

The international origins of Japanese archaeology: William Gowland and his Kofun collection at the British Museum

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Synopsis

This thesis is an in-depth analysis of the Gowland Collection of Kofun period objects held by the British Museum. Throughout the text, the collection has been reorganised and interpreted through a careful study of its associated archive materials and its place in a historical context as both a late 19th century museum collection and as a 5th to 6th century AD Japanese Kofun period collection.

William Gowland sold his collection of Kofun period objects to the British Museum in 1889. As Gowland had an early interest in archaeology, this included carefully recorded objects from multiple sites, at a time in which archaeology as a scientific discipline was only just maturing in Britain. And at the same time, Kofun period artefacts and monuments were becoming increasingly important in Japan as they were used by the Meiji government to legitimise the historical validity of the emperor's reclaimed authority.

Gowland and other westerners working in Japan in the late 19th century were studying previous Japanese scholarship and developing an interest in establishing a chronology of Japanese prehistory. They attempted to identify the origins of the Japanese as a people through the study of their material remains. Gowland as a metallurgist working at the Osaka Mint also had a particular interest in the adoption of metalworking and early production. Thus he developed an interest in the Three-Age system and ceramic technology. Using Gowland as a lens, we will touch upon multiple topics, including discussions of Japan's prehistory, the utilisation and representation of archaeological objects and monuments at the end of the 19th century in Japan and the climate surrounding early archaeology in 1880s Japan. Following this we will go on to study Gowland's methodology, its influence from early archaeology, geology and anthropology in Japan and the west and how this informed the first scientific excavation of Stonehenge in 1901.

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The appearance of Japanese names throughout this thesis:

Wherever Japanese names appear in this thesis they are given in the original convention of Japanese names, wherein the surname is given first and the forename last.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

Synopsis

This thesis sets out to explore and utilise the William Gowland Collection at the British Museum as a historical collection made in the late 19th century by an early archaeologist, and as an assemblage of the late Kofun period of Japan (475-600AD). As such, we will focus primarily on the collecting and work of William Gowland (1842-1922). The discussion will also include several of his contemporaries such as William George Aston, Edward Sylvester Morse, Tsuboi Shōgorō and others, along with their research, results and understanding of the archaeology of Japan and the Kofun period (3rd to 7th century AD). The purpose of this approach is to evaluate early archaeology in Japan and how this informed and affected the collection and study of the Gowland Collection in the context of the larger debates in archaeology during the 19th century. Furthermore, I will explore how Gowland himself developed his methodology during his time in Japan, which informed his later excavation at Stonehenge in 1901; a significant event in the history of early British archaeology. As such, we will also discuss other late 19th and early 20th century British archaeologists such as Pitt-Rivers and Flinders Petrie and how they influenced Gowland's excavation technique. This will place Gowland's achievements within the context of the impact of early scholarship in Japan and Britain.

The late 19th century European perspective on Japanese archaeology and early history is only one of the views that will be taken into account to understand the creation and study of Gowland's collection. Therefore, I will also draw upon both the perspectives of early Japanese antiquarianism and archaeology. These were heavily informed by the early histories of the *Kojiki* (712AD) and *Nihon shoki* (720AD), which provide an 8th century

retrospective view of the Kofun period and entwine early history with mythology. As these all combined into the construction of early Japanese history and archaeological chronologies in the late 19th century. Finally modern archaeology of the Kofun period, both ‘western¹’ and Japanese is incorporated to test the significance and accuracy of these early discussions.

Victor Harris and Kazuo Gotō’s book ‘*William Gowland: Father of Japanese archaeology*’ was published in 2003. The book was the product of the first modern survey of the collection in the early 1990s. This included images of Gowland’s plans of Shibayama kofun (BOX 4-2-1; BOX 4-3-1 Appendix 3), which prompted Tomiyama Naoto to visit the British Museum in 2009. Tomiyama then viewed the objects and documents about which he published an article in 2009. His publication created a revitalised interest in the collection resulting in a new survey the following year, headed by Ichinose Kazuo (Kyoto Tachibana University). The current survey team members include eminent Japanese archaeologists such as Hishida Tetsuo (Kyoto Prefectural University), one of the leading scholars in the study of ceramic production in Japan. As part of the early investigations of this survey, the NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) produced a documentary in tandem with the preliminary findings of the survey which was instrumental in securing the funding for the project. The documentary screened on Japanese national television in July 2012 during the London Olympics, reportedly receiving a viewership of approximately 10 million people (Simon Kaner pers.comm. 2015).

My research began in late 2013, several years into the survey, with the objective of drawing together research on the objects and archival materials to produce information to be added to the British Museum’s website ‘Collections Online’. Throughout this thesis, museum numbers, ‘OA+’, ‘Franks.’ or others, will be given where possible when objects

¹ This term will henceforth be used to refer very generally to European, Mediterranean, and European-North American peoples and countries only through lack of a better term.

are discussed so that the reader can access additional information and photographs on the Museum's website. Furthermore, 'BOX'² numbers are given referring to the numbers designated during the photographic survey of the Gowland archive by Kutsuna Keizo (Meiji University Museum) between 2009 and 2015, used for my transcriptions of archival materials relevant to this thesis. Transcriptions of all the important referenced documents appear in Appendix 1, 2 and 3. This was done to rectify a major issue I have observed with much of the writing to date about Gowland, which references unpublished handwritten notes out of context with no possibility of the reader being able to check the original. Therefore, I have produced the transcriptions in as close to their original format as possible so that I can reference the specific documents throughout this thesis and the reader can test my interpretation of them. Where a document is referenced the BOX number, and the appendices that document appears in is given. In particular, Appendix 3 provides a complete transcription of the excavation of Shibayama kofun (see Chapter 5). The objects recovered from this site make up the largest portion of the collection and furthermore are historically significant as an early example of systematic excavation. On the few occasions in which the document is not transcribed the BOX number has been included but marked 'not transcribed'.

Background to the Gowland Collection

The majority of the Kofun period material now held and displayed in the British Museum results from the acquisition of the Gowland Collection in 1889. William Gowland travelled to Japan in 1872, but gathered this collection and studied Kofun period archaeology in Japan over a seven year period between 1881 and 1888, see Figure 1. Shortly after

² At the time of writing, nine large boxes of archive materials (BOX 1 to BOX 9) related to the Gowland Collection are held in the Department of Asia at the British Museum. The largest amount of handwritten records and plans regarding Gowland's kofun research are held in BOX 3, 4 and 5 and thus are the best represented in this thesis. The other boxes consist predominately of small prints and photographs. There are also five small green boxes of photographs labelled "GOW green box" 1 to 5 which hold only photographs. The original glass slides of the photographs are also held by the Museum which are as of yet unnumbered and a collection of large wall plans which are also not yet numbered.

Gowland's return to England in early 1889 Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1879) of the British Museum purchased the collection. This was part of Franks' larger mission to expand the Museum's collections beyond its previous focus on classical cultures, especially those of Ancient Greece and Rome (Rousmaniere 2007: 263).

Representing a larger shift in the focus of collecting which occurred between the 1860s and early 1900s (Diaz-Andreu 2007: 368).

However, Museum records show that some objects were

donated by Gowland at later dates, so it would appear that his collecting continued after his return to England, albeit on a smaller scale. Currently, the Gowland Collection is believed to be the largest collection of Kofun period artefacts in Europe (Kaner 2007: 279).

It is important to note that Gowland played a significant part in the development of British archaeological practice. In particular, he conducted the first systematic excavation at Stonehenge in 1901, using methods he developed during his excavation of Shibayama kofun, Osaka in 1887. Extensive handwritten records of Gowland's excavation of both sites have been found in the archive materials of the Society of Antiquaries of London and the British Museum, adding to the significance of this unique collection. Firstly as a rare



Figure 1. Photographic portrait of William Gowland taken by photographer Walter Stoneman in 1918 (Harris and Gotō 2003) © Trustees of the British Museum.

substantial collection of Kofun period objects outside of Japan and secondly, as a historically important collection for the history of late 19th century archaeology in both Britain and Japan.

