs are also kofun burial mounds. ACA officials say that the Imperial Tombs are also key-hole-shaped burial mounds (zempo-koenfun). And they say that the Law applies to them. So when the Imperial Household Agency wants to fix the Imperial Tombs, the ACA asks that the work be registered through their offices. The Imperial Household Agency says "No. Because these are the tombs of the imperial lineage, we don't have to do that." So, as you can see, officials working in different government agencies may have quite different ideas. As a result of this conflict, the Imperial Household Agency is very guarded and the level of protection of the Imperial Tombs is high. Archaeologists despair of ever being able to do an investigation.
>
> Archaeologists and historians meet with the people from the Imperial Household Agency once or twice each year. At these times, there are always problems to deal with, but the most difficult problem has always been the question of the academic excavation of the Imperial Tombs. Each year, the Imperial Household Agency repairs 3 or 4 Imperial Tombs. Water might have run in, they might have been damaged by wind during a typhoon or they might simply be eroding away. At these times the Imperial Household Agency conducts investigations, which approximately 20 archaeologists are allowed to observe. But these archaeologists are absolutely not allowed on the mound. They are allowed only in the areas around the mound. We archaeologists say that this is stupid. In our opinion we get little

> out of these visits, which are constrained by the guidance of the Imperial Household Agency officials (I20).

Thus, excavating the Tombs would entail disturbing and dishonoring the imperial family's ancestors, just as the excavation of the grave of an ancestor of any other individual living today would be an intrusion on the honor of that person's family. These are the official reasons given by the Imperial Household Agency for the denial of permission to carry-out scientific work on the Tombs. According to this logic, excavation and subsequent public exposure is not allowed, because the Imperial Tombs are the private burials of individuals related to the imperial family. These ideas are certainly not unique to Japan. Most people who bury their dead consider disinterment of those considered ancestors, unless done in specific ritualistic circumstances, to be at worst sacrilege and at best dishonorable. As the reburial issue in Canada and the United States shows, Japanese archaeologists are not the only members of their profession who are being denied access to prehistoric burial sites.

Although it is true that the official reason why the Imperial Household Agency forbids excavations is that the tombs are the private graves of the imperial ancestors, many archaeologists told me that the real reason they are denied open entry into the Imperial Tomb precincts is that government officials are afraid archaeologists might discover that some of the tomb designations are incorrect. Such a disclosure would undermine the notion of imperial sanctity and emperor worship both of which continue to exist in contemporary Japan.

An archaeologist working for the Saga Prefectural Board of Education, when asked why archaeologists are denied entry into the Tombs, told me that "They are called the Imperial Tombs but there is little evidence that this is what they really are. I think that designating this land and then

deifying it is a bad thing" (I218). A number of other archaeologists suggested that the Imperial Household Agency might be afraid that archaeological excavation would reveal inconsistencies between the dates assigned to the Tombs and the dates of excavated materials (I220, I224, I225, I132). For example, an archaeologist from a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture told me that:

> Much has been hidden so it has been alright to call them the Imperial Tombs. We don't know what we would find, if we were to excavate. I imagine that the Imperial Household Agency knows what is inside the Tombs.....we would like to know at least what they know. We would like this to be made public. The Imperial Household Agency probably will not allow excavation because the time periods would not fit (I220).

An archaeologist from the Miyagi Cultural Properties Division agreed, saying:

> One reason the Imperial Household Agency will not let archaeologists excavate is that it says each tomb has been designated as the grave of a particular emperor. But really, if we were to excavate and see, we might find that the dates of the tomb which was supposed to be, for example, that of Emperor Nintoku were incorrect. Then the Imperial Household Agency would have a problem with its designations. That's why the Imperial Household Agency takes the position it does (I224).

An investigator in his early thirties from the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute spoke more directly about the relationship between the Imperial Tombs and emperor worship, saying:

> The sites are religious places rather than just tombs. In the future, if the emperor system disappears, it will be possible to excavate the tombs. Otherwise, excavation will remain difficult. The emperor system still exists to some extent. I don't think the situation is worse than before. It has been better since around the time that I was born (I131).

An investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center agreed that the concept of imperial sanctity was that reason why archaeologists could not excavate the Imperial Tombs, but he was optimistic that the rights of the Japanese people would prevail and excavation would be possible in the future (I48).

Many of the archaeologists to whom I talked felt that the Imperial Tombs were a symbol of the emperor system, which remains, to some degree, alive in contemporary Japan.

An administrator working for the Chiba Prefectural Board of Education's Cultural Property Division told me that:

> The Imperial Household Agency will not allow excavation of the Imperial Tombs because the emperor system continues to exist. It is quite big. Still, the idea of the emperor in terms of sacred writing and society has changed from that of before the war. It has changed but something remains. In a little while, I think this will change a lot (I61).

Two archaeologists from the Nabunken's CAO pointed out that belief in imperial sanctity varies considerably among individual Japanese, saying "Even now depending on the household, education about the emperor is completely different. For some families, the emperor is a god, for others not" (I50, I51).

A young investigator from the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center talked to me about the problem of the Imperial Tombs excavations and emperor worship. I asked him whether emperor worship remains in Japan today. He answered:

> Yes, it's funny to say that it remains, but the emperor system has been well-accepted in the educational system since the Meiji Period. The Japanese people didn't think this way during the Edo Period. Today, a belief in the emperor system remains among the older people, the grandmothers and the grandfathers, but it is also found even among young people and middle aged people. This is connected to archaeology because what archaeologists can do is to clarify those facts which

> are related to archaeology. Archaeologists can look at the emperor system from the opposite point of view and oppose it. Many other young archaeologists share my opinion (I152).

My personal experience in Japan suggested that few people continue to think of the emperor as a god. Although many people over 50 years of age in 1985 could remember being taught to worship the emperor and the imperial lineage at school before and during the Pacific War, few continued to believe in imperial sanctity after 1945. The exceptions were older people who were adults rather than children during the War. Some of these individuals continue to revere the emperor as a symbol of the old Japan. Ultra-rightist groups also strongly endorse the concept of imperial sanctity. People between 50 and 60 years of age in 1985 had no base of knowledge about Japan's prehistory. People older than them continued to accept the mythological history they had been taught in school. Younger individuals had learned about archaeological research results. Those caught in the middle realized that the history they had learned in their childhood was incorrect but, unlike their children, they had been unable to replace this knowledge with information gleaned from archaeology.

The question of access to the Royal Tombs is one of the points where we can see most clearly the political implications of contemporary Japanese archaeology. Archaeologists want to have access to the Tombs for two related reasons. First, they argue that these sites could provide valuable information for a scientific assessment of early Japanese history, since the Imperial Tombs would help archaeologists in their studies of Kofun Period chronology and would provide a more accurate understanding of social organization. Second, archaeologists believe that they have a professional responsibility to do all they can to counter emperor-centered tendencies latent in Japanese society. The best way to do this is, of course, through scientific

excavation of sites, such as the Royal Tombs, which are central to retaining the mystique of the imperial lineage.

The concern of Japanese archaeologists to eradicate all signs of imperial worship must be seen in the context of Japan's rise to Asian and Pacific dominance in the 1930s and 1940s and the country's subsequent defeat. Imperial worship has been blamed for many of the ills which befell the Japanese people in the first half of the 20th century. Archaeologists, many of whom are liberal or left-leaning, middle-class intellectuals, have absorbed into the paradigm of their discipline the idea that they must work towards a democratic Japanese society and culture free of the authoritarian pre-war powers of which the imperial household was the most potent.

Still, not all Japanese archaeologists see some continuation of emperor worship as necessarily bad. A university professor talked to me about the relationship between archaeology, the emperor system and contemporary Japanese politics. He pointed out that belief in the emperor system is still quite strong among ordinary Japanese. Although Japan lost the war, the emperor has always been worshiped. So the emperor has become part of the framework within which many Japanese look at the world. The emperor system is like the air they breath and the food they eat:

> I think that if there were no emperor the Japanese people would feel lonely (sabishi). The Japanese people believe in traditional things. Even the people who believe in socialism are not resistant to emperor worship. Foreigners cannot understand this. It is not really like attitudes towards the monarchy in England. In England it is a bit more democratic (I20).

He went on to say that he keeps urging the Imperial Household Agency to open the Imperial Tombs to archaeologists because:

> There should be an archaeological investigation. Many of the Royal Tombs are large kofun. Not all of them should be excavated, but some should be scientifically examined. I think that if the Imperial Tombs were examined more scientifically the Japanese people would not lose respect for the imperial line but rather, they would respect it more. They would feel closer to the imperial line. I think that today scientists are really getting to know about the imperial line (I20).

Another archaeologist pointed out that the reluctance of the Imperial Household Agency to allow archaeologists to examine the Imperial Tombs has no direct relation to rule by the LDP. He told me that within the LDP there are two groups. Some LDP supporters say that the sites should be excavated, others say no. The problem is not directly related to party politics in contemporary Japan. It is not related to a specific position taken by the LDP (I50).

But, the Royal Tombs issue does have relevance within a broader political context where the imperial family gives meaning to a system which supports present-day Japanese society. In this sense, the imperial family is not just a symbol. For some Japanese, the emperor's dignity is important; so opening the tombs of the imperial ancestors would be a mistake. Archaeologists don't think this way, but they must take such opinions into consideration when discussing the Imperial Tomb problem with the Imperial Household Agency.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have given Japanese archaeologists a chance to describe their thoughts and feelings about the role of their discipline in contemporary Japanese society. Throughout the chapter, I have commented on some of the themes that emerged from these statements. Here, I would like to summarize these ideas.

Archaeology as history or, more specifically, Japanese archaeology as Japanese history is a theme that runs through almost all of the answers to my questions. As I have shown, this concern with creating a scientific or non-ideological history for Japan dates from the immediate postwar era and can be seen as a reaction to prewar nationalist ideology. In the immediate postwar period, archaeology was considered particularly valuable because of its data base--material remains extracted from the earth. These material objects, excavated using "scientific" techniques, were seen as an important addition to the textual data base of traditional historical study. This belief has continued to the present day. Scientific historical study to understand the true origins and development of the Japanese people using material remains remains a paradigm which permeates all postwar Japanese archaeological research and forms the basic rational and organizational principle of the contemporary administrative archaeology system.

A second theme which emerges from my research is that Japanese archaeologists focus much of their attention on the accumulation of an ever greater and more sophisticated archaeological data base. The orientation of Japanese archaeology is highly empirical and inductive. Archaeologists place great importance on data collection and on the full and accurate description of this data. When asked how their discipline had changed in the past and how it might advance in the future, many

archaeologists stressed the importance of creating new forms of information. Thus, the development of methodological innovations, such as a move toward large-scale excavations and the use of scientific techniques on administrative sites, were rated, by many of my informants who, like most archaeologists in Japan, work within the admainistrative system, as crucial developments, while theoretical advances were virtually unmentioned. This lack of discussion of theoretical developments is probably related to the position of many of my informants as administrative investigators excavating sites rather than academic or highly-placed administrative archaeologists. Archaeologists in these latter two categories have always had theoretical interests and are concerned about the theoretical development of Japanese archaeology.

The development and present functioning of Japan's vast system of administrative archaeology have been profoundly influenced by these two themes. The administrative system was originally created in response to pressure from archaeologists, who argued that the material evidence of Japan's history should be protected because it provides a valuable safeguard against the return of nationalism and emperor-worship ideology. Thus, the notion that archaeology is a crucial element of Japanese historical study underlies the rationale for the entire Japanese administrative archaeology system as we know it today.

In addition, the nature of administrative archaeology, work which involves the excavation of large areas in as short a time as possible, encourages archaeologists to focus primarily on data collection and description at the expense of synthetic analysis and theoretical innovation. My interviews show that many administrative archaeologists are aware of this problem, but feel powerless to change their situation.

The development of administrative archaeology has had a number of unforeseen consequences. Perhaps the most important of these is that many archaeologists feel that they have lost some control over the presentation of archaeological material in the public domain. Today, it is not only archaeologists who present most archaeological information to the public. Rather, the public learns about archaeology at school and then through the mass media. Archaeologists see the former as adequate but limited in scope and the latter as very limited in quality. In recent years, they have attempted to spend more time educating the Japanese public about archaeology. Administrative archaeologists, for example, give site explanation meetings and public lectures about their sites, as well as coordinate school visits. In addition, some archaeologists--particularly, but not exclusively, academic archaeologists--write popular books on archaeology. Unfortunately, the amount of excavation work most administrative archaeologists must do has made the adequate analysis of data a difficult enough task, without adding the task of public education. In the following and final chapter, I will discuss these issues in greater detail.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In recent years, Euroamerican archaeologists have come to recognize and discuss openly the profound effects that the social, political and economic contexts of their discipline have on their interpretation of archaeological materials. Reactions to this realization have varied from extreme positivist or realist positions, in which archaeologists try to find ways to eliminate subjective influences through theoretical or methodological rigor, to relativist or contextualist positions, in which archaeologists accept ideological influences as inevitable and interpret archaeological remains in ways they consider politically correct and ethically sound. Between these two extremes, are scholars who argue that, although archaeological interpretation is certainly affected by the worldview held by members of the societies in which it is practiced, a growing body of information created by archaeologists about the past continues to move us closer to an understanding of what "really" happened. For these scholars, archaeology "....is neither separate from society nor a mere reflection of it, but has a role to play in a rational dialogue about the nature of humanity, which a better understanding of the relationship between archaeological practice and its social context will facilitate" (Trigger 1989: 410). The purpose of this thesis has been to examine the relationship between archaeology and its social context within postwar and contemporary Japan.

In the previous chapter, I used interviews with Japanese archaeologists to isolate several themes characteristic of contemporary Japanese archaeology. Of these themes, I stressed the notion of Japanese archaeology as a part of Japanese history and the highly-empiricist and inductive orientation of Japanese archaeological methodology as fundamental to the development and current practice of

archaeology in Japan. I suggested in my historical overview, furthermore, that these themes were first expressed in the early postwar period. They were formulated by archaeologists and historians interested in actively creating a history for and about the Japanese common people, rather than a history focused on powerful leaders, such as the imperial family. These scholars believed that archaeology could, and should, be a scientific means of studying the past.

In this chapter, I will review how these themes, which together form a set of assumptions about the role of archaeology in Japanese society and the purpose of archaeological research, that I have called the paradigm of Japanese archaeology, became important in postwar Japan. I will show how these themes affected the development of Japanese administrative archaeology and discuss their implications in terms of the relationship between archaeology, archaeologists and contemporary Japanese society. I will conclude with a discussion of the implications of this study for the theoretical debate between positivist and relativist archaeologists.

The Development of the Paradigm

In the aftermath of World War II, Japanese archaeologists believed that their discipline could prevent a revival of emperor-worship and extreme nationalism by using material remains to rewrite ancient Japanese history. This approach, which focused on the retrieval and description of primary data, was highly empirical. In the 1950s and 1960s, a goal of archaeological work was to collect and organize material excavated through academic research projects. Later, during the 1970s and 1980s, information began to come mainly from administrative excavations. Postwar archaeologists have not been concerned with developing archaeological theory, because they consider archaeology integral to the study of Japanese history.

There were few archaeologists actively working in Japan during the first few years of the Occupation. By 1948, however, the JAA had been formed and had produced its first annual report, which included 109 brief descriptions of excavations carried out by amateur and professional archaeologists. The Toro Site was being excavated by a multi-disciplinary crew and students could once again pursue archaeological studies in university programs. By the late 1940s, archaeologists had begun to receive funding from the Ministry of Education through its Humanities Research Committee.

After 1950, when the Law was passed, permission to direct archaeological excavation was limited to those individuals whose work was judged, by their peers, to be of professional quality. Since there were few full-time jobs for professional archaeologists in universities or in government offices dealing with cultural properties, many of the individuals directing excavations in the late 1940s and into the 1950s did not make a living doing archaeology, but worked at other jobs. Quite a few of these archaeologists were employed as high school or middle school teachers or as local civil servants. These "amateur" archaeologists devoted their spare time to archaeological research, usually concentrating their work in the district where they lived. Their excavations were small-scale, because they had neither the time nor the money to carry out large projects. On many excavations, they received help from local archaeology clubs or school groups. For these amateurs, archaeology was an important aspect of their personal identity. Often, they accorded as much or more importance to their role as "archaeologist" than as teacher or government employee. This was reflected in the fierce dedication they had to the discipline. Ultimately, the work of these amateurs laid the foundation for understanding the culture history of the Japanese islands.

This pattern of amateur involvement in archaeology continued through the 1950s and into the 1960s, although, as the Japanese economy began to recover and expand rapidly in the 1960s, the number of jobs for archaeologists in universities and government slowly grew and there was a gradual increase in the number of professional archaeologists. Furthermore, new funding sources became available for professionals in the late 1950s and 1960s, when public and private developers began paying for archaeological assessment and excavation prior to construction. Yet, it was not until the 1970s, with the formation of the system of administrative archaeology, that it became possible for most people with an interest in archaeology, including many of those who had previously been "amateurs", to turn this interest into a career. It was at this point that excavation by amateurs became rare and most excavation and analysis was done by professional archaeologists, working through the administrative system, universities, museums and research institutions.

In the early postwar period, particularly during the late 1940s and the first half of the 1950s, historical materialist analyses of history, based on the work of Japanese Marxist historians, became popular among Japanese archaeologists, particularly those working in the universities western of Japan. One of the reasons for this was the general acceptance of Marxist political philosophy among Japanese intellectuals, of whom archaeologists and historians formed a subgroup. Many historians and archaeologists accepted Marxist theory after 1945, because Marxism was one of the only intellectual traditions whose advocates had continued to criticize imperial ideology through the prewar and war years. In the immediate postwar period, Marxists and Marxist philosophy were considered acceptable, and perhaps even honorable, because they were untainted by prewar ideology. Marxist interpretations of

ancient history provided a change from the ultra-nationalist history written prior to and during the war.

Marxism also became an important part of the landscape in electoral politics after 1945. Support for the JCP grew rapidly and the socialists, some of whom were philosophically Marxist, participated in a coalition government for 15 months during 1947-48. However, with the advent of SCAP's reverse course policy in the last few years of the 1940s and into the 1950s, and the resultant purges of Marxists in academia and elsewhere, electoral support for the JCP and the socialists decreased.

Marxist interpretations were of special interest to archaeologists working in western Japan, where the nature of the archaeological material encouraged discussions of the origins of the Japanese state. The academic implications of a turn towards historical materialism are not important for my discussion here. More important is that archaeology, a discipline whose data base is comprised of excavated remains rather than documents, was seen as crucial for the creation of a new version of Japanese history, which would put to rest the prewar versions of history based on notions of sacred imperial descent. Furthermore, Marxist archaeologists linked theory to practice through the "peoples' history movement". The Tsukinowa Kofun Site, where local people were involved in excavation and data processing, is the best example of this trend. Thus, the empiricist tradition of Japanese archaeology was tied to the idea of archaeological remains as a reservoir of information about the Japanese people's history. Historical knowledge, furthermore, was to be created by and for the Japanese people; it was not to be controlled by Japan's ruling political and business elites. The widespread acceptance of this paradigm is what leads many archaeologists to say that postwar Japanese archaeology has Marxist foundations. It has also resulted in a realization by postwar archaeologists

that archaeological data is closely linked to social and political issues.

Yet, not all early postwar archaeologists were Marxist in orientation, although all were quick to deny the validity of imperial worship ideology for the interpretation of ancient Japanese history. For the first few years after the war, many of the professional archaeologists who were teaching in the universities were relatively conservative individuals who had done research and taught in prewar Japan. Many of them had sought to steer clear of political difficulties by stressing the formal study of the archaeological record. For a large number of archaeologists, both professional and amateur, the scientific interpretation of archaeological remains continued to involve inductive and descriptive methods of analysis. The goal of most postwar researchers was to sort artifacts into types and then describe their spatial and chronological variation, with many amateurs making contributions at a local level. Archaeologists believed that this kind of work was a first step towards understanding Japanese history. When excavations, such as that at the Toro Site, began to produce data on prehistoric diet, archaeological goals were expanded to include the reconstruction of prehistoric lifestyles. Thus, early postwar Japanese archaeology focused on the excavation, description and analysis of material remains as a way of creating Japanese history, free from imperial ideology, based on these remains.

The Beginnings of Rescue Archaeology

During the 1950s, Japan's conservative political and business elites once again took firm control over Japanese society, with promises to develop the nation and raise the standard of living for all Japanese citizens. For many Japanese, development held hope for a better life and an escape from the poverty of the postwar period. After its

formation in 1955, the LDP remained in power, despite vocal opposition from the socialists and communists over the 1960 renewal of the United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty. The enthusiasm for the policy of industrial development at all costs began to wane in the 1970s, when Japanese citizens realized that rapid economic and industrial growth in the 1950s and 1960s had resulted in pollution, the destruction of natural and historical environments and severe hazards to public health. At this point, the government began to reduce pollution levels through strict controls to which businesses, in general, adhered. They also began to move polluting heavy industries to other parts of Japan or abroad. This was when the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Construction and a number of Japanese business leaders began their campaign to preserve the Asuka Mura area as the "hometown of the Japanese heart" and a place where Japanese people could learn about the national cultural identity.

In the late 1950s, land development began to change the face of Japan. With increasing economic prosperity, public and private construction projects destroyed more and more archaeological sites. They did this despite the Law. Site destruction worried archaeologists and historians, who argued that developers were destroying evidence needed to create and support a scientific version of the Japanese people's early history. In general, archaeologists, many of whom clung to the paradigm outlined by Marxist historians after the war, opposed the LDP government's philosophy of capitalist development at all costs. They pointed out that cultural properties which could provide scholars with information needed to create a history of Japan that was untainted by emperor-worship ideology, were essential elements of Japanese culture and should be protected.

However, although all archaeologists criticized the site destruction resulting from development, rather than research, on principle, there were, in practice, two

responses to this new situation. A small number of vocal archaeologists rejected the government's push for development and the destruction of archaeological sites through excavation. They argued that, by encouraging rescue excavation, the Japanese government was destroying evidence that could potentially be used to undermine any return of emperor-worship nationalism. Thus, they retained a radical response and lobbied for site preservation at all costs. In the eyes of this first group of archaeologists, most of whom adhered to the historical materialist tradition, archaeological excavation, unless absolutely necessary, should be conducted only in the context of research aimed at providing the Japanese people with a way of understanding their own history.

The majority of archaeologists took another approach to the large-scale site destruction resulting from economic growth and the accompanying development projects. They agreed to excavate some threatened sites, vocally demanded protection for select ones and, with the help of the media, publicized cases where developers destroyed sites without excavation. Thus, they pushed the CPCP, the government agency administrating the Law, to offer protection for more sites of national importance, while they accepted contracts to dig less important sites on land which was irreversibly slated for development. These archaeologists were the mainstream, who formed the core of the JAA and staffed national and private university archaeology departments. Although they continued to adhere to the postwar paradigm of archaeology as a means of rewriting the Japanese people's history and archaeology as an empirical science--a paradigm that had originally been defined within the context of the postwar Marxist tradition--they transformed the meaning of this message by blending it with a liberal-democratic philosophy that accepted the necessity of economic growth and development despite the destruction of cultural properties. To understand this transformation, it is

essential to remember that many archaeologists in this group, as part of the growing Japanese urban middle-class, were members--albeit lowly members--of the new Japanese ruling elite. Although their positions as intellectuals (and later as low-level bureaucrats) gave them less power than those in key business or bureaucratic positions, as professors in national and highly acclaimed private universities, they certainly were, and continue to be, active in defining national identity in postwar Japan.

Thus, in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, many university-based archaeologists were willing to excavate sites when development projects threatened their destruction. These archaeologists justified excavation by pointing out that it was their duty, as archaeologists, to salvage as much as possible from such sites. Many archaeologists accepted that not all sites could be preserved and felt that, as long as they had enough time and money to do adequate excavation, they should participate in this kind of work. Of course, archaeologists also realized that the large-scale excavation of sites made possible by development funding would provide information about Japanese prehistory which would otherwise be unavailable. Some stated openly that this information would help advance the discipline of archaeology. What archaeologists did not often mention when discussing the necessity of excavating threatened sites was that, in many cases, receiving a contract for a large salvage project could provide the individual archaeologist with information that would eventually further his career in academia or later, in the growing administrative archaeology system. Furthermore, these contracts were financially lucrative.