Gowland collected many objects of other dates while in Japan. These included hanging scrolls, paying particular attention to the *Maruyama Shijo* school of art³ (Gowland 1893a; Harris 2003: 18) and contemporary ceramics. There is, however, sadly very little information on exactly what happened to anything that did not enter either the British Museum or the Pitt-Rivers Museum⁴. The British Museum holds a small number of contemporary objects from Gowland's collection, such as a woodblock print of Shingon Temple and a tattooist's equipment box⁵ among others, but from the museum numbers, these would seem to have been acquired from Gowland at later dates (1894 and 1902 respectively).

This chapter and the rest of this study focuses on the collection of Kofun period objects. Much of the collection had remained complete and together, and some were even still contained within Gowland's original packaging. Labels and markings have been carefully preserved over the last one hundred and twenty six years. In many cases, the labels and markings provide information about when and where objects were collected, a testament to Gowland's careful record keeping. This is exemplified in the case of Shibayama kofun where Gowland's records have allowed the excavation to be largely reconstructed. Since the collection entered the Museum, modern museum practices have caused the collection to become separated across different storage facilities and departments within the

³ A list of 124 hanging scrolls which were exhibited between July 1892 13th and 14th to illustrate Gowland's paper on the naturalistic art of Japan is recorded in the Transactions of the Japan Society (Gowland 1893a: 67-71).

⁴ A complete investigation into the objects and archives involving Gowland held by the Pitt Rivers Museum is also a point for future research.

⁵ British Museum Collections Online numbers: 1894, 0510,0.38 and As1902,0211,1,a respectively. (www.britishmuseum.org).

Museum. But the current survey is allowing us to reevaluate the Gowland Collection as both an archaeological assemblage and a historical collection.

An overview of the life and works of William Gowland (1842-1922)

Before focusing on Gowland's work in Japan, some context will be provided giving an overview of his life and work before and after his time in the archipelago. Gowland was born in Sunderland in the northeast of England on December 16th, 1842. He initially trained as a doctor and practised medicine in Sheffield for three years before he changed profession, attending the Royal College of Chemistry and graduating in 1868. He went on to attend the Royal School of Mines (now part of Imperial College London) where, after two years, he gained the Associateship in both mining and metallurgy, being awarded the Murchison Medal in geology and the De la Beche Medal in metallurgy for his work (C.H.C.H 1922: 2907). Gowland's first employed position in metallurgy was at the Broughton Copper works in Manchester. After working there for two years, he was invited by the Japanese government to work at the newly established Imperial Mint in Osaka, where he would work for the entirety of his stay, between 1872 and 1888⁶. Gowland's employment started from October 8th, 1872, but he did not arrive until November of that year (Tomiyama 2014: 29).

During his sixteen-year stay in Japan, Gowland was employed as a foreign specialist at the Osaka Mint, and as a technical advisor to the Japanese Finance Ministry (see Figure 2). For the first six years, from 1872-1877, he held a post in chemistry and metallurgy, before he was promoted to an assayer, metallurgist and chief of foreign staff at the mint

⁶ In addition to his contribution to archaeology, Gowland may have affected Japanese culture in two additional ways. He is credited with coining the term 'Japanese Alps' before 1880, referring to the Hida range in the northern part of what is now considered to be the Japanese Alps. He assessed the mineral resources in the area for the Japanese Government (Wigen 2005: 5) and was among the first Europeans to explore the region (Gowland and Milne 1896: 146). This term was later popularised by Walter Weston who credited Gowland in his work (Weston 1896: Wigen 2005: 9). It has also been claimed that Gowland introduced competitive rowing to Japan due to his interest in oarsmanship (C.H.C.H 1922: 2908), although I am unable to find any other confirmation of this. As there were a large number of European specialists entering Japan at the time, including many university graduates, it is possible the sport was introduced in several places at the same time.

for the rest of his stay between 1878-1888 (C.H.C.H 1922: 2907-2908). As an assayer at the mint, Gowland's duties would have included assessing the chemical composition of metals. This formed the basis for much of his academic career and would also inform his archaeological interests (see Chapters 2 and 6). He advised the Imperial War Department between 1881 and 1883, receiving a 4th Class Order of the Rising Sun in 1884 for his work helping to set up the Osaka Imperial Arsenal, which was later upgraded to a 3rd Class award just before his return to England. The medal, complete with Paulownia Seal of the Japanese government, can be seen worn proudly around Gowland's neck in the photograph shown in Figure 1. As an Englishman, and therefore a subject of Queen Victoria, Gowland received permission to accept the award from the Meiji Emperor, a foreign sovereign, on February 16th, 1884. This was then announced in *The London Gazette* on the 19th (The London Gazette 16/2/1884: 843), shown in Figure 3.



Figure 2. Image of the Osaka Mint, from the Gowland archive BOX 4-47. © Trustees of the British Museum.

From 1881, Gowland developed an interest in archaeology, due to his friendship with William George Aston⁷ (1841-1911), and soon after began to visit and measure kofun and collect associated artefacts (See Chapter 2). Gowland and Aston had originally intended to write a book together on the subject of Japanese early history and archaeology, but no book was ever produced. The latest collection date listed on Gowland's objects is October 1888, from a tomb at Iyo, Asakusa (OA+.718). According to his obituaries, he returned to England in 1889 (C.H.C.H 1922: 2908), but by the end of 1888, his work at the Osaka Mint had officially ended. From a letter between Edward Burnett Tylor, Edward Dillon and Basil Chamberlin we know that Gowland stayed with Chamberlain in Tokyo for a few months before he returned to England in early 1889 (See Chapter 2)(<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk>).

Once Gowland had returned to England, he sold his collection in April 1889 (Takemura 2015a: 123). The following August, Gowland and Aston held an exhibition of photographs of Japan, see Figure 4. The exhibition focused on photographs of "megalithic remains", referring to the stone chambers and coffins of Kofun period burial mounds, taken by Gowland and Romyn Hitchcock⁸. This was the first known occasion in which Gowland publicly displayed his work on the Kofun period. The exhibition was announced in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute as an advertisement (Figure 4). This exhibition demonstrates that Gowland was already involved with the London academic

⁷ William George Aston (1841-1911) first arrived in Japan as a student interpreter for the British Consular service in 1864.

⁸ 'The ancient burial mounds of Japan' in 1890 and 'Some ancient relics in Japan' in 1893 by the American collector Romyn Hitchcock references Gowland directly and uses photographs from when the two visited sites together (Hitchcock 1893; Ueda 2003: 159; 2006: 4). Many of these appear in the archive and Gowland had likely also used these for his 1889 photographic exhibition with Aston. It is not yet clear which if any were taken by Gowland rather than Hitchcock.

societies soon after his return⁹. In fact, having already been a member of the Royal Anthropological Institute, he then acted as President from 1905-1907 (Brabrook 1922: 390-391).

Gowland was also an active member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, elected as

a fellow in 1895 and later appointed Vice-President by Lord Dillon¹⁰ in 1902, for the usual term of four years (Brabrook 1922: 390-391). From that point onwards, he was a member of the Executive Committee and was later appointed as Vice-President for a second time by Charles Read in 1908.

Gowland's first academic paper was published in 1887 while he was still in Japan, a rather short and dry explanation entitled '*Silver ingots containing Bismuth*'. He wrote the paper with a Japanese colleague called Koga Yoshimasa¹¹ who was an assistant assayer at the Osaka Mint (Gowland and Koga 1887). After the kofun photographic exhibition with Aston in 1889, Gowland published quite prolifically on metallurgical topics. However, it took considerably more time before he produced a publication on his archaeological work. His first paper on a somewhat archaeological nature was titled '*The art of bronze casting in Japan*', which mainly consists of a study of the outdated metallurgical practices at the Mint

⁹ Aside from societies focused on archaeology and anthropology, Gowland, as a chemist and metallurgist, was also involved with several science-focused societies. Between 1907-1908 he was President of the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy (www.iom3.org) and was awarded the Institute's gold medal in 1909 (C.H.C.H 1922: 2909). He was a founding member of the Institute of Metals (founded in 1908), becoming its third president from 1912-1913 (C.H.C.H 1922: 2909; www.iom3.org). And he was elected as a member of the Royal Society in 1909. Other societies which Gowland was connected with include the Numismatic Society, the Chemical Society, and the Society of Chemical Industry (C.H.C.H 1922: 2909).

¹⁰ Lord Dillon was the President of the Society of Antiquaries of London and had been so when Gowland was appointed as the excavation supervisor at Stonehenge in 1901. See Chapter 6.

¹¹ There is also correspondence between the two housed within the archive, in which Gowland asked Koga to send examples of moulds for Japanese casting techniques. (BOX 5-2-1, not transcribed)

Whitehall, February 16, 1884.

THE Queen has been pleased to give and grant unto William Gowland, Esq., and Robert MacLagan, Esq., Her Royal licence and authority, that they may accept and wear the Insignia of the Fourth Class of the Order of the Rising Sun, which His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan, has been pleased to confer upon them in approbation of their services whilst actually and entirely employed by His Imperial Majesty beyond Her Majesty's dominions.

Figure 3. Newspaper clipping announcing Gowland's permission to accept and wear his Order of the Rising Sun medal. (London Gazette 1884: 843).

64 W. GOWLAND.—*Exhibition of Photographs from Japan.*

EXHIBITION OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF MEGALITHIC REMAINS FROM JAPAN.

By W. GOWLAND, Esq., F.C.S.

MR. W. GOWLAND exhibited photographs of megalithic remains from Japan, selected from a series made during his explorations of the dolmens and tumuli of that country in connection with an investigation into their history, geographical distribution, forms and contents, conducted by him in conjunction with Mr. W. G. Aston, Japanese Secretary of the British Legation in Tokyo. The dolmens and tumuli are generally found on the low hills which bound the plains, more particularly those of the chief rivers. They also occur on the plains, but are less numerous there. The tumuli are of two chief forms: 1st. A simple approximately conical mound generally elongated in the direction of the entrance of the dolmen; occasionally with terraced slopes and surrounded by a moat. 2nd. A double form of mound which is that of the imperial tombs of a certain era, and almost always possesses terraced slopes, and a moat, and frequently contains a dolmen. The tumuli of the first class are usually about 10, 15 or 25 feet in height, and generally each contains a dolmen. Those of the second class are much larger, being usually 400, 600 or 800 feet or more in length at the base, with a breadth of about two-thirds of their lengths, and a height varying from 25 to 50 feet or more. The dolmens consist generally of rudely rectangular chambers entered through a gallery of varying length. They are usually built of undressed stones of large size rudely laid together without mortar. A few only are of hewn stones. The roof of the chamber is almost always megalithic, in some consisting of a single stone. Their dimensions are variable, the galleries ranging from a few feet to 10, 15 or 24 feet in length, reaching in one example to 60 feet, and the chambers from 9 feet, in the smaller to 16, 18 or 22 feet in the common type. Some few are longer. Their entrances almost invariably are directed southwards, in a few rare cases westwards. Their contents are human bones (fragmentary), pottery, iron swords, spear and arrow heads, horse bits and metal ornaments of horse trappings and of armour, glass, stone and metal beads and vermillion. Some contain hewn-stone sarcophagi, and a few only sarcophagi of terra-cotta.

Some of the photographs represent rock-hewn tombs containing sarcophagi cut in the rock at the end or side of the chamber; and one a tumulus without a dolmen but with a stone sarcophagus projecting from its summit.

Only the chief features of the megalithic remains were described, an account of them in detail being reserved for a future joint paper by Mr. Gowland and his co-worker, Mr. W. G. Aston.

[Reprinted from the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, August, 1889.]

Harrison and Sons, Printers in Ordinary to Her Majesty, St. Martin's Lane.

Figure 4. Advertisement for an exhibition of photography of Megalithic remains from Japan by William Gowland. Now held in the Gowland archive (BOX 4-20-5-13 not transcribed). The earliest and only evidence for Gowland displaying his work on the Kofun period publicly before his later publications. © Trustees of the British Museum.

on his arrival in Japan. He also attempts to date the Bronze and Iron Ages in the country (Gowland 1894); see Chapter 3. This was followed the next year by a paper about his trip to Korea in 1884, published eleven years after the trip (Gowland 1895); see Chapter 4.

Gowland's first paper concerning Kofun period archaeology would not be published until 1897, perhaps only after finally giving up on the plan of publishing a joint work with Aston. It was titled '*The dolmens and burial mounds in Japan*' and was published in the Society of Antiquaries' journal *Archaeologia*. The paper supplies a general overview of Gowland's archaeological work in Japan, discussing many of the most important sites he visited, including a list of the kofun¹² (古墳, burial mounds) he visited, their measurements, locations and a general discussion of object types. It also included information on the excavation of Shibayama kofun (Gowland 1897). That same year he presented a paper to the Japan Society called "*The dolmens of Japan and their builders*" (Gowland 1899a). While this was a very similar paper to the earlier one, the latter placed greater emphasis on the description of objects and included a more general discussion of what those objects suggested about Kofun period culture. The second paper was also published, but two years after it was presented.

Having become a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Gowland became the Society's resident metals expert and was involved with the analysis of several metal collections. The most notable of these was the Society's excavation of Roman Silchester, led by St. John Hope¹³, for which Gowland made a study of the remains of a silver refinery (Gowland 1900). In 1901, the following year, he was chosen to excavate Stonehenge (the subject of Chapter 6) and presented his report on the site in 1902 (Gowland 1902a). This

¹² The Kofun period of Japan received its name from the large number of burial mounds constructed for elite burial at this time.

¹³ St. John Hope (1854-1919) was the excavation supervisor at Silchester appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London, and would later be part of the Stonehenge committee for its excavation in 1901; see Chapter 6.

was an important event in the history of British archaeology, as Gowland incorporated many techniques not commonly used by archaeologists at the time.

In 1902, after Gowland published on the excavation of Stonehenge, he would not oversee another excavation. Soon afterwards he was appointed as Professor of Metallurgy at the Royal School of Mines, a position which he held for seven years until his retirement in 1909. During this time, the school became part of Imperial College, making Gowland the first Professor of Metallurgy at this university¹⁴ (www.imperial.ac.uk).

During his time as President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, he gave a lecture on the Kofun period for the third and last time. This talk was delivered as his President's Address in 1907 and focused on the kofun of Japan that had been declared imperial mausolea (皇陵, *misasagi*). Specifically, tombs designated and protected by the Meiji government as the resting places of the early Emperors and members of the imperial family recorded in the earliest histories (see Chapter 2).

Other than being remembered for his excavation of Stonehenge, Gowland does not appear in the works of Glyn Daniel, Bruce Trigger, or any other of the notable histories of archaeology; in fact, he is often quite overlooked. It could be said that Gowland was better known in metallurgical studies and the history of those studies applied to archaeology. His name does appear in reference pages when discussing the production of metals in Asian countries (Tylecote 1976: 10; Tsuen-Hsuin 1985: 124), but his techniques are quite dated by today's standards and pertain to very specific fields not well known to most. It would appear that his activities in Japan until now remain poorly documented, so exactly how Gowland came upon his techniques and what his place is in the history of archaeology has remained an obscure topic. I hope to illustrate through the rest of this thesis, with

¹⁴ Gowland would hold his position again for a short time between 1913-1914 as an "emergency session" (C.H.C.H 1922: 2908)

careful consideration of Gowland's work, that he deserves a more notable place in the history of archaeology in Britain as well as in Japan.

History of research on the Gowland Collection, and problems in its study

1900-1990

From 1900 until the last decade of the 20th century, the Gowland Collection remained in the British Museum relatively untouched. The majority of objects from Shibayama, Osaka were photographed (see Chapter 5), as well as those from Rokuya, Kyoto (see Figure 5). This was likely soon after they entered the collection and show how they were displayed. The original photographic glass slides are also still held by the British Museum. The collection also includes several large banners made from Gowland's plans of tombs, used for his 1897 paper in which he discussed the sites (Harris and Gotō 2003: 82-83). After Gowland presented these papers, relatively little was done with the collection for over a century.