In summary, in the 1960s, we see the development of a group of archaeologists, who, in the late 1960s and 1970s, will go on to build the contemporary administrative system and then become the leaders in the fields of academic and administrative archaeology. While there is considerable

variation within this group, in general, they retain the ideals of the earlier Marxist-based paradigm of archaeology as a way of rewriting the Japanese people's history and a belief in archaeology as an empirical discipline. On the other hand, they accept and work within the liberal-democratic tradition of postwar Japan and certainly do not consider themselves "Marxist archaeologists". This causes contradictions within their theory and practice which I will discuss below.

The Creation of the Administrative Archaeology System and the Control of Archaeological Knowledge within Japan

The late 1960s was a time of change in the structure of Japanese archaeology and in the position of archaeology within Japanese society. Protests by radical students, who accused their professors of compromising professional standards by agreeing to do salvage excavations, and frustration among mainstream archaeologists, who realized that they could not do adequate rescue excavations with limited funds and staff, encouraged mainstream archaeologists to push the government to reform archaeological administration. Archaeological administrators working within government agencies, such as the CPCP until 1968 and the ACA after that, were already aware of these problems and were also searching for ways to improve the system of administrative rescue archaeology. Thus, in the late 1960s, when the government began to provide more money to build a structure for administrative archaeology, administrators and archaeologists from the newly created ACA worked to build an effective administrative system.

The administrative system they designed was structured so that the prefectural boards of education were given the main responsibility of deciding which sites should be preserved and which should be excavated. Officials of the national-level ACA were asked to work with prefectural

officials to find money to preserve sites judged to be important cultural remains of the Japanese people. National and prefectural-level officials were given the task of negotiating between developers and archaeologists to ensure that enough time and money were allocated to carry out adequate excavations on sites destined for destruction. Excavation was carried out by a variety of groups and foundations associated with the prefectural and local levels of government.

An important institution created at this time was the Nabunken's CAO, founded in 1974. This national-level institution soon developed a role as nation-wide coordinator of administrative archaeology, a center for pure archaeological research, a consultation center for field excavators working in the prefectural and municipal branches of the administrative system and an education center for supplementary training of administrative archaeologists from all over Japan. Informally, it became a main source of national-level ACA administrators.

As the new structure for the administration of buried cultural properties became a reality, universities throughout Japan expanded their programs to train the hundreds of archaeologists who were to carry out on the vast number of rescue excavations anticipated in the future. The professors who taught in these programs were predominantly mainstream archaeologists, who emphasized the ideal of research into Japanese history as a moral imperative for archaeologists. Consequently, students were sent into the archaeological administrative work force knowing that they were supposed to be concerned with research. I will discuss below how they have tried to dovetail the ideal of research with the reality of sometimes hurried rescue excavation.

By the mid-1970s, the composition of the archaeological community had changed dramatically. With the expansion of the administrative system, there were jobs available for the many individuals who, in earlier years, would probably have

become amateur archaeologists. Thus, the importance of amateur archaeology decreased. Academic archaeologists remained influential because of their role as teachers of academic archaeologists and their acknowledged research expertise, although, since the mid-1970s, they have been outnumbered by administrative archaeologists. The number of archaeologists belonging to the JAA illustrates the rapid increase in qualified archaeologists between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s. Most of the people joining the JAA were young archaeologists in their 20s and 30s. To be a member of the JAA, a candidate must be nominated by a member and accepted on the basis of professional credentials. Amateurs who joined in the 1950s and 1960s were judged according to the same criteria.

Archaeologists working within the administrative system, either in the offices of the prefectural or municipal boards of education or through maizo bunkazai centers, are often civil servants. As long as development continues and sites need to be excavated, the jobs of these archaeologists are secure. If the need for excavation decreases as a result of a regional or national economic slowdown or because an area has been completely developed, many of these archaeologists will be moved to other civil service jobs. Those with teaching certificates may be reassigned to teach in local schools. Others may take posts in the prefectural or municipal offices. Archaeologists not employed by the government sometimes have to move to another areas in search of work.

It was in the late 1960s and early 1970s that archaeologists saw a substantial and rapid increase in government support for excavation. Unfortunately, as in the late 1950s and 1960s, this offer of money to create an extensive infrastructure for rescue work, a system which would be funded largely by developers, placed archaeologists in a contradictory position. The new administrative system assured archaeologists of adequate funding for excavation,

analysis and site reporting. In this way, it seemed to provide archaeologists with expanded opportunities to conduct research into the Japanese past.

On the other hand, because administrative rescue archaeology was closely regulated and institutionalized, decisions about which sites should be preserved, which should be excavated and how these excavations should be done came to be even more tightly controlled by administrators working through the prefectural boards of education and the ACA. Since, by the mid-1970s, a large proportion of Japan's archaeologists were working within the administrative system, individual archaeologists had much less control over their own research goals than did earlier amateur or university-based archaeologists. In addition, once the administration system was in place, many archaeologists became reluctant to protest about site destruction. This was because they recognized that the administrative rescue system was providing money to do excavation work that often yielded results which, when analyzed within the context of broader research goals, could provide a better understanding of Japanese history. Furthermore, because archaeologists had helped to create the administrative system and were integral parts and beneficiaries of it, they were reluctant to complain. But, while archaeologists working in the administrative system appreciated the funding that allowed them to do more excavation than they had ever thought possible, they soon became aware that technical excavation work left little time for analysis and synthetic research. They also realized that, as they did more excavation, an increasingly large number of sites were being irrevocably destroyed. Thus, they were left in a situation where the ideal of site preservation or, at least, adequate research excavation, continued to be at the root of the archaeological paradigm, but the reality of archaeological work was rescue excavation.

Asuka Mura and the Japanese National Identity

At about the same time that the administrative rescue archaeology system was being created, two government ministries, the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Construction, began to show interest in developing Asuka Mura into a national historical park area. They were supported and joined in their attempt by members of the Japanese business elite, including executives of companies such as Matsushita Electric and the private Kintetsu train line. The theme for this park was to be Asuka as the "hometown of the Japanese people". This was the first obvious example of the use by the Japanese elite of ancient historic cultural properties to promote a sense of national identity among the Japanese people.

The development of a historic park in the Asuka Mura area was significant for two reasons. First, as mentioned above, it was a clear example of the use of archaeological and ancient historical sites to define a postwar Japanese national identity. Second, it was during the process of designating this area that administrative archaeologists affiliated with the the ACA were clearly shown that they had little power compared to government ministries dealing with land development, such as the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Transportation. Although archaeologists have kept a strong presence in Asuka Mura and continue to do excellent research in the area, the ACA has not been the institution which controlled how Asuka Mura has been developed as a tourist facility. Some archaeologists realize that, ironically, the interest conservative elements have shown in Asuka Mura as a national symbol for Japan has resulted in the preservation of this area's natural and historic environments. Much the same could be said for the Imperial Tombs.

With the discovery of the Takamatsuzuka tomb, in the early 1970s, archaeological news moved onto the front pages of the mainstream media. While archaeologists appreciated

the publicity they and their discipline were receiving, they were somewhat ambivalent about the presentation of archaeological and ancient historical news by newspaper and television reporters. Their professional explanations of new discoveries and excavation projects were filtered through the mass media in such a way that the reports were more interesting to the public, but less historically accurate. Some archaeologists saw the media's "archaeology boom" of the early 1970s as an attempt by Japanese elites to turn the Japanese people's attention away from domestic political problems and towards a new pride in past and in present accomplishments of the Japanese nation and people. Others believed that the sudden interest of the media and the public in archaeology reflected the closer contact people throughout Japan had with archaeological sites as a result of the rapid increase in the number of sites being excavated by archaeologists working in the new administrative archaeology system. Another explanation for this sudden interest in archaeology could be that, with Japan's growing economic prosperity and integration into world political, economic and cultural systems, the Japanese people were becoming more interested in defining who they were as Japanese, within their local neighborhoods, as Japanese within the nation of Japan and as Japanese within the international sphere. These questions can be partially answered through archaeology.

In summary, we can see that, by the early 1970s, archaeologists had compromised their early postwar attempt to preserve Japanese sites from destruction by accepting money to excavate from public and private developers. And they had lost some, although certainly not all, control of the way in which crucial aspects of Japanese history were presented and explained to the public. By accepting controlled rescue excavation as a viable option in a national program of buried cultural property management, archaeologists have sacrificed much of the critical edge of

their discipline. Archaeological knowledge is now accepted by the liberal-democratic establishment of Japan as a useful and nonthreatening means of defining Japanese identity, as seen at Asuka Mura.

By the mid-1980s, when I did my research, a large number of archaeologists, some based in prefectural and local boards of education excavation units, others in non-profit, public foundations, such as the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, and a small minority at universities, museums and research institutes have found themselves working hard to dig and analyze the thousands of sites being threatened by destruction throughout Japan. While the original paradigm of archaeology as the empirical study of the Japanese people's history has continued to underlie all of this work, the changing social, political and economic contexts of the discipline have created contradictions in the theory and practice of many archaeologists. Dealing with these contradictions has transformed the understanding that many archaeologists have of the purpose and practice of archaeological work. In the next section, I will discuss what some of these changes are and how archaeologists have responded to the new role of archaeology in Japanese society.

Responses to the Situation in the 1980s

Individual archaeologists have responded to changes in archaeological research and the position of archaeology within Japanese society in a variety of different ways. In the previous chapter (Chapter 8), I tried to give a feeling for this range of responses by using extensive quotations from my interview data. Here, my purpose is to discuss these responses in broader terms.

Perhaps the best way to understand the responses of archaeologists working in Japan during the mid-1980s to the changing position of their discipline is to imagine that these responses fall along a continuum. At one end are the

idealists, archaeologists who adhere to the paradigm of archaeology as scientific historical research done within a Marxist framework. This research seeks to help the Japanese people to understand their own historical development and to discredit prewar imperial interpretations of history. Archaeologists at this end of the continuum see their work as having important political and moral implications. They see administrative archaeology as a dangerous capitulation to the ideological requirements of a capitalist business and political elite. Since they believe that excavation should be done only for research purposes and that the Japanese people should be directly involved in archaeological work, they oppose rescue excavation paid for by public and private developers.

At the opposite end of the continuum are the pragmatists, a small number of people who have made archaeology their career, but who have no real interest in archaeological research. These archaeologists treat their work as a job rather than as a moral imperative. In fact, they sell their technical knowledge to developers who want excavations to be finished as quickly as possible. They completely accept the rule of market forces on archaeology and archaeologists in contemporary Japan. These archaeologists are not interested in the political significance of their work. For them, the excavation and description of sites and artifacts using the appropriate techniques and equipment is an end in itself. They avoid discussions of the the political implications of archaeology. For these archaeologists, the postwar paradigm has lost all of its meaning, if indeed, they were ever aware of it. Most of the archaeologists who fall close to this end of the continuum were educated in the many university archaeology programs created or expanded during the 1970s.

In reality there are few if any archaeologists who fall at either extreme of this continuum. There are no total idealists, nor are there any absolute pragmatists. Most

archaeologists fall somewhere in between. To facilitate my analysis, I will divide these archaeologists into three groups.

The First Group

The first group is made up of archaeologists who fall towards the idealist end of the continuum. Archaeologists in this group adhere closely to the paradigm of archaeology as it was originally defined by Marxist archaeologists. These archaeologists are extremely sensitive to the potential for ideological interpretations of the past in Japanese society as a whole. They believe that a principal role of archaeology is to counter a possible return of emperor-worship ideology. To this end, they have been especially vocal in calling for archaeological access to the Imperial Tombs. Archaeologists in this group believe that all excavations should, ideally, be research projects rather than rescue excavations. They accept the validity of rescue contracts only in circumstances when sites would otherwise be destroyed without excavation. They put strong pressure on the government to preserve sites or to make funds available for adequate excavation. They are quick to criticize developers and the government, often including the ACA in this latter category. They point out, for instance, that the LDP government does not provide enough time or money for adequate scholarly excavations, but is willing to preserve sites, such as Asuka Mura, which can be used for nationalist reasons. They also criticize many of the archaeologists working within the administrative system, arguing that, because these archaeologists have accepted large sums of money from developers to excavate sites, they have "sold-out" to a capitalist system which destroys evidence of the Japanese people's history.

Many of the archaeologists who belong to this group find themselves in a position close to the ideal of the original paradigm. But only a few in secure academic

positions can escape from all sorts of archaeological administrative work. Most archaeologists of the first group sometimes do rescue excavations, either because they recognize that the sites which they agree to work on will inevitably be destroyed or because they need a job and want to support themselves by working at archaeology. Both exceptions constitute a major contradiction between their ideals and their practice. In general, they recognize this contradiction. Some try to deal with it by working extremely hard and doing salvage work that achieves the standards of research archaeology. Others argue that, in the long run, they can save more sites by working through the administrative system as officers than by fighting development site by site.

The second contradiction, which stems from the first, is that archaeologists in the first group often find that material from rescue sites is valuable for writing ancient Japanese history. Thus, they must admit that they, and the discipline of archaeology, benefit from the destruction of sites through development projects. Other contradictions arise because archaeologists in the first group have a tendency to support, on principle, causes which oppose the LDP's policies. An excellent example of this is the designation struggles in Asuka Mura during the early 1970s. During the course of these debates, groups of radical archaeologists, particularly the Bunzenkyo, actively supported the villagers' fight against the Prime Minister's Office and Ministry of Construction's plans to create a historic park. Bunzenkyo members argued that the villagers had taken care of the local cultural remains for generations and should be allowed to continue doing this work in the future. In fact, the villagers of Asuka Mura fought designation because they realized that, once their land was within a special historical park, they would no longer have the right to sell or develop it. It is clear that few of the villagers had any interest in archaeological remains as

such, they were merely professing an interest in the hope that they might retain complete control over their land.

The Second Group

The second group is made up of a wide range of archaeologists, most of whom work in academic jobs in universities, museums or research institutes or who hold high-level positions in the administrative rescue system. These archaeologists, many of whom were students or professional archaeologists prior to the development of the present administrative system (in fact, many helped to create the system), are well-aware of the political implications of archaeological research and still adhere to the goal of archaeology as a science which creates a history for the Japanese people. In this sense they share with the first group the idealist belief in the moral obligation of archaeologists to create a scientific history, untainted by imperial ideology, for the Japanese people. Most of them would not call themselves Marxist archaeologists, but they do acknowledge that their work and attitudes towards archaeology are based, to some extent, on the ideas of Marxist historians and scholars such as Wajima Seiichi and Gordon Childe.

The archaeologists in the second group differ from those in the first because they are the ones who created and, in the case of academic archaeologists, now work within or in close association with the administrative system. These archaeologists have benefited professionally from the system and think that archaeology as a whole has benefited from the wealth of new data which has emerged from large-scale rescue excavations. Thus, in practice, if not in theory, they are more closely aligned with the pragmatists. But archaeologists in the second group face a number of their own contradictions in their attempt to balance the ideal paradigm of postwar archaeology (to which, at least superficially, they closely adhere) with the reality of the

administrative system and the necessity of rescue excavation.

One of the most obvious contradictions is between the ideal of site preservation and the reality of site destruction. There would be no contradiction were it not for the realization by many archaeologists that site destruction through excavation has greatly expanded the knowledge of Japanese history. In my interviews, archaeologists stressed again and again the need to preserve sites through the administrative system. But, in the next breath, these same archaeologists pointed out the advantages of Japanese rescue excavation, explaining how efficiently sites are excavated and describing the vast amount of valuable information about the Japanese past they have managed to extract through these excavations. They lamented the disappearance of thousands of sites each year saying that, having excavated all Japanese sites, archaeologists will soon be deskbound. But then they pointed out that an economic slowdown could mean unemployment for archaeologists and a dearth of new data about the Japanese past.

Another contradiction in the position of archaeologists of the second group is that they are unable to fulfill their goal of writing a scientific history of Japan using archaeological data because they lack much control over how archaeological information is presented in the public or non-academic realm. This lack of control is felt in a number of ways. Perhaps the most obvious is the reluctance of the Imperial Household Agency to allow archaeologists access to the royal tombs. Even in the 1980s, archaeologists cannot freely examine these sites which are, as I explained above, crucial for understanding the origins and early development of the Japanese state. Thus, archaeologists are faced with the reality of the control of archaeological information by the imperial house, a traditional component in the new elite of Japan.

Archaeologists have never controlled the Imperial Tombs but, in recent years, they have lost control of other sorts of archaeological information in subtle ways. Many academic and administrative archaeologists told me that the rescue excavations going on in Japan today are producing so much data that they have no time to analyze it properly. Each day, new material is excavated, described, written up in site reports and stored for possible future analysis. Conducting systematic analysis and research is especially difficult for administrative archaeologists, who have to dig threatened sites, organize these excavations and arrange for the preservation of sites. In addition, many university and museum archaeologists do rescue work on contract. This limits the amount of time they can spare for research. Added to the problem of time constraints is the difficulty of keeping up with discoveries from thousands of sites excavated by hundreds of teams throughout Japan each year. In fact, only a small group of extremely active administrative and academic archaeologists are able to keep abreast of recent developments. Most of these people do so because they have the necessary personal contacts.

Archaeologists have noticed that, over the past 20 years, the amount of information about archaeology available to the public has increased greatly. Most of this information is distributed through the mass media, that is, through television documentaries, television news reports, newspapers and magazines. Although archaeologists are pleased that the public is learning more about archaeology, they are disturbed by the inaccuracies of mass media reporting and by the stress of the reports on things which are the oldest, the biggest, the most valuable or the "first time found in Japan". Many archaeologists told me that reporters make no attempt to set archaeological information in its historical context, as understood by archaeologists. What archaeologists do not mention is evident to an outside observer. Much of the archaeological information available

to the general public stresses themes of Japanese local, national and international identity. Thus, in a subtle way, archaeology is being used by non-archaeologists to help create a new Japanese national (if not a nationalist) identity.

Academic and high-level administrative archaeologists have tried to retain control of archaeological information in a number of ways. First, many work extra hours to write synthetic articles on archaeological issues. These articles, published in scholarly journals, are too technical for the general reader. Second, many academic and high-level administrative archaeologists write articles for popular magazines and journals or give public lectures on archaeological topics. In fact, the involvement of archaeologists in public education on archaeological topics is admirable. These articles and lectures provide archaeologists with a means of communicating their ideas directly to the general public. The problem is that the only people who read these journals or attend the lectures are those already interested in archaeology. In addition, archaeologists find that they must focus their work on themes which sell, although these themes may have little significance in terms of understanding Japanese history as archaeologists see it. Third, archaeologists often give interviews to news reporters or appear in television documentaries that have archaeological themes. But here, the archaeological point of view is often misrepresented and distorted, again for public consumption. Finally, in recent years, administrative archaeologists have begun to give site explanation meetings which allow the public to get a direct feeling for archaeological fieldwork. These meetings are popular among archaeologists, although I found that few non-archaeological informants had ever attended one.

It is not obvious how archaeologists can hope to gain control of the use of archaeological knowledge in the public realm. The focus of archaeological work continues to be the

excavation and description of as much material as possible. Ministry of Education research grants to academic archaeologists during the late 1970s and early 1980s were earmarked for the development of new uses of natural science methodologies to analyze archaeological materials. As these means of extracting data trickle-down to the rescue system excavations, archaeologists will be faced with the need to collect and analyze even more data and will have even less time to do so. Ikawa-Smith (1986) has already noted a gap between the development of natural science techniques to extract new sorts of data and the ability to interpret these results. This gap may widen in the future. By accepting the necessity of rescue excavation and helping to create the administrative rescue system, archaeologists in this second group have created a situation in which they are forced to produce more and more data while having less and less time to analyze, synthesize and use these data to write Japanese history.

The Third Group

The third group is made up mainly of young archaeologists working at lower levels of the administrative system (although not all young archaeologists belong in Group Three). These archaeologists, who were in their twenties and early thirties in the mid-1980s, are students of the more senior archaeologists of the second group. Thus, they were trained in the university programs developed during the 1970s to provide archaeologists for the rapidly expanding administrative rescue system. Because of their age, these archaeologists never knew life in wartime or early postwar Japan. They were never personally influenced by the distortion of history through emperor worship propaganda. Nor did they experience the idealism of the student revolts of the late 1960s. Finally, these young archaeologists have never had to fight to pursue archaeology

as a profession since, by the time they graduated from university, archaeological employment was readily available.

For these archaeologists, the ideal of the original paradigm is distant. Emperor-worship nationalism is a concept they have read about in history books, but have rarely encountered in their everyday life. They would like to excavate the Imperial Tombs, but more out of curiosity than as a matter of principle. Many of these archaeologists are uninterested in the political implications of archaeology. They live in a world and work in a discipline which differs significantly from that of the archaeologists who defined the original paradigm. Consequently, the paradigm has lost most of its meaning for them.

Still, as professional archaeologists, they continue to carry vestiges of a belief in the original paradigm. When asked why archaeology is important, they point out that archaeological data can help write a history of Japan. Only a few informants said they thought archaeology had no intrinsic value at all. As Kobayashi (1986) points out, many young administrative archaeologists say that their goal as archaeologists is to do research, even when their behavior belies a dedication to archaeological research as defined by older generations of archaeologists. During interviews, I sometimes wondered exactly what sort of "research" some of these archaeologists would do if given the time and resources. Certainly, there were many young archaeologists who had published good analytical papers. But there were others who seemed content to excavate and help their team produce its quota of site reports.

Thus, many of these archaeologists, although interested in archaeology in a general sense, do not bring to their work the moral imperative of previous generations. For them, the concept of emperor-worship has little reality beyond the stories of their parents and teachers, or the pages of history books. They do not feel the push to create a new history for Japan. Nor were they part of the radical

student movement of the late 1960s. Hence, they do not know, nor have they ever felt, much antagonism towards the government or Japanese political and economic leaders. They accept the system which has given them an education, jobs and, as Kobayashi (1986) points out, "the good life".

Many of the archaeologists in this group seem content to be archaeological technicians, capable of extracting information efficiently and reporting it in site reports. Some may want to move up the ranks of the administrative archaeological bureaucracy or even to do more research. For most, however, their present job will be sufficient as long as it lasts.

The archaeologists of the third group are, in general, at home in the administrative archaeology system. The main contradiction they face is between the goals they have been taught, goals which are almost always couched in terms of the original paradigm, and the reality of the administrative system. Some of them express this contradiction when they talk about the frustration they feel over time pressures to complete rescue jobs quickly and the lack of time left for research. However, for many, this contradiction is unimportant. At the moment they are able to do what they like doing, digging sites. In the future, they may move to desk jobs in the administration or, as civil servants, they may be transferred out of archaeology altogether into teaching positions or non-archaeological administrative jobs. In fact, most, although certainly not all, of the archaeologists in the third group accept that the role of archaeology in Japanese society has changed and are pleased to work within the context of the new administrative archaeological system.

Discussion

This thesis has shown how the political, economic and social contexts of archaeological research have changed in the postwar period and has discussed how archaeologists have

reacted to these changes. My premise has been that the basic paradigm of postwar archaeology--that archaeology is an empirical science responsible for creating a history for the Japanese people not based on imperial ideology--has remained intact, or at least unchallenged, despite changes in the economic, political and social context of the discipline. I have also argued that it is the contrast between the ideals of this paradigm and the reality of administrative archaeology which creates contradictions between the beliefs and actions of many of the archaeologists working in Japan today.

I have also shown that, while the goals of archaeology, as expressed through the original paradigm, have superficially stayed the same, the meaning of these goals has actually changed within the broader context of administrative archaeology. Take, for example, the goal of developing archaeology as an empirical science. In the immediate postwar period, archaeologists thought that empirically-based archaeological research would eventually allow them to create a scientific and non-ideological history for the Japanese people. My analysis has shown that this emphasis on empiricism, which was further encouraged by rescue excavations resulting from development, has resulted in Japanese archaeologists producing so much data that they feel incapable of adequately describing, let alone synthesizing it. This, in turn, has resulted in a situation in which archaeological information is synthesized and presented to the public through the press and other media over which archaeologists have little control. Whether or not archaeological information is <u>actually</u> used for ideological purposes is not important. The point is that it <u>could</u> be used for such purposes, and archaeologists are aware of this possibility. Thus, empiricism, which was to give archaeologists control over the writing of history, has left them with less control than they would like to have

over how archaeological knowledge is actually used and understood within Japanese society.

Another point that I would like to make is that shifts in the context of postwar archaeology relative to Japanese society as a whole have resulted in major changes in social organization within the discipline. Administrative archaeology has institutionalized archaeological work and, in doing so, has created a group of professional archaeological technicians who sell their knowledge. This has changed the nature of the discipline in many subtle ways. There are fewer chances for amateurs to be actively and productively involved in contemporary Japanese archaeological work. Archaeology is now much more tightly regulated by law, and through the administrative system, than it was even in the mid-1960s. Today amateurs can participate as volunteers in some large excavations, but they are seldom allowed to direct their own projects. Only a small number of amateurs continue to publish scholarly works which are valuable contributions to the field.