After 1978 much of the collection was added to the electronic database of the Museum, now known as 'Merlin' internally, with 'Collections Online' currently constituting the publicly accessible face of the database. This date had mistakenly been recorded as the collection date, along with several others, including 1883, 1974 and 1977. Comparatively few records were given the correct date of 1889, identifiable from stickers reading "*Franks 1889*" adhering to the surface of some objects. These stickers themselves were misunderstood, and more often than not were added to the field for registration numbers, perhaps being confused with 'Franks numbers' in the process. Many objects do have a registration number beginning with 'Franks' referring to the objects having entered the Museum's holding from Augustus Frank's collections. These stickers, however, refer to the year of purchase by Franks from Gowland, which we now know to have occurred on April

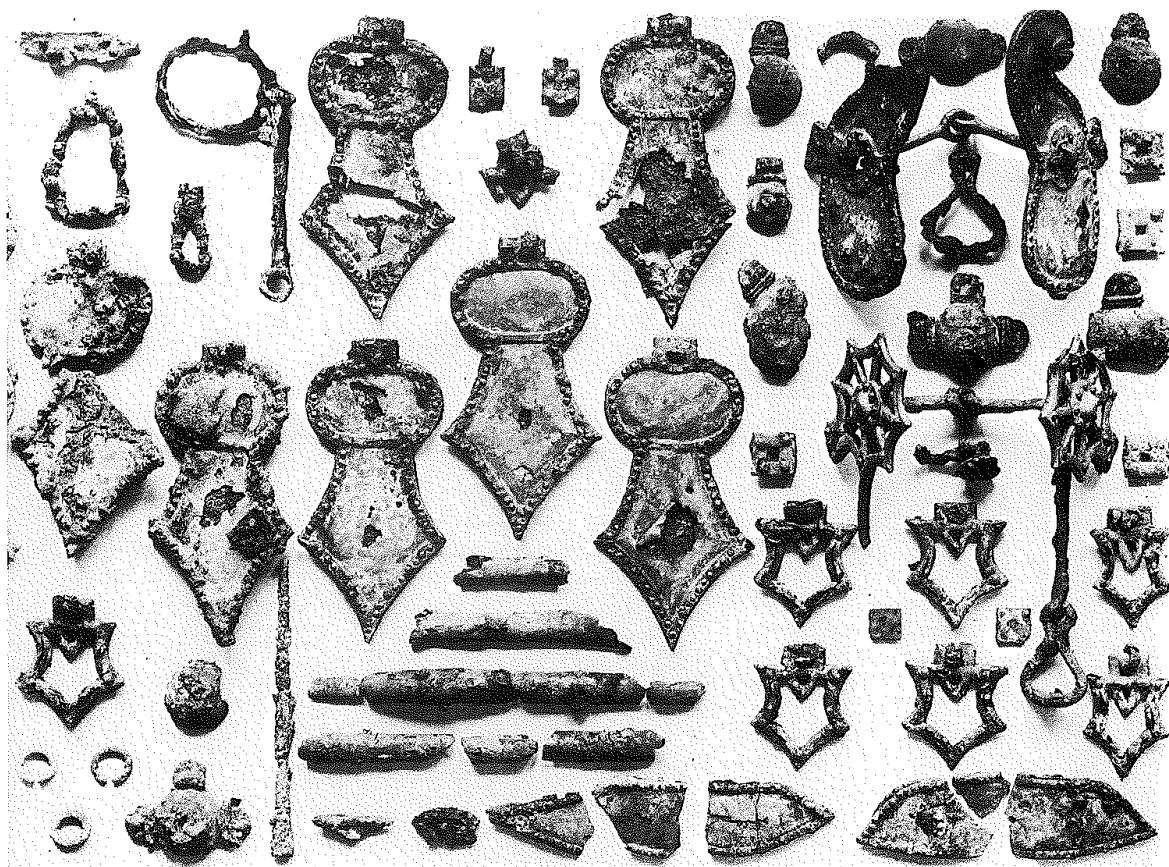


Figure 5. A selection of the metal object from Rokuya kofun. (Harris and Gotō 2003: 83). © Trustees of the British Museum.

19th, 1889. The receipt for the purchase, which cost £250¹⁵, is held by the Society of Antiquaries¹⁶ and was rediscovered by the 2010-2016 survey team (Takamura 2015a: 15).

Despite many of the objects receiving database entries at this time, many had not been properly described while others remained unnumbered and unlisted. Much of the information seems to have been taken from Gowland's notes, who misinterpreted some objects that he collected. For example, believing that metal remains of quivers from Shibayama kofun (Tsuchiya 2015: 10) were personal ornaments which were sewn into clothing, or that sword pommel rings were elements of a horse's bridle (Kim 2015: 11). These inaccuracies have started to be corrected through the current survey (see Chapter

¹⁵ According to the National Archive's currency converter this would translate to about £14,972.50 in today's currency (nationalarchives.gov.uk).

¹⁶ As this document is still held with the documents at the Society of Antiquaries it does not have a BOX number.

5). But importantly, prior to the 1990s, the artefacts in the collection had remained together, but relatively unstudied.

1991-2003

In the early 1990's the collection began to be properly assessed for the first time by Victor Harris, the then Keeper of the Department of Japanese Antiquities, and Kazuo Gotō, a former journalist for the *Asahi Shinbun*; a Japanese newspaper and a well-known donor to the British Museum¹⁷. At the time Kofun archaeology did not fit within curatorial interests at the Museum and relatively little about the period was published on in English, or generally known about outside Japan. Despite the best efforts of Gina Barnes, Walter Edwards, Edward Kidder and a handful of other western scholars who began publishing on Japanese archaeology through the 1960s to 1980s, the English language record of the Kofun period was still relatively limited. This collaboration between Japanese researchers and the British Museum beginning to utilise its Kofun period collection was thus an important contribution. During the first survey many of the objects were identified, dated and photographed, and the Gowland archive at the Society of Antiquaries of London was studied from the early to mid 1990s.

The best and most complete aspect of the study was a survey of Gowland's photographs of kofun, taken in collaboration with Romyn Hitchcock between 1886 and 1887 (Ueda 2003: 159; 2006). The outcomes of the study were recorded in the book, '*William Gowland: father of Japanese archaeology*' (Harris and Gotō 2003). This provides an excellent record, the first instance of the Gowland Collection being carefully studied; however, as it was financed by the *Asahi Shinbun*, this may have caused some minor issues. The title's assertion that Gowland was the 'Father of Japanese archaeology' is now regarded to be inaccurate. According to Harris, the title had to be a little spectacular

¹⁷ Asahi Newspapers part-funded the glass roof of the Museum's Great Court. As well as more recently, multiple short term exhibitions held in what is known as the 'Asahi Shinbun displays' in Museum Room 3 which visitors find on their right as they enter the main entrance of the Museum.

to catch the attention of the newspaper and gain funding (Harris 2016 pers.comm.). The premise behind the book's subtitle was based on the idea that Gowland's careful excavation of Shibayama kofun occurred in 1878 rather than the actual date of 1887, a decade later (see Chapter 5).

Gowland's excavation of Shibayama kofun occurred at the end of December 1887, long after Morse's excavation of Omori shell midden in 1877, as discussed in Chapter 2. The idea of Gowland as the Father of Japanese archaeology perhaps overshadows his real achievements, which themselves are more interesting and relevant to the development of early archaeology. Gowland's methodology in excavation took most of his seven years of investigation of kofun sites to manifest with the excavation of Shibayama kofun, and would go on to be developed further upon his return to England, discussed below.

During the Harris and Gotō survey, post-1995¹⁸, many objects were removed from their original packaging and carefully photographed to keep a record of what objects had been removed from which wrappings. The packaging was also kept with associated museum numbers written on the packaging itself¹⁹. Once the primary objects were identified, the archive materials and fragmentary objects were not exploited to their full potential. However, it is important to note that much of the unpacking was done in the name of conservation; some of the objects still had small amounts of earth and roots attached as they were unpackaged, as can be seen in Figure 6. Attempts were made towards keeping any relevant notes, such as Gowland's own numbering systems, with their respective objects. The original packaging and objects were kept but eventually separated. This caused the packaging and photographs to become forgotten afterwards making it difficult to track which packaging is connected to which object.