For individual archaeologists, this professionalization is a welcome change since those individuals, who in earlier times might have pursued archaeology as an avocation, while earning their living in another profession or trade, are now able to find permanent employment in the expanded administrative system. Because most Japanese enjoy a high standard of living and good educational opportunities, many more people are able to attend university and pursue their dream of becoming archaeologists. Many former amateurs, furthermore, are now professional archaeologists.

Of course, there are still many individuals who consider archaeology a hobby. Judging from the number of popular journals and books on archaeological topics published annually, there must be quite a few Japanese who have at least a passive interest in archaeology. But, as one senior archaeologist told me, public archaeology has changed its meaning since the excavation of the Tsukinowa

Kofun, where the Japanese people were encouraged to create their own history through active participation. Today, the public listens to what experts and the press have to tell them. In a field where contributions by amateurs have traditionally been quite important (Ikawa-Smith 1982), this is a significant change.

The professionalization and institutionalization of archaeology have advantages in terms of efficiency, control and coordination but, I would argue, that they have contributed to archaeology's loss of spirit, which is lamented by archaeologists of the older generation. It was often the "amateurs", semi-professionals and professionals, who realized how lucky they were to be able to work at what they loved, who added the sense of "fire" and moral imperative to archaeological research. In addition, since in the past an important contribution of "amateurs" was the exploration of new ideas (such as the existence of the Paleolithic in Japan and plant cultivation during the Jomon Period) not yet accepted by their "academic" colleagues, archaeologists may have lost a source of new avenues of inquiry.

Another change in the social organization of archaeology is the breakdown of tightly-knit research groups, which were common before the war and in the early postwar period. These "schools" (gakubatsu), which often consisted of a university professor, his junior colleagues (often ex-students) and students, linked senior and junior scholars together in a network of obligation and responsibility. Fierce loyalty to the group and to the teachings of the senior members of the group, characterized these "schools", each of which had a distinctive theoretical or methodological approach. Japanese archaeologists still recognize "schools" of archaeology, Japanese students often feel more personal loyalty to their professors and seniors than would be common in North America and professors feel responsibility to help students find jobs. But since the

Toro excavation of late 1940s which involved researchers from various universities and the organization among Kansai archaeologists to excavate sites in the path of the Meishin Expressway in the late 1950s, Japanese archaeology has become gradually more mobile and homogeneous. The administrative system has broken down the traditional "schools" even more as young archaeologists are asked to work with colleagues from a variety of universities and even from various regions of Japan.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to examine, in some detail, the relationship between archaeology and its social context using postwar Japanese administrative archaeology as a case study. What I have shown is the extremely difficult task facing archaeologists who want to define the goals and use of their discipline within a constantly changing social, political and economic context. As the context of archaeological research changes, the paradigm, although superficially the same, is transformed. I have also shown that, although a successful policy of buried cultural properties management can produce data about the past, it may produce less real knowledge about history since, as archaeology becomes a mainstream discipline, it loses its critical edge.

Archaeologists working in Japan just after the war had explicit reasons--in particular countering totalitarian imperial and nationalist ideology--for defining archaeology as an empirical form of historical research done for and by the Japanese people. Their attempt to shape the discipline around this paradigm, combined with the economic and political imperatives of rescue archaeology, resulted in the development of an extensive and highly efficient, administrative system. Ironically, administrative archaeology has institutionalized and professionalized archaeology while leaving most archaeologists with the

feeling that they have little control over how their research results are used. Thus, archaeology has been transformed from a radical and critical endeavor which questioned established norms and values--including that basic principle of the liberal-democratic state, the necessity of economic development at all costs--to a discipline that produces material which is being used to create a Japanese national image and identity along lines acceptable to the political and business elites of contemporary Japan.

My work demonstrates three points that are pertinent to discussions of archaeological theory. First, it illustrates the futility of taking either an extreme relativist or an extreme positivist approach when analyzing the relationship between archaeology and society. I do this by showing that an examination of Japanese archaeological history repudiates the relativist notion that all knowledge of the past acquired through archaeology is ultimately dependent on the discipline's social, economic and political context. The history of Japanese archaeology offers an excellent example of how data produced by archaeologists can be used to create a new history for a nation. Before September 1945, Japan's official versions of ancient history--which were, incidentally, not believed by archaeologists but were not overtly refuted by most of them either--were based on mythological sources which "validated" the sacred authority of the imperial line. Since September 1945, Japan's ancient history has been rewritten by archaeologists and historians using archaeological data. How this task has been carried out may be closely related to the discipline's socio-political context. Archaeology has, nevertheless, dramatically changed fundamental perceptions of the Japanese people about their past.

On the other hand, my study also shows the fallacy of an empiricist approach, which assumes that the careful excavation and description of archaeological materials will

be sufficient to create a scientific, and hence un-biased, understanding of the past. One of the assumptions underlying much postwar Japanese archaeology has been that archaeology's primary contribution to the study of history is the ability of the discipline to produce information about the past from non-documentary, and thus--in the eyes of Japanese archaeologists and historians--non-ideological sources. This assumption has resulted in a focus, by archaeologists working in Japan, on data collection and, in recent years, a stress on the development of scientific techniques to produce yet more classes of precisely measured data. This stress on data fits well with the expectations of administrative archaeology, which calls for detailed description, but leaves little time for analysis. The long-term result of this reliance on empirical research has been an interest among Japanese archaeologists in producing facts, rather than elaborating theoretical frameworks within which this information can be analyzed and synthesized. Administrative archaeologists often lack the opportunity to produce any synthesis of their findings. As I pointed out above, the result of this emphasis on empiricism to the exclusion of theory has been the loss of control by archaeologists of the use of archaeological information. Hence empirically focused archaeology has not been able to prevent the ideological interpretation of the past by groups such as the media, government agencies and the tourist industry. On the contrary, it has inhibited many archaeologists working in the administrative system from creating their own interpretations of the past.

The second point follows from the first. My work also shows the tremendous power Japanese political and business elites exercise over archaeology through the auspices of the Japanese state. As I mentioned above, I do not see the socio-political context of archaeology as controlling completely the organization of archaeology or the research goals of archaeologists. Yet, my study shows that, in the

case of Japan, the state and business elites have shaped the kinds of research archaeologists do, the way they structure and organize their work and the use of archaeological results in the public realm.

In the prewar era, this control was obvious. It was manifested through the dismissal or even arrest of archaeologists who questioned official versions of history based on the myth of imperial sanctity. Although archaeologists themselves did not necessarily believe this myth, they turned away from archaeological research related to the imperial line and focused instead on detailed classificatory studies of archaeological materials, studies which were less threatening to the state ideology. In addition, some archaeologists used opportunities provided by Japan's colonization of various parts of the mainland Asia to further their studies of Asian prehistory. Thus, in the prewar period, the control the Japanese state had over archaeological research and interpretation was punitive and overt.

In the postwar period, particularly since the late 1960s and early 1970s, archaeology has once again come under the control of the Japanese state. This control, however, is quite subtle. As I described above, early postwar archaeology was characterized by its sense of mission to create a history for the Japanese people and a radical stand vis-à-vis the development plans of conservative Japanese political and business elites. Through the 1950s and early 1960s, these elites reacted to archaeologists' and the public's calls for site preservation by saving a few key sites and providing limited time and funds to excavate other. . By the late 1960s, however, a number of LDP politicians and business leaders, among them Prime Minister Sato and Matsushita Konusuke of Matsushita Electric, had become interested in the origins of the Japanese nation and the Japanese people. Archaeology, which was able to produce information on precisely these topics, became a field worthy

of notice and of funding. Funding was provided through the prefectural and national administrative archaeology systems, which pleased most archaeologists. They were less happy about the funding provided to preserve Asuka Mura which came directly from the national government through the Ministry of Construction or from the Asuka Zaidan.

Thus, beginning in the late 1960s, archaeology began to feed into a new form of Japanese nationalism, a nationalism that is not focused on the emperor (although the imperial family does remain of interest), but which has as its central theme the notion of the Japanese people as a cohesive and homogeneous "ethnic" group. We see in the postwar period, a reformatting of the ideological system used to create a sense of cohesion and homogeneity among the Japanese people and to deny internal social conflict. Nationalist ideology has been transformed from a system of belief based on the notion of kokutai, in which the Japanese people were seen as a "family" linked to the emperor in a paternalistic bond, to a vision of the Japanese people as descended from the "original Japanese", who created the "roots" of the Japanese nation. Paralleling this general ideological transformation, we see a transformation within the field of archaeology, from work that does not threaten the imperial myth to work that feeds into the myth of homogeneity.

The question that arises is how consciously elites have used and controlled archaeology. In my opinion, control manifests itself on two levels. On the first level, we can say that the themes archaeologists explore and the way archaeology is used in the broader public realm of the mass media and the tourist industry have been consciously and actively controlled by leading elites. This control is manifested through the provision of funding for research focusing on Japanese origins and the preservation of specific sites linked to this theme. Asuka Mura is only the most obvious example of this form of control. Another is

the inclusion of archaeological themes in the Research Sphere on Cultural Dynamics and the Research Sphere on Cultural Relations, both divisions in the Japanese government's International Research Center for Japanese Studies which was opened in 1987.

Of course, for the individuals and organizations who provide funding and for those doing the research, this work appears objective in intent. Archaeologists and historians are simply answering questions about the origins of the Japanese people, which, in their eyes and in the eyes of Japanese people as a whole, is a valid research goal. Nevertheless, to understand how archaeology is being shaped by the need of the Japanese elites to neutralize conflict and opposition throughout Japanese society, one has to look at the overall effect of the ideology of Japanese homogeneity in contemporary Japan.

The second and more subtle level at which the Japanese government and business controls archaeology is through its policy of funding a particular kind of empirical research. This is seen in the structure of the administrative rescue system, which favors total site excavation and detailed description over synthetic, problem-oriented research. It is also demonstrated by the recent increase in funding aimed at the development of scientific techniques of data collection and data organization. The overall effect of this emphasis on detail over theory is that, over successive intellectual generations, Japanese archaeology is losing its critical edge. Archaeologists, particularly those working in the administrative system, are becoming technicians, unable or uninterested in looking at their data with a synthetic or critical eye. This kind of control is not overt; Japanese elites did not consciously set out to neutralize archaeologists. Nevertheless, this has been the result of this focus on data.

The third point of relevance to archaeological theory is the observation that archaeological theory and practice

do not always match. In contrast to the views of Kuhn, who sees paradigm change occurring at points of scientific revolution, my study shows that paradigm change can occur through a gradual transformation of the paradigm's meaning within a changing socio-political context. As I have shown throughout this thesis, the meaning of the paradigm of postwar archaeology underwent a profound transformation between 1945 and 1985. This transformation affected two elements of the original paradigm. First, the notion of archaeology as writing the history of the common Japanese people, an idea derived from the visions of postwar Marxist archaeologists, gradually came to feed into the new liberal-democratic ideology of Japanese homogeneity. Similarly, the notion of archaeology as an empirical science was transformed from a concern with scientific rigor as a means of defying interpretations of history steeped in imperial ideology, into a focus on empirical detail and a neglect for critical analysis and synthesis. Thus, although the words of the paradigm have remained the same, their meaning has changed. Within the discipline of archaeology, it is only those who have observed this transformation, who feel any sense of discontinuity.

Perhaps the theoretical entity I have called the postwar paradigm never matched the reality of any one archaeologist, but it did reflect the goals of archaeologists as a group. And I believe that it reflected the "honne" or true sentiments, aspirations and ideals of postwar archaeologists. The postwar paradigm was a theory which molded the actions of individual archaeologists and the archaeological community through the years of change in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and into the 1980s. It was a key symbol, or reference point, around which archaeologists could react to the challenges and opportunities presented by development. But even as archaeologists acted within the ideals of preservation as defined by the paradigm, their reality changed. Gradually, the postwar paradigm lost its

original meaning as the practice of archaeological work was transformed. Today, for older archaeologists who worked as professionals or amateurs prior to the growth of the administrative system, the postwar paradigm remains a formal statement, a "tatemae" reflecting the ideal that has somehow been lost. Meanwhile, their younger colleagues are transforming the original paradigm into a theoretical framework for archaeology which better suits their reality and the changing reality of contemporary Japanese archaeology.

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APPENDIX A

THE STANDARD INTERVIEW

1. What do you know about the Jomon Period? GP, A, S.

2. When did Japan become a state? GP, A, S.

3. When did the distinctive and characteristic Japanese culture begin? GP, A, S.

4. When did the Japanese people originate? GP, A, S.

5. Since when have people lived in Japan? GP, A, S.

6. Were these people Japanese? If not, who were they? GP, A.

7. From where did the first Japanese come? GP, A, S.

8. What is the relationship between the Ainu and the Japanese? GP, A, S.

9. Why are you (Japanese people) interested in archaeology? What period are you particularly interested in? Are you more interested in artifacts or lifestyles, the whole country or your local area? GP, A, S.

10. Where do you (Japanese people) get information about archaeology and buried cultural properties? GP, A, S.

11. Have you ever visited an archaeological site? GP, S.

12. Have you ever visited a museum? GP, S.

13. Have you ever found artifacts? GP, S.

14. Why are archaeology and buried cultural properties important? GP, A, S.

15. If an archaeological site were found on land where a new primary school was to be built in your neighborhood, would you support excavation? Would your support continue even if the children were inconvenienced by having to travel a long distance to another school while the school construction was held up by archaeological excavation? GP, A, S.

16. Has such a situation ever occurred near where you live? Have you heard about such situations? GP.

17. Do you think that it is necessary to spend tax money on archaeology? GP, A.

18. Do you think the Imperial Tombs should be excavated? Why does the Imperial Household Agency forbid such investigations? GP, A, S.

19. Where do you (Japanese people) get information about archaeology and buried cultural properties? GP, A, S.

20. Do you think this information is accurate? A.

21. Do you think Japanese sites should be excavated completely or sampled? A.

22. How has Japanese archaeology changed over the past 20 years? A.

23. How do you think Japanese archaeology will change in the future? A.

24. What sorts of books and articles do you write? A.

25. What sorts of books and articles do you read? A.

26. How old are you? GP, A.

27. What is your marital status? GP, A.

28. What was/is your father's occupation? GP, A.

29. What is your husband's occupation? GP, A.

30. Could you tell me about your educational background? GP, A.

31. Are you working with any of the people with whom you attended university? A.

32. What was your past employment? GP, A.

33. What job would you like to do in the future? GP, A.

34. Why did you become interested in archaeology? A.

35. Did you live in this area when you were a child? GP, A.

36. Do you have any hobbies? S.

A = Archaeologists
GP = General Public
S = Middle School Students

APPENDIX B

INFORMANT INDEX

I1 An academic archaeologist, in his late forties, teaching at a university in the Tokyo area. He has conducted excavations in the Tokyo and Chiba areas.

I3 A graduate, in her mid-twenties, with an M.A. in archaeology from a university in the Tokyo area. She works as an archaeological investigator in the Tokyo area. She first became interested in archaeology while in primary school.

I6 An archaeologist, in his forties, who is working in at the Cultural Properties Center of Chiba Prefecture (Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center). He graduated from a university in the Tokyo area and has worked as an administrator.

I7 An archaeologist working for the National Museum of Japanese History (Sakura National Museum), who attended university in the Kanto and Kinki areas.

I8 This archaeologist, who is in his early forties, works at the Sakura National Museum. He has also worked as a administrator. He says of his original interest in archaeology "When I was 10 years old I used to go collecting stones and potsherds. I entered archaeology because I liked it." When he began his studies his goal was to understand how the peripheral areas of Japan relate to the center. This interest led him to consider the development of the Japanese nation.

I9 This archaeologist at the Sakura National Museum, who is in his late thirties, attended university in various parts of Japan. He has liked history for a long time. His primary interests are the Jomon and Yayoi Periods.

I10 This archaeologist, who is in his mid-thirties, works at the Sakura National Museum. He studied archaeology at university and then worked as an investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He has worked for several municipal boards of education and has done museum work. His interest in archaeology developed while he was in university although, as a child, he was aware of artifacts and collected potsherds and lithics in the fields. His focus is the Yayoi Period.

I11 This archaeologist, who is in his early thirties, works for the Sakura National Museum. After studying at a university in the Tokyo area, he did excavation work, taught school and did museum work at a prefectural museum. He became interested in archaeology as a third-year high school student when a teacher took the class to see an excavation. His present focus is the Kofun Period.

I12 This archaeologist from the Sakura National Museum, who is in his late thirties, attended university in the Tokyo area. After graduation, he participated in excavations then came to the Museum. He decided to become an archaeologist after entering university, but first became interested in the subject when visiting an excavation as a middle school student. He is interested in the Kofun Period.

I13 This archaeologist, from the Sakura National Museum, is in his early forties. He attended university and taught in western Japan. He has liked archaeology since he was a child. His specialties are the Jomon, Yayoi and Kofun Periods.

I14 This investigator from the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, who is in her mid-twenties, graduated from a Kanto area university with a B.A. She came to the Center immediately after graduation. She said of her interest in archaeology, "When I was a child we studied history and ancient things in school. When I was in high school and university, I excavated a little. It was after this that I decided to do archaeology, after I entered university. My major was not originally archaeology."

I15 This archaeologist, who is in his early thirties, works as an investigator for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He graduated with a B.A. from a Tokyo area university and came to the Center directly after graduation. He has been interested in archaeology since he was a child.

I17 This archaeologist, who is in his early thirties, works as an investigator for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He graduated with a B.A. from a university in the Tokyo area. His main interest is the archaeology of central Japan. His interest in archaeology began when he was a child. He has always wanted to study archaeology.

I18 This archaeologist, in his early twenties, works as an investigator for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He graduated with a B.A. from a Tokyo area university and came directly to his present job. He first decided to become an archaeologist when he visited sites as a child.

I19 This archaeologist, in his mid-thirties, works as an investigator for the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He completed a B.A. at a university in the Tokyo area. Throughout his university years, he had a connection with the archaeology club.

I20 An academic in his late fifties, this archaeologist works at a university in the Tokyo area.

I24 This archaeologist, in his mid-thirties, works in administration in Chiba Prefectural. He graduated from a university in the Tokyo area with a B.A. in archaeology. He has also taught and done museum work. He says of his varied career "Most people don't move around a lot. I didn't mind moving around. I could use my archaeological knowledge in a number of places including in museums and in my present work. I was interested so I moved." He began archaeology as a high school student when he was taken to see excavations by his teacher. His initial interest began, however, when he collected potsherds in the fields as a middle school student.

I26 This archaeologist, in his late twenties, works on site protection for Chiba Prefecture. He graduated from a Tokyo area university with a B.A. in archaeology. After graduation, he did archaeological work at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center.

I38 This archaeologist, in his early thirties, works as an investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He graduated from a university in the Tokyo area. During his years as a student, he was able to study archaeology and Japanese ancient history, literature and folklore. Of his original interest in archaeology he says "I've been interested in archaeology since middle school. I wanted to study archaeology. I also wanted to study the ancient history of Japan."

I39 This archaeologist, in his late twenties, works as an investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He attended university in the Tokyo the area and studied archaeology. He found his job at the Center after he graduated. He would like to continue with excavation work "...to the extent that my body holds out." He became interested in archaeology before entering university but did not see his interest in terms of academic study at that time. Rather, he liked to visit sites. He decided to become an archaeologist after entering the university.

I48 This archaeologist, in his late twenties, works as an investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He received a a B.A. and M.A. from a university in the Tokyo area. After graduation, he took a year break and then worked on a number of excavations before coming to the Center. As a student he studied archaeology and did excavation work in various parts of Japan. When asked about his interest in archaeology, he answered "I became interested in archaeology during high school. I had a lot of different interests....I liked history particularly ancient history. I never thought of doing archaeology though."

I49 This archaeologist, in his early thirties, works for Chiba Prefecture. He graduated with a M.A. from a university in the Tokyo area. After graduation, he worked in a municipal board of education, the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center and as an administrator. He became interested in archaeology while in primary school.

I50 This archaeologist works for the Nabunken. He graduated from a Kinki area university and has excavated in Nara Prefecture.

I51 This archaeologist graduated from a Kinki area university and works for the Nabunken.

I52 This academic archaeologist in his late fifties works in the Kinki area.

I61 This administrator, in his late forties, works for Chiba Prefecture. He is not an archaeologist by training, but studied history at a university in the Tokyo area. After graduating with a B.A., he came to Chiba where he was a high school teacher for many years.

I62 An administrator in his early thirties, this archaeologist works for Chiba Prefecture. He studied at a university in the Tokyo area. After graduation, he excavated until he started his present job. He decided to study archaeology because "I wanted to do something which did not involve people. Archaeology is history's old things. I have been interested in archaeology since high school."

I89 This archaeologist, in his mid-thirties, works as an investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He graduated with a B.A. in archaeology from a university in the Tokai area. After graduation, he came directly to the Center. His work consists of excavation, analysis and writing reports. He became interested in archaeology in middle school when he first began to collect potsherds.

I90 This archaeologist, in his early twenties, works as an investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He studied history at a Kanto area university, and has worked at the Center since his graduation.

I91 This archaeologist, in her late twenties, works as an investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. Her interest in archaeology grew out of her interest in history.

I92 An investigator in his mid-twenties, working at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center, this archaeologist studied library studies at a Tokyo area university and came to the Center soon after graduation.

I93 This archaeologist, in his early thirties, works as an investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He studied Japanese history with a specialty in archaeology at a university in the Tokyo area. He worked before entering university and was employed as a teacher before coming to the Center. His interest in archaeology developed after seeing an archaeological excavation when he was already an adult.

I94 This archaeologist, in her late twenties, works as an investigator at the Chiba Prefectural Bunkazai Center. She studied history at a Tokyo area university, coming to the Center soon after her graduation. Her interest in archaeology developed while at university.

I95 This archaeologist, in his mid-forties, works for the Sakura National Museum. He did graduate work at a Kinki area university. After leaving the university, he did museum work and excavation work in the Kinki area. His initial interest in archaeology came when he was young and his father took him to see the large temples and kofun of Nara.

I100 This academic archaeologist works at a Tokyo area university. He did graduate work in archaeology and has worked as an administrator.

I117 This archaeologist, in his forties, is an administrator at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute.

I118 This archaeologist, in his mid-thirties, works as an investigator at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute. He graduated from a Kinki area university with a B.A. and M.A., and has been working at his present job since he was a graduate student. His interest in archaeology began when, as middle school student, he visited an excavation near his home.

I131 An archaeologist, in his early thirties, working as an investigator at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute. He completed his B.A. and M.A. at a Kinki area university. Although he was interested in history as a high school student, his interest in archaeology developed after entering university.

I132 An archaeologist, in his late twenties, working as an investigator at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute. He completed a B.A. in history at a Kansai area university in the late 1970s. He then worked as an archaeologist at non-permanent positions in the Kansai area before coming to the Center in the early 1980s. His interest in history originated in middle school, and he started studying archaeology at university.

I139 An investigator at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute, he graduated with a B.A. from a Kinki area university. He has worked in the museum and research parts of the Institute. When asked why he decided to study archaeology, he answered "I don't know. I've liked it since I was a kid".

I140 An archaeologist, in his late thirties, working as an investigator at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute. He studied archaeology at a university in the Kinki area and received a B.A. and an M.A.. He has always been sure that he was going to study archaeology.

I141 This archaeologist, in his early twenties, works as an investigator at the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute. He completed a B.A. in archaeology at a Kinki area university. He has enjoyed history since high school.

I144 This archaeologist, in his early thirties, works as an investigator at the Nabunken. He graduated with a B.A. from a Kinki area university and studied in a graduate program before coming to the Nabunken. He has been collecting archaeological materials since he was a middle school student, but only decided to study archaeology after entering university. In the future, he wants to continue his study of archaeology focusing more on the Yayoi Period and the formation of the Japanese state.

I145 An investigator, in his mid-thirties, working at the Nabunken, this archaeologist graduated with a B.A. and an M.A. from a Chugoku area university. He has been working at the Nabunken for a number of years.

I146 This archaeologist, in his mid-thirties, works as an investigator for the Nabunken. He studied archaeology at a Tokyo area university, graduating with a B.A. and an M.A.. His interest in archaeology began in elementary school. He decided to study the subject while a high school student.

I147 An investigator working for the Nabunken.