¹⁸ Based on the date of photographs taken showing the objects still within their original packaging.

¹⁹ There was a minor misstep in the preservation of the wrappings of Gowland's artefacts, as the modern Museum information was written onto them in biro.

Although an important publication, there are a number of issues in the 2003 book, predominantly a lack of structure to tie everything in the collection together, such as a chronology of Gowland's investigations, see Table 1, and some errors, such as the date for Shibayama kofun already mentioned. There are several other smaller contradictions throughout the text (see Chapter 5), also, as mentioned above, the use of the archive materials was relatively limited and gave no way of finding the documents that were referenced. Although the publication offers an excellent photographic record of the objects, unless visible in the figures, no museum numbers for the objects were given, again making identification difficult. This has led to some of the more unusual objects being known only by their photographs but still lost somewhere in the Museum's collections. Including the human remains from Shibayama, which were viewed but not discussed in the publication. And the iron oxide from the walls and floors of the tombs (see Chapter 5) which were photographed and appeared on pages 93 and 148 (Harris and Gotō 2003), but have not been located since. Thus, due to these outstanding issues and the digital records not being fully updated²⁰, building on the 1990s survey has been a particularly difficult hurdle for myself and the current survey to overcome.

2009-2016

The current survey began in 2009, and since then the survey team have been publishing their findings in the Japanese language journal '*Ancient studies*' (古代学研究), as well as their own newsletters on the survey each year. Thanks to this survey, detailed photographs, drawings and studies are being made of the majority of objects in the collection. The archive has been fully photographed, many misplaced objects have been identified and properly recorded, and actions are being made towards better storage of some of the collection. Also, at the time of writing, the information produced over the last

²⁰ This latter point cannot be seen entirely as a failing of the original survey, as in the early 1990s the internet was not as widely used as it is currently and the Museum did not heavily enforce the updating of digital records at the time. Updating the digital records is an ongoing project at the Museum, of which the current survey is intended to combat.



Figure 6. Square iron fittings and a fragment of horse equipment, covered in soil and small roots before being removed, in their original packaging in the mid 1990s. (Harris and Gotō 2003: 148). © Trustees of the British Museum.

five years is being entered on to Collections Online. However, due to the scale and complexity of the collection, this remains a large problematic and complicated issue which will take some time to resolve fully.

The largest single part of the collection consists of objects from Shibayama kofun, Settsu²¹ (Tomiyama 2009; 2015; Takemura 2015: 71-68; Tsuchiya 2015; Kim 2015). While all of the records and objects from Gowland's excavation of Shibayama are held in the Museum's collections, they have not yet all been relocated and identified. Many of the objects Gowland collected at Shibayama were fragmentary and difficult for him to identify or explain, but can be identified from Gowland's descriptions and finds numbers on the objects themselves, or their packaging. As late as 1995, Gowland's paper packages, full of objects and complete with finds numbers indicating their location, were kept together as one collection within the museum. Because they had been kept together, there was no

²¹ The province system of Japan has changed since the 19th century, the area in which Shibayama kofun was located was known as Settsu but is now located in part of modern Osaka prefecture.

immediate need to make much more detailed records after the first survey concluded. However, once Harris had left, it was assumed the first survey of the collection was much more complete than it had been and the collection was separated. Many of the numbers and markings on the objects and packaging were only understood as a system that Gowland used; their actual function was unknown. As such, they tended to get added as registration numbers, if they were included in the database at all, and were not fully understood in terms of their importance. Since then, the numbers have been more carefully recorded and used in tandem with Gowland's notes on his exploration of Shibayama, in order to more clearly reconstruct the tomb's contents (see the work of Tomiyama (2009) and myself, see Chapter 5 and Appendix 3). However, at the time of writing, the 'Div.' (division) numbers and an explanation of Shibayama are not available on the British Museum website. Adding them would be an important contribution to the representation of the collection.

The second well-represented site in the collection is one tomb from the Rokuya (鹿谷) *kofun-gun*²², Tamba²³. Rather than excavating them himself, Gowland bought these objects from locals living around the sites who had removed them in 1881 before he visited the site later that year (Ichinose and Araki 2015: 16; Ishihara 2015). These sites were late Kofun period stone chambered passage tombs, notable for having stone shelves at the back of the chamber. The objects mainly consisted of elite horse riding equipment, ritual ceramics, and weaponry (see Figure 7). This is an important part of the collection and discussed briefly in Chapter 2, but it will not be focused on as much as other sites. Although Gowland does make notes on where the objects were said to have been placed (See BOX 4-20-1-1 Appendix 1), this part of the collection was purchased in May 1883, years after they were excavated and thus is less directly relevant to Gowland's

²² 古墳群, tomb cluster, a series of kofun in close proximity to one another, believed display some form of relationship between those buried there.

²³ This site is now located in part of modern Kyoto prefecture.

Table 1 Chronological table for Gowland and developments in Japanese**archaeology**

Date	Event	Notes
16th December 1842	William Gowland born in Sunderland England.	
1868	Meiji restoration.	
1868	Gowland graduates from the Royal College of Chemistry.	
25th April 1871	Machida Hisanari proposes three step program to protect Japanese antiquities.	Officially announced same year.
May 1872	Jinshin survey launched.	Recorded the holdings of artefacts in the collections of temples and shrines.
1872	Gowland travels to Japan and begins work at the Osaka Mint.	
1873	Eta-funayama kofun excavated.	
2nd May 1874	Law passed to protect imperial tombs.	古墳発見ノ節届出方 (太政官達第59号)
1874	Gowland becomes a member of the Asiatic Society of Japan.	
1877	Edward Sylvester Morse excavates Omori shell midden.	See Chapter 2.
1877-1879	Edward Sylvester Morse publishes several papers on Omori shell midden.	See Chapter 2.
1880	Edward Sylvester Morse publishes "The dolmens in Japan" in <i>Popular science monthly</i> .	See Chapter 2.
1880	Ernest Satow publishes "Ancient sepulchral mounds in Kadazuke" in <i>Transactions of the Asiatic Society</i> .	See Chapter 2.
November 1881	Gowland travels to Omi around Lake Biwa with Aston visiting kofun sites.	See Chapter 2.
December 1881	Gowland visits Rokuya for the first time.	Gowland makes notes on the site but does not purchase the objects from the tomb. BOX 4-20-1-4 Appendix 1.
May 1883	Gowland is able to purchase the objects from Rokuya, one year and five months after his first visit in May 1883 (Ishahiya pers.comm.).	BOX 4-20-1-3 Appendix 1. See Chapter 2.
February 1884	Gowland receives 4th class Order of the Rising Sun.	For his work helping to establish the Imperial Arsenal in Osaka.
1884	Taikozuka kofun cluster is destroyed. Sakai Giomon, the priest of Ho-onji temple takes a stoneware coffin and keeps it at the temple.	BOX 5-1-11-2 Appendix 2.
Late 1884	Gowland travels between Seoul and Busan, South Korea.	Although sent to do work for the Japanese government Gowland attempts to visit burial mounds and collect objects.
11th October 1884	Gowland visits potters' village near Seosan	BOX 3-1-1 Appendix 2.
1886-1887	Gowland takes photographs with Romyn Hitchcock at several kofun sites.	
1886-1887	Gowland and/or Hitchcock visits Ho-onji temple, Sakuraidani for the first time and photographs the ceramic coffin.	See Chapter 4.