I149 An archaeologist, in his early twenties, working as an investigator at the Nara City Buried Cultural Properties Investigation Center (Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center). He attended a university in the Kinki area and received a B.A. He became interested in Japanese historical archaeology because he grew up in the older section of a city where there are many old buildings.

I150 An investigator, in his mid-twenties, working at the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center. He completed a B.A. at a university in the Kinki area.

I151 An archaeologist, in her mid-twenties, working as an investigator at the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center. She graduated with a B.A. from a Kinki area university. She decided to study archaeology while a high school student having often seen news of excavations on the television.

I152 This archaeologist, in his late twenties, works as an investigator at the Nara City Maizo Bunkazai Center. He completed a B.A. at a Kinki area university. He began working at the Center after completing university. He decided to study archaeology while a high school student.

I154 An academic archaeologist, in his early forties, teaching at a Kinki area university.

I156 An archaeologist, in her late twenties, working for the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute. She has been interested in history since she was an elementary school child and decided to study archaeology after entering university.

I157 An archaeologist, in his early forties, working for the Kashiwara Archaeological Institute. He received an M.A. from a Kinki area university. He has excavated extensively and has worked as an administrator and an investigator.

I216 This archaeologist, in his early forties, works at the Kyushu Historical Information Center. He began graduate studies in archaeology at a Kyushu area university, but soon after entering the program found his present job. His initial interest in archaeology came in primary school when "The school decided to expand the sports playing field. At that time, they destroyed a kofun. Potsherds began to appear here and there on the playing field. My teacher was interested in archaeology and so collected the potsherds. I helped. This teacher appeared in the newspaper and I appeared alongside him. I was embarrassed by this attention so I made up my mind to work very hard and get in the

newspaper again. Eventually this happened through my involvement in archaeology."

I217 A social education officer in his early thirties working for a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture. He does not specialize in protection of buried cultural properties but deals with art and culture in general. He studied economics at a Kyushu area university. Since his faculty had no special research group, he ended up getting involved in archaeology through university group activities. After leaving university, he moved about Kyushu studying until finding his present job.

I218 An archaeologist, in his late twenties, who works on excavations for Saga Prefecture. He went to a Tokyo area university to study archaeology and completed an M.A. When he entered the university he planned to study modern history but became interested in archaeology when he realized that, through archaeology, he could study the origins of the Japanese people.

I219 This archaeologist, in his mid-thirties, works as a curator in a museum in Kita-Kyushu. His university education was at a Kyushu area university where he completed a B.A. and an M.A.. He has always liked archaeology but became particularly interested in the subject in high school when he had a chance to participate on the excavation of a kofun which was to be destroyed.

I220 An archaeologist, in his early thirties, working as an investigator for a municipal board of education in Fukuoka Prefecture. He attended a university in the Tokyo area from which he graduated with a specialty in Japanese literature. He then spent a number of years working as a non-permanent employee on various sites. When asked why he originally became interested in archaeology he replied "Actually I wanted to do sports. I did Kendo when I was a middle school student. When I went to high school I was in the Kendo Club but I soon quit. Then I wondered what I could do. I had liked history since I was small but I did not know that a discipline like archaeology existed. I entered the History Department and gradually became interested in archaeology. But I still thought making a living at archaeology would be difficult. That's what my sempai (seniors) said. This was how I first got started with archaeology."

I221 An archaeologist, in his late twenties, working as an investigator for a municipal board of education. He graduated with a B.A. in economics from a Kyushu area university. He participated in excavations as a high school student when he was in the archaeology club. He continued to excavate throughout his university years.

I222 A retired archaeologist, in his early sixties, who worked at a number of jobs in the Kyushu area. He attended a Kyushu area university and specialized in Japanese history. He has liked history since he was a child.

I224 This archaeologist, in his early thirties, works for Miyagi Prefecture as an investigator. He attended a university in the Kinki area from which he graduated with a B.A.. His father was a history teacher, and he has been interested in archaeology since he was a child. He decided to be an archaeologist when he was in the sixth grade.

I225 An archaeologist, in his mid-thirties, working as an investigator for the Kumamoto Prefectural Bunkazai Center. He graduated with a B.A. in archaeology from a Tokyo area university. He came to Kyushu after finishing his degree, and has been working in Kyushu ever since. He decided to study archaeology in middle school "When I was about 13 or 14 years old there was a shellmound near where I lived which I would play on. At that time, during one of the vacations, a professor from Kyushu University came and did an excavation. This was in the newspaper. I knew nothing at this time but I went to see. I went everyday. I was the only child so I was not able to help. When I entered high school I went to Tokyo. At the school there was an archaeology club which I joined. So I worked on Jomon sites during the summer vacations. Occasionally, I would get money for this. So, in this way, I ended up in university."

I239 An administrator working for a municipal board of education in Chiba Prefecture.

I253 An employee of the NHK working in the Kinki area.

I286 An NHK producer.

I292 The director of an investigation association in Chiba Prefecture.

I293 An employee of the Asuka Mura municipal government.

APPENDIX C
GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE TERMINOLOGY

Ainu	アイヌ	Ainu people of northern Japan
Amakashi no Oka	甘樫の丘	Amakashi no Oka, Asuka, Nara Prefecture
Amenokaguyama	天の香久山	Amenokaguyama Hill, Nara Prefecture
Asahi Gurafu	朝日グラフ	Asahi Graph
Asahi Shimbunsha	朝日新聞社	Asahi Newspaper Company
Asuka	飛鳥	Asuka, Nara Prefecture
Asuka Chiho ni okeru Rekishiteki Fudo oyobi Bunkazai no Hozon nado ni kansuru Hosaku ni tsuite	飛鳥地方における歴史的風土及び文化財の保存等に関する方策について	Measures Concerning the Conservation of Historical Landscape and Cultural Heritages in the Asuka Area
Asuka furusato ron	飛鳥ふるさと論	Asuka hometown theory
Asuka Hozon Zaidan	飛鳥保存財団	Asuka Preservation Foundation
Asuka Juku	飛鳥塾	Asuka Private School
Asuka Kisei Hantai Kekki Domei	飛鳥規制反対決起同盟	Federation for Rising to Oppose the Asuka Regulations
Asuka Kokyo o Mamoru Giin Renmei	飛鳥古京を守る議員連盟	Federation of Diet Members for the Preservation of the Asuka Ancient Capital
Asuka Kokyo o Mamoru Kai	飛鳥故郷を守る会	Association for the Preservation of the Asuka Ancient Capital
Asuka Mura	明日香村	Asuka Mura (Village), Nara Prefecture
Asuka Mura Yakuba	明日香村役場	Asuka Townhall
Asuka Mura ni okeru Rekishiteki Fudo no Hozon oyobi Seikatsu Kankyo no Junbi nado ni kansuru Tokubetsu Sochi Ho	明日香村における歴史的風土の保存および生活環境の準備等に関する特別措置法	Special Action Law regarding the Preservation of the Historical Environment and the Lifestyle Environment of Asuka Mura

Asuka-Fujiwara Chiiki Hozon Kaihatsu Kihon Keikaku	飛鳥・藤原地域保存開発基本計画	Plan for the Preservation and Development of the Asuka-Fujiwara Area
Asukadera	飛鳥寺	Asukadera Temple, Nara Prefecture
Asukagawa	飛鳥川	Asuka River, Nara Prefecture
bakufu	幕府	military government of feudal Japan
Bankoku Hakurankai (Banpaku)	万国博覧会（万博）	Osaka Expo, 1971
Bunkacho	文化庁	Agency for Cultural Affairs
bunkaka	文化課	cultural affairs division
bunkaron	文化論	discussions of the (Japanese) culture
bunkazai	文化財	cultural property／cultural properties
bunkazai chosa han	文化財調査班	cultural property investigation group
Bunkazai Hogo Bu	文化財保護部	Cultural Properties Protection Department
Bunkazai Hogo Ho	文化財保護法	Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties
Bunkazai Hogo Gakari	文化財保護係	Cultural Properties Protection Section
Bunkazai Hogo Iinkai	文化財保護委員会	Committee for the Protection of Cultural Properties
Bunkazai Hogo Ka	文化財保護課	Cultural Properties Protection Division
Bunkazai Hogo Shingi Kai	文化財保護審議会	Deliberative Council on the Protection of Cultural Properties
Bunkazai Hogo Taisaku Kyogikai	文化財保護対策協議会	Association for the Protection of Cultural Properties

Bunkazai Hozon Ka	文化財保存課	Cultural Properties Preservation Division
Bunkazai Hozon Zenkoku Kyogikai (Bunzenkyo)	文化財保存全国協議会（文全協）	All-Japan Association for the Preservation of Cultural Properties
Bunkazai Joho	文化財情報	Cultural Properties Information
Bunkazai Kyocho Shukan	文化財強調週間	Cultural Properties Week
bunkazai senta	文化財センター	cultural properties center
bunkazai shuji	文化財主事	cultural properties manager
bunkazai tanto shokuin	文化財担当職員	officer in charge of cultural properties
Bunmei Kaika	文明開化	Civilization and Enlightenment
busshitsu bunka	物質文化	material culture
Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta	千葉県文化財センター	Cultural Properties Center of Chiba Prefecture
Chiba Ken Bunkazai Senta Kenkyu Kiyo	千葉県文化財センター研究紀要	Cultural Properties Center of Chiba Prefecture Research Reports
Chiba Ken Kyoiku Cho Bunkaka	千葉県教育庁文化課	Chiba Prefecture Board of Education Cultural Affairs Division
Chiba Ken Tochi Kaihatsu Kosha	千葉県土地開発公社	Chiba Prefecture Land Development Corporation
chihoshi	地方史	local history
chosa dan	調査団	excavation group
chosa kai	調査会	investigation association
chosain	調査員	investigator
daimyo	大名	feudal lord
dogu	土偶	clay figurine(s)
Etonosu	エトノス	Ethnos

Fujiwara-no-miya (Fujiwarakyu)	藤原の宮（藤原宮）	Fujiwara Palace, Nara Prefecture
Fukoku Kyohei	富国強兵	Enrich the nation, Strengthen the Army
gakubatsu	学閥	"schools"
gakugeibu	学芸部	arts section of a newspaper
Gakushiin	学士院	Japan Academy
genchi setsumei kai	現地説明会	site explanation meeting
genshi	原始	beginnings (of Japan)
gimu	義務	responsibility or obligation
gyosei no tantosha	行政の担当者	administrative officers
han	藩	political apparatus and territory controlled by a feudal lord
handoteki	反動的	conservative or reactionary
haniwa	埴輪	Kofun Period terracota figurines
Heijokyo	平城京	Heijo Capital City, Nara Prefecture
Heijokyu	平城宮	Heijokyu Palace, Nara Prefecture
Heijokyu o Mamoru Kai	平城宮を守る会	Heijokyu Preservation Association
Higashi Ajia no Kodai Bunka	東アジアの古代文化	East Asian Ancient Culture
hoho	方法	methodology
hojoin	補助員	assistant research workers
honne	本音	actuality
Ishibutai	石舞台	Ishibutai Tomb, Nara Prefecture

Itasuke Kofun	イタスケ古墳	Itasuke Mounded Tomb. Osaka Prefecture
Iwaido	祝戸	Iwaido, Nara Prefecture
jimichi	地道	straightforward
Jimmu Tenno	神武天皇	Emperor Jimmu
jisshoteki	実証的	empirical
jisshoteki kagaku	実証的科学	empirical science
jisshoteki kagakuteki kenkyu	実証的科学的研究	empirical scientific research
jomin	常民	common people
Jomon (Jidai)	縄文 (時代)	Jomon Period ca. 10,000 300BC
juku	塾	private school
juyo bunkazai	重要文化財	important cultural properties
kagakuteki	科学的	scientific
Kansai Bunkazai Hozon Kyogikai	関西文化財保存協議会	Kansai Association for the Preservation of Cultural Properties
Kansai Keizai Rengokai (Kankeiren)	関西経済連合会 (関経連)	Kansai Economic Federation
Kawaradera	川原寺	Kawaradera Temple, Nara Prefecture
Keizai Dantai Rengokai (Keidanren)	経済団体連合会 (経団連)	Federation of Economic Organizations
kenkyu kikan	研究機関	research organizations
kenkyuin	研究員	researcher
Kensetsusho	建設省	Ministry of Construction
Kikan Kokogaku	季刊考古学	Archaeological Quarterly
Kikan Yamataikoku	季刊邪馬台国	Yamataikoku Quarterly
kinenbutsu	記念物	commemorative items

Kinenbutsu Ka	記念物課	Commemorative Items Division
Kinki Nihon Tetsudo	近畿日本鉄道	Kintetsu Lines
Kobunkazai ni kansuru Hozon Kagaku to Jimbun Shizen Kagaku	古文化財に関する保存科学と人文・自然科学	Ancient Cultural Poperties in Relation to the Preservation Sciences, and Humanities and the Natural Sciences
Kobunkazai no Shizen Kagakuteki Kenkyu	古文化財の自然科学的研究	Scientific Approaches to the Study of Ancient Cultural Property
kodaijin no chie to seikatstsu	古代人の知恵と生活	the ancient people's wisdom and lifestyles
Kodaishi	古代史	ancient history
Kodaishi Hakkutsu	古代史発掘	Ancient History Excavations
kofun	古墳	burial mound
Kofun (Jidai)	古墳（時代）	Kofun Period ca.AD300-600
Koki Kyubustu Hozon Ho	古器旧物保存法	Law Concerning the Preservation of Antiquities
Kojiki	古事記	Record of Ancient Matters
kokogaku	考古学	archaeology
Kokogaku Bijutsushi no Shizen Kagakuteki Kenkyu	考古学・美術史の自然科学的研究	Natural Scientific Approaches in Archaeology and Art History
kokogaku bumu	考古学ブーム	archaeology boom
Kokogaku Janaru	考古学ジャーナル	Archaeological Journal
Kokogaku Kenkyu	考古学研究	Quarterly of Archaeological Studies
Kokogaku Kenkyukai	考古学研究会	Society of Archaeological Studies
Kokogaku Kenkyukai Jonin Iinkai	考古学研究会常任委員会	Standing Committee of the Society of Archaeological Studies
kokoro	心	heart

Kokudo Kaihatsu Kansen Jidoshado Kensetsu Ho	国土開発幹線自動車道建設法	Law for National Land Development for Trunk Road Construction
Kokuho Hozon Ho	国宝保存法	Law for the Preservation of National Treasures
kokumin	国民	Japanese people
kokuminteki rekishigaku undo	国民的歴史学運動	peoples' history movement
Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan	国立歴史民俗博物館	National Museum of Japanese History
kokutai	国体	concept of the national polity
koseki	戸籍	family register
Koshaji Hozon Ho	古社寺保存法	Law for the Preservation of Ancient Temples and Shrines
kosoku Jidosha Kokudo Ho	高速自動車国道法	National Expressway Law
Koto ni okeru Rekishiteki Fudo Hozon no tame no Tokubetsu Sochi Ho	古都における歴史的風土保存のための特別措置法	Special Action Law for the Preservation of Historic Environments in Ancient Capitals
Kunaicho	宮内庁	Imperial Household Agency
Kunaisho	宮内省	Imperial Household Ministry
Kuni no Ayumi	くにのあゆみ	Footsteps of the Nation
Kyodo Kenkyukai	郷土研究会	Local History Association
kyoiku iinkai	教育委員会	board of education
kyoiku ka	教育課	education division
maizo bunkazai	埋蔵文化財	buried cultural properties
Maizo Bunkazai Hakkutsu Chosa no Tebiki	埋蔵文化財発掘調査の手引	Handbook for Archaeological Investigation
maizo bunkazai hogo gyosei	埋蔵文化財保護行政	buried cultural properties protection administration

maizo bunkazai senta	埋蔵文化財センター	buried cultural properties center
mamoru kai	守る会	site preservation group
Man'yoshu	万葉集	Man'yoshu
Meiji (Jidai)	明治(時代)	Meiji Period 1868-1912
Meishin Kosoku Doro	名神高速道路	Meishin Expressway
Miminashiyama	耳成山	Miminashiyama Hill, Nara Prefecture
minpo	民法	civil law
minzoku	民族	ethnic group
minzoku ron	民族論	ethnic theory
minzokugaku	民族学	ethnology
Mombusho	文部省	Ministry of Education
Mombusho Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyuhi Hojo	文部省人文科学研究費補助	Ministry of Education's Humanities Research Fund
Mombusho Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyuhi Iinkai	文部省人文科学研究費委員会	Ministry of Education's Humanities Research Committee
Mombusho Kagaku Kenkyuhi Tokutei Kenkyu	文部省科学研究費特定研究	Ministry of Education's Special Science Research Fund
Moto Yakushiji	本薬師寺	Moto Yakushiji Temple, Nara-Prefecture
Mozu Kofun Gun	百舌古墳群	Mozu Burial Mound Group, Osaka
Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo (Nabunken)	奈良国立文化財研究所(奈文研)	Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute
Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo Asuka Shiryokan	奈良国立文化財研究所飛鳥資料館	Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute's Asuka Historical Museum
Nara Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo Maizo Bunkazai Senta	奈良国立文化財研究所埋蔵文化財センター	Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute Center for Archaeological Operations (CAO)

Nara Ken Kyoiku Iinkai	奈良県教育委員会	Nara Prefecture Board of Education
Nara Kenritsu Kashiwara Kokogaku Kenkyujo	奈良県立橿原考古学研究所	Nara Prefecture Archaeological Institute
Nihon Bunkazai Hozon Renraku Kai	日本文化財保存連絡会	Japanese Association for Communicating the Preservation of Cultural Properties
Nihon Doro Kodan	日本道路公団	Japan Highway Public Corporation
Nihon Gakujutsu Shinko Kai	日本学術振興会	Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science
Nihon Hoso Kyokai (NHK)	日本放送協会	Japan Broadcasting Corporation
Nihon Jutaku Kodan	日本住宅公団	Japan Housing Corporation
Nihon Kokogaku Kyokai	日本考古学協会	Japanese Archaeological Association
Nihon Kokogaku Nempo	日本考古学年報	Archaeologia Japonica
Nihon kokumin no kokoro no furusato	日本国民の心のふるさと	The hometown of the Japanese people's hearts
Nihon Kyoshokuin Kumiai	日本教職員組合	Japan Teachers Union
Nihon no honyu	日本の本有	the real Japan
Nihon no kokoro no furusato	日本の心のふるさと	The hometown of the Japanese heart
Nihon Rekishi Kyotei	日本歴史教程	Curriculum for the Teaching of Japanese History
Nihon Rekishi	日本歴史	Japanese History
Nihon rekishi bumu	日本歴史ブーム	Japanese history boom
Nihon Rodo Kumiai So Hyogikai (Sohyo)	日本労働組合総評議会 (総評)	General Council of Trade Unions of Japan
Nihon Sekki Jidai Jimin Ibutsu Hakken Chimei Hyo	日本石器時代人民遺物発見地名表	List of Stone Age Sites in Japan
Nihon Shi Kenkyukai	日本史研究会	Japanese History Association

Nihon shoki	日本書紀	Chronicles of Japan
Nihon Tetsudo Kodan	日本鉄道公団	Japanese Railway Corporation
Nihonbunkaron	日本文化論	Discussions on the Japanese Culture
Nihonron	日本論	Discussions on Japan
Omori Kaizuka	大森貝塚	Omori Shellmound
Osaka Fu Kyoiku Iinkai	大阪府教育委員会	Osaka Prefectural Board of Education
Osaka Fu Kyoshokuin Kumiai	大阪府教職員組合	Osaka Prefecture Teachers Union
rekishi	歴史	history
Rekishu Dokuhon	歴史読本	History Reader
Rekishiteki Fudo Shingi Kai	歴史的風土審議会	Deliberative Council on Historical Environments (DCHE)
Rekishiteki Fudo Hozon Kuiki	歴史的風土保存区域	Historical Environment Preservation Area
Rekishi Kagaku Kenkyukai	歴史科学研究会	Scientific History Research Association
Rekishi Koron	歴史公論	Opinions on History
Rekishi Kyoikusha Kyogikai	歴史教育者協議会	History Educators' Association
Rekishi Techo	歴史手帖	History Notebook
Rekishi to Jimbutsu	歴史と人物	History and People
Rekishi to Tabi	歴史と旅	History and Travels
rekishiteki seishin	歴史的精神	historical spirit
ryobo	陵墓	royal tombs
ryobo mondai	陵墓問題	royal tombs problem
sabishi	寂しい	lonely
Saitobaru Kofun Gun	西都原古墳群	Saitobaru Mounded Tomb Group
samurai	侍	feudal warrior

Sanryoshi	山陵誌	A Record of the Tumuli
Saru Ishi	猿石	Saru Ishi, Nara Prefecture
sararaman	サラリーマン	salaryman - white collar worker
sararaman kokogakusha	サラリーマン考古学者	salaryman archaeologist
Seinen Kokogaku Kyogikai	青年考古学協議会	Young Archaeologists Association
seishinteki na mono	精神的なもの	spiritual thing
semmon tantosha	専門担当者	specialized archaeological officers
shakaika	社会科	social studies
shakai kyoiku ka	社会教育課	social studies education division
shimin	市民	citizen(s)
shimin undo	市民運動	citizens' movement
Shin Jimbutsu Orai Sha	新人物往来社	Shin Jimbutsu Orai Sha (Publishing Company)
Shinkansen	新幹線	Shinkansen High Speed Train
shiseki	史跡	historical site
Shiseki Meisho Tennen Kinenbutsu Hozon Ho	史跡名勝天然記念物保存法	Law for the Preservation of Commemorative Historic Sites, Scenic Spots, and Natural Monuments
Shiseki Meisho Tennen Kinenbutsu Kyokai	史跡名勝天然記念物協会	Association for the Commemoration of Historic Sites, Scenic Spots and Natural Monuments
Shiseki Kinenbutsu no Hozon ni tsuite no Iken	史跡記念物の保存についての意見	On the Preservation of Commemorative Historic Sites and Monuments
Shizen Kagaku no Shuho niyoru Iseki, Kobunkazai To no Kenkyu	自然科学の手法による遺跡・古文化財等の研究	Application of Scientific Techniques to the study of Sites and Cultural Properties

Shogun	将軍	Military Leader of Japan
Showa (Jidai)	昭和 (時代)	Showa Period 1926-1989
Shumisen-seki	須弥山石	Shumisen-seki, Nara Prefecture
Sorifu	総理府	Prime Minister's Office
Taisho (Jidai)	大正 (時代)	Taisho Period 1912-1926
Takamatsuzuka Kofun	高松塚古墳	Takamatsuzuka Mounded Tomb, Nara Prefecture
tatemae	建前	form, ideology
Teikoku Koseki Tori-shirabe Kai	帝国古蹟取調会	Committee for the Investigation of Ancient Imperial Sites
Tenno	天皇	Emperor of Japan
Tennoryo	天皇陵	Imperial Tombs
tennosei	天皇制	imperial ideology
Tokubetsu Hozon Chiku Kakudai Hantai Domei	特別保存地区拡大反対同盟	Federation to Oppose the Asuka Special Preservation Area Restrictions
Tokugawa (Jidai)	徳川 (時代)	Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868
Tokyo Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo	東京国立文化財研究所	Tokyo National Cultural Properties Research Institute
Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubu-tsukan		Tokyo National Museum
Tokyo To Maizo Bunkazai Senta	東京都埋蔵文化財センター	Tokyo Metropolitan Buried Cultural Properties Center
Toro Iseki	登呂遺跡	Toro Site, Shizuoka Prefecture
Toro Iseki Chosa Kai	登呂遺跡調査会	Toro Site Investigation Group
Toshi Keikaku Ho	都市計画法	City Planning Law
Tsukinowa Kofun	月の輪古墳	Tsukinowa Mounded Tomb, Okayama Prefefecture
Watakushitachi no Kokogaku	私たちの考古学	Our Archaeology

Unebiyama	畝傍山	Unebiyama Hill, Nara Prefecture
Yuibutsuron Kenkyukai	唯物論研究会	Materialist Theory Study Group
Yamadadera	山田寺	Yamadadera Temple, Nara Prefecture
Yamato	大和	ancient name for Japan and the province which is now Nara Prefecture
Yayoi (Jidai)	弥生（時代）	Yayoi Period, 300BC-AD300
zaidan	財団	foundation
zaidan hojin	財団法人	foundation able to act as a corporate person
zaikai	財界	economic circles
zempo-koenfun	前方後円墳	key-hole shaped mounded tomb
Zen Nihon Gakusei Jichikai Sorengo (Zengakuren)	全日本学生自治会総連合（全学連）	All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Governing Associations
Zen Nihon Rodo Sodomei (Sodomei)	全日本労働総同盟（同盟）	Japanese Confederation of Labor