Table 1 continued

Introduction

1887	Gowland and Koga Yoshimasa publish "On silver containing Bismuth" in <i>the Journal of the Chemical Society, Transactions</i> .	Co-authored by Koga Yoshimasa, Gowland's assistant assayer at the Osaka Mint.
May 1887	Tsuboi publishes "Account of the excavation of Ashikaga kofun, human remains and other related objects" in <i>the Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society</i>	
Late 1887	Gowland returns to Sakuradani and purchases the ceramic coffin.	BOX 5-1-3-6; BOX 5-1-11-1 Appendix 2.
29th December 1887	The excavation of Shibayama kofun.	Tomb entered through a hole in the northeastern corner. Divisions of the tomb made and objects collected. (BOX 4-3-1 Appendix 3). See Chapter 5.
30th December 1887	The excavation of Shibayama kofun.	Attempted opening of the entranceway to the tomb, but due to the poor structural integrity work was halted. (BOX 4-3-1 Appendix 3). See Chapter 5.
October 1888	Gowland visits Iyo Asakasa, the latest date shown on any of his objects.	OA+.718.
Winter 1888	Gowland stays in Tokyo with Basil Hall Chamberlin.	
15th November 1888	Basil Hall Chamberlin and Edward Dillon are in correspondence with the anthropologists Edward Burnett Tylor introducing Gowland.	Gowland is described as an authority on Japanese archaeology who will be returning to London in February. (www.prm.ox.ac.uk : box 11. C).
First quarter of 1889	Gowland returns to England.	
15th April 1889	Gowland Collection purchased by the British Museum.	
August 1889	Gowland and Aston put on a display of photographs of kofun at the Royal Anthropological Institute.	BOX 4-20-5-13 not transcribed. See Figure 4
July 13th-14th 1892	Japan Society displays 124 of Gowland's collection of hanging scrolls.	
1893	Gowland publishes "Native Copper from Yunnan China" in <i>Chemical News and Journal of Industrial Science</i> .	
1894	Gowland publishes "A Japanese pseudo-Speise (Shiromé), and its Relations to the Purity of Japanese Copper and the Presence of Arsenic in Japanese Bronze" in <i>the Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry</i>	
1894	Gowland publishes "On the Art of Casting Bronze in Japan" in <i>the Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution</i>	
1895	Gowland becomes a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London.	
1895	Gowland publishes "Notes on the Dolmens and other Antiquities of Korea" in <i>the Journal of the Anthropological Institute</i> .	
1896	Gowland publishes "Japanese Metallurgy, part 1 - Gold and Silver and their Alloys" in <i>the Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry</i> .	
1897	Gowland publishes "The dolmens and burial mounds in Japan" in <i>Archaeologia</i> .	
1897	Gowland publishes "Appendix II. Analyses of Metal vessels found at Appleshaw, haunts, and some other specimens of Roman pewter" in <i>Archaeologia</i> .	Part of a report published with G.H. Engleheart and Charles Read.

Table 1 continued

Introduction

1899	Gowland publishes “Early metallurgy of copper, tin and iron in Europe illustrated by ancient remains, and primitive processes surviving in Japan”, in <i>Archaeologia</i> .	Originally read in May.
1899	Gowland publishes “The dolmens of Japan and their builders” in <i>Transactions of the Japan Society</i> .	Originally read to the Japan Society in 1897
1900	Gowland publishes “Remains of a Roman refinery at Silchester” in <i>Archaeologia</i> .	<i>In the opening of this paper Gowland makes complaints about the manner of excavation as the evidence he had to work with was not in situ.</i>
1901	Gowland publishes “Early metallurgy of silver and lead, pt I, lead” in <i>Archaeologia</i> .	
1901	Gowland excavates Stonehenge.	See Chapter 6.
1902	Gowland publishes “Recent excavations at Stonehenge” in <i>Archaeologia</i> .	See Chapter 6.
1902	Discussion of Gowland paper on Stonehenge published “16. Recent excavations at Stonehenge” in <i>Man</i> .	See Chapter 6.
1902	Gowland is appointed Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries.	
1905	Gowland makes an analysis of some lead objects from Romano-British Somerset.	
1905-1907	Gowland acts as the Chairman of the Royal Anthropological Institute.	
1906	Gowland publishes “Presidential address: Copper and its alloys in prehistoric times” in <i>the Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland</i> .	
1907	Gowland publishes Gowland. W. 1907. “The burial mounds of the early emperors of Japan” in <i>the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland</i> .	
1907-1908	Gowland acts as president of the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy.	
1908	A shortened version of Gowland’s 1896 paper is translated into French by Victor Dickins and published “Mégalithes du Japon” in <i>Troisième Congress préhistorique de France</i> .	
1908	Gowland is appointed Vice-Chairman of the Society of Antiquaries for a second time.	
1908	Gowland is a founding member at the creation of the Institute of Metals.	
1909	Gowland is elected as a fellow of the Royal Society.	
1910	Gowland publishes “The art of working metals in Japan” in <i>the Journal of the Institute of Metals</i> .	
1911	William Aston passes away.	
1912	Gowland publishes “The metals in antiquity” in <i>the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland</i> .	
1914	Gowland publishes <i>The metallurgy of the non-ferrous metals</i> .	
1922	William Gowland passes away aged 80.	

and my own research. Rokuya kofun cluster is continuing to be studied by the survey team and will feature in future publications. Currently, work is being undertaken to compare the objects with records that were made by the Kyoto National Museum before Gowland bought them (Isahaya 2016: 10-13) (see Figure 8).

Some important smaller parts of the collection give further insight into Gowland's understanding of the Kofun period, from several other sites that will be discussed throughout this thesis. Many of which are not well represented in the collection but are of historical importance to Gowland's collecting and research, and give a record of his movements, highlighted in Figure 9. Fūmon and Taniguchi kofun in Omi²⁴ are discussed in Chapter 2 because they were the first sites Gowland visited with Aston in 1881. Mae-Futagoyama kofun in Kōzuke²⁵ is also discussed in Chapter 2, as Ernest Satow's paper on the site was one of the reasons Gowland became interested in kofun; he later visited the site and surveyed it. Konabe kofun, in Yamato²⁶, is historically important in relation to Gowland and the Meiji government's dedication of ancient burial mounds to the Kofun period imperial family. This is also discussed in Chapter 2 because he was stopped from removing objects on account of the tomb becoming an imperial mausoleum. Yasui rock tomb (Nishimura 2015; 2016) in Izumo and Sakurazuka kofun cluster, in Settsu²⁷ were important to Gowland's early study of ceramics (Hishida 2015; Maeda 2012; 2015), and are discussed in Chapter 4. The rest of the collection is made up of various objects collected from some of the 140 sites surveyed by Gowland (Gowland 1897: 442) or purchased from other collectors whom Gowland visited during his time in Japan. The sites Gowland records as having taken measurements from are shown in Figure 9. These artefacts gain more value as evidence when they are used in combination with Gowland's

²⁴ This site is now located in part of modern Shiga prefecture.

²⁵ This site is now located in part of modern Gunma prefecture.

²⁶ Konabe kofun is now located in part of Nara prefecture.

²⁷ This site is now located in Osaka prefecture.

archive and can help to reconstruct their origins. These include samples of the sherds of pottery scattered across the sites and complete objects in good condition, but also fake objects made during the Edo and Meiji period to sell to unsuspecting foreigners. Gowland's archive also holds great value as he made careful plans and records of 140 tombs, with many of the original elevation plans still existing in the archive. The exact nature of the collection will not be known until the survey is complete. Its study continues to inform the Museum's records and remains an area of ongoing study for the survey team.

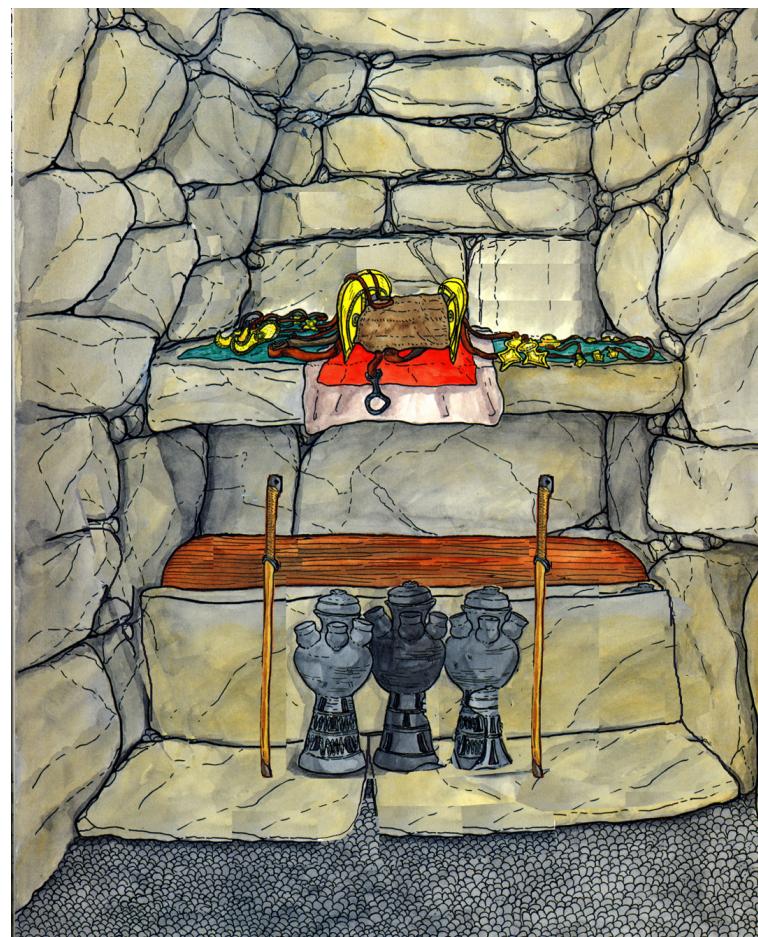
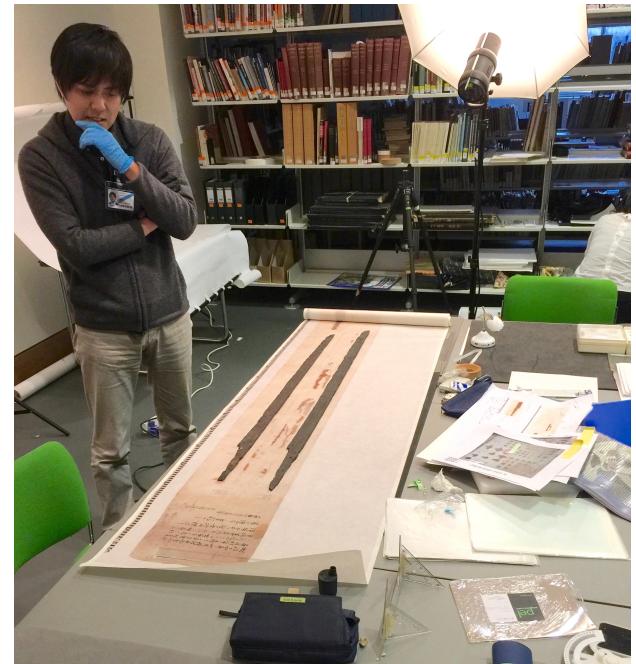


Figure 7. A reconstruction of how the objects from Rokuya kofun may have looked, based on a description given to Gowland after they had already been excavated by others (Tomiyama 2012). Gowland also describes two *futatsuki* (lidded shallow bowls) as having been placed in the entrance of the tomb (BOX 4-20-1-4 Appendix 1).

The structure of this thesis

In this thesis, I set out to place the Gowland Collection in the context of the history of archaeology, as an archaeological assemblage of 5th and 6th century Kofun period objects collected in the late 19th century by an early archaeologist, and its potential for contributing to the history of the discipline. As such we will discuss, through a comprehensive survey of the Gowland Collection and archive, what motivated Gowland's

interest in the Kofun period and how our understanding of this period has advanced since his time. In building upon his research into ceramic production and elite burial, we will further touch upon how production was used in the construction of elite identity in the 5th century and how production changed throughout the Kofun period.



In Chapter 2, we set out the historical context of the collection by exploring the development of Victorian and Meiji archaeology, and how that affected early western archaeologists working in Japan. Some scholars have suggested that archaeology in Meiji Japan was entirely part of a one-sided adoption of institutions from the west which the Japanese government appropriated to defend themselves against those colonial powers. However, I will show how western perceptions and their studies in the country were informed and shaped by the manner in which the Japanese presided over and used their archaeological materials. Furthermore, it had been claimed that all archaeology in the late 19th century was nationalistic. However, when applied to individual archaeologists within Japan at that time, larger nationalistic processes do not fit with Gowland's role as an individual actor, giving an outside perspective on the development of archaeology in Japan on the level of an individual. For this reason, the early inception of archaeology in Japan will be explored by using Gowland and his contemporary scholars as lenses through which to view how prehistory was being constructed at that time, and how Gowland developed his interest and methodology. This leads into the discussion of Chapter 3, which sets out to explore how chronologies of the Kofun period have been constructed. We will explore a model of

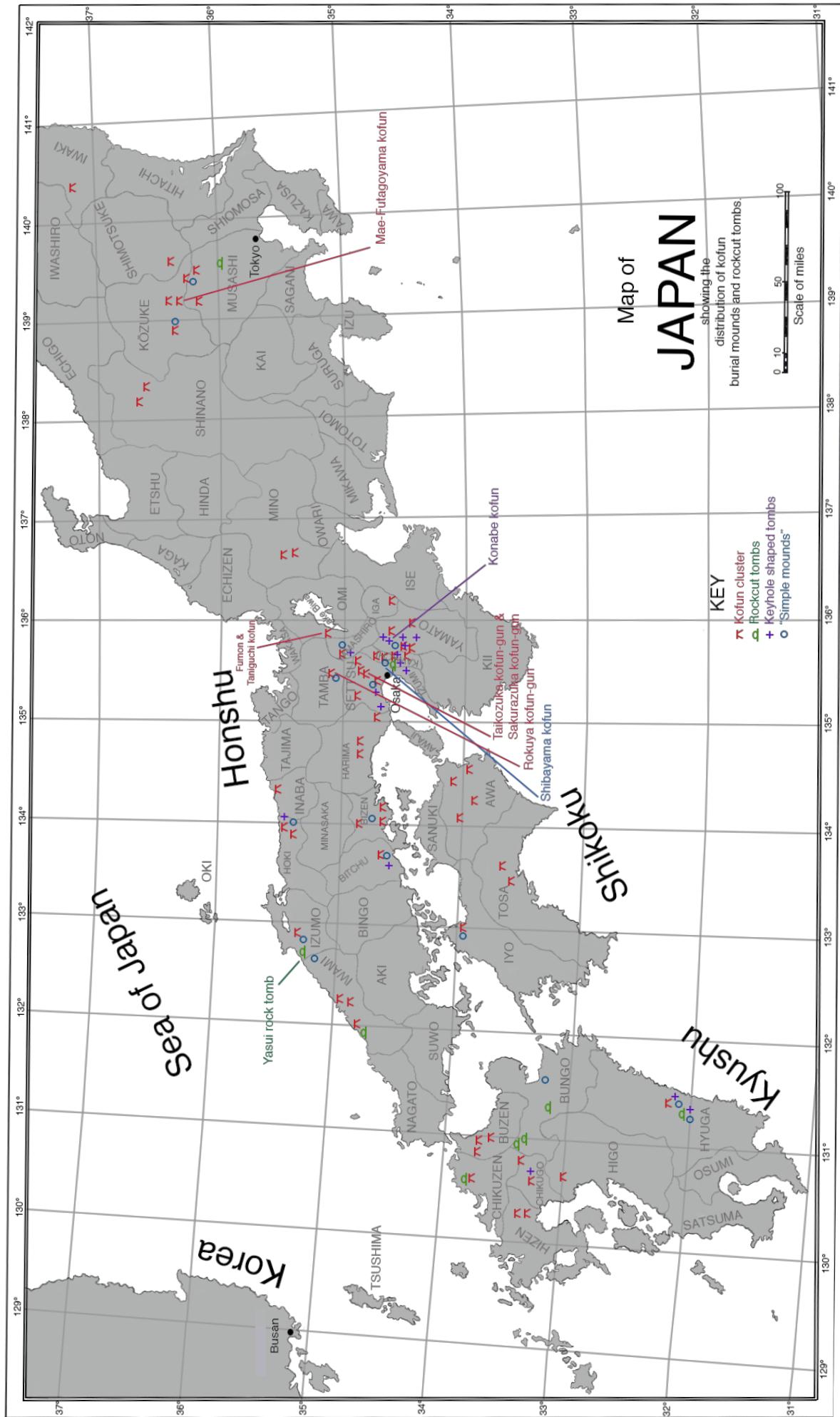


Figure 9.
Map of sites from the Kofun period visited by Gowland using the old province names of Japan. The most important sites which are discussed throughout this thesis are labelled. “Simple mounds refers generally to kofun which are not keyhole shaped. However, the kofun clusters shown can include those which are and are not keyhole shaped. It is also important to note that Shibayama kofun, although shown as a “simple mound” was likely a keyhole shaped tomb (see Chapter 6). (Redrawn from Gowland 1897: 473).

Gowland's understanding of the prehistory of Japan, while touching upon a discussion of the horse rider theory and the start and end of tomb construction, which is important to understand Gowland's chronology from a modern perspective.

Chapter 4 is an investigation of a ceramic production site in Sakuraidani, Osaka which Gowland investigated over the late 1880s, informed by a visit to a small Korean potter's village that Gowland visited in 1884 near Seonsan during a trip to Korea (see Figure 9), where he made a study of contemporary kilns. His study was based on the previously existing Japanese theory that stoneware ceramics had originated in Korea. After this, we will investigate the history of the development and production of ceramics through the middle and late Kofun period, in order to explore how changes in production show social change, as it was incorporated into the production and trade systems of the early state. This will include exploring the work of survey member Hishida Tetsuo (2007) and examining further how chronologies have been constructed for the Kofun period, including ceramic production from the 5th through to the 6th century, discussing *sueki*, the stoneware ceramics that began to be produced in the 5th century. The discussion will then focus on the study of ceramics from a modern perspective, as well as the current ideas surrounding their adoption into Japan and their subsequent use by the elite, explored as part of a larger change in society visible in the material record of the 5th century.

Chapter 5 reconstructs Gowland's excavation of Shibayama kofun. This will be achieved through an original and in-depth analysis of Gowland's unpublished notes (transcribed fully in Appendix 3), alongside a synthesis of the survey team's studies and my own research on the objects within the Gowland Collection, in an attempt to reconstruct a more complete site report. Following this, we will discuss how accurate the record of the site is and whether this would allow for the site to be reconstructed by evaluating the current literature discussing tombs of the late 5th to early 6th centuries. Finally, Chapter 6 reconstructs the history of Gowland's excavation of Stonehenge and situates Gowland's

methodology within the development of archaeological practice, showing a clear development from Shibayama kofun, and its place as an important excavation in the history of archaeology.

Each of the appendices contains transcriptions of Gowland's hand-written documents held by the Society of Antiquaries and the British Museum. Throughout the appendices, the documents are ordered numerically based on their BOX number. A full list of the documents and their page numbers is available in the contents page. Appendix 1 gives a selection of the most important notes concerning Gowland's research of kofun and documents concerning the topics discussed throughout this thesis. Appendix 2 focuses on Gowland's ceramic research in Korea and Japan and is predominantly referenced in Chapter 4 where the ceramics are discussed. Appendix 3 gives a complete list of Gowland's research notes on Shibayama kofun with copies of all of his plans and is the main subject of Chapter 5, which goes on to enter into the discussion of the excavation at Stonehenge in Chapter 6.

Chapter 2:

Historical background to the William Gowland Collection

Introduction

Having given an introduction to the Gowland Collection in Chapter 1, here, we will now explore Gowland's methods, interests and influence against the backdrop of the wider historical background of emerging scientific archaeological practices of the 19th century in England and Japan. We will focus on the discussion of the changing positions on the origins of humankind and the adoption of the Three-Age System in Victorian England, as well as the earliest research, excavation and protection of archaeological sites in Meiji period Japan. All of this was highly influential to Gowland leading to his unique perspectives and can be linked to broader changes in the opinions regarding the development of culture in western theory at the time.

This discussion will allow us to place Gowland in a historical context of academic thinking and archaeology. As an Englishman in the late 19th century working in Osaka, he was in a rather unusual position. He only developed an interest in archaeology while in Japan, studying monuments that were coming under increased protection by the newly established government. This gives us a unique perspective on early archaeological traditions as systems and the way early archaeologists were imposed upon by them as individual actors. Gowland's activities and the way in which individual Japanese and western archaeologists interacted, especially when studying the Kofun period does not always fit the commonly held, nationalistic explanations for archaeologists of the time. Therefore this will also enter our discussion. These key issues will allow us to give a general analysis of Gowland as a collector and archaeologist, which will go on to inform

the rest of this thesis, placing him in the context of the history of archaeology in both England and Japan.

Late Victorian natural sciences and archaeology

During the late 19th century, when Gowland began to practice archaeology, the discipline was undergoing important changes regarding stratigraphic excavation techniques and typological dating. Antiquarianism was transitioning into an academic discipline, archaeology. Although Chapter 6 will provide an in-depth analysis of Gowland's excavation methodology, here I will give a general background to the advances in archaeology at that time in the west, before the establishment of archaeology as a discipline in Meiji period Japan.

In Europe, what can be considered the earliest true prehistoric archaeology had only been established in the early and mid-nineteenth century (Trigger 1989: 164; Stiebing 1993: 24). Ethnographic studies had a much longer history dating back to the 18th century (Stiebing 1993: 30), but by the mid-1900s archaeological assemblages were beginning to be interpreted in conjunction with ethnographic studies for the first time. This allowed the dating of objects and their related production technologies in a sequence, constructing a more extensive prehistoric framework than had previously been thought possible.

Like many scientifically-minded Victorians, Gowland was influenced by shifting ideas in academia throughout the 19th century (Harris 2003: 18); ideas that had put pressure on the established Christian, mythological chronology of humankind's past and created debates between creationists and evolutionists. In the first half of the 1800s the work of geologists, such as Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875), had suggested the Earth was much older than previously thought by theologians. This suggestion was based on geological observations of stratigraphy that were believed to require vast stretches of time to form

(Daniel 1967: 62-63; Stiebing 1993: 33-46). These theories were in direct conflict with the dates suggested for the creation of the world by Archbishop Ussher (1581-1656), who had calculated the date of 4004BC from genealogical information given in the Biblical Book of Genesis (Daniel 1967: 90; Grayson 1983: 2; Stiebing 1993: 32). This prompted a re-examination of human antiquity in the middle of the 19th century.

In the wake of emerging scientific geology, humankind's great antiquity was finally proven through the work of William Pengelly (1812-1894) and his excavation of Brixham Cave, Dorset, in 1858. Joseph Prestwich (1812-1896) and John Evans (1823-1908) were directly influenced by this and undertook research in the Somme valley, France in 1859, following the previous findings of Jacques Boucher de Crèvecœur de Perthes (1788-1868). This was not new information, but the Somme Valley excavation finally popularised the idea that humans had existed long before 4004BC (see Chapter 6). Through the combined efforts of geology and natural history, both these excavations recorded human-made tools in sealed contexts with the remains of animals known to be extinct by the relative age of the mineral deposits within which they were contained (Grayson 1983; Van Ripper 1993). Prestwich and Evans excavated and made their findings public in 1859. This coincided with the time Charles Darwin (1806-1882) had first started making public statements about evolution in 1858, followed by the publication of his 'Origin of Species' in 1859. Where he famously provided an alternative, evolutionary account of the development of living creatures, and ultimately humankind (Darwin 1859; Daniel 1967: 111).

Antiquarians had already begun exploring developmental processes through the study of artefacts. The 'Three-Age system' was created by Danish antiquarian Christian Jürgen Thomsen (1788-1865)¹. The Danish Royal Commission for the Preservation and

¹ Thomsen had based this on previously existing ideas but was the first to popularise and find a practical use for it (Malina and Vasicek 1990: 36).

Collection of Antiquities appointed Thomsen to catalogue and prepare its collection for display at the new National Museum in 1817 (Daniel 1967: 90). In his organisation of the collection, Thomsen would eventually propose the Three-Age System, where ancient cultures are divided into ages based on a progression of technology through stone, bronze and iron. This directly influenced the work of the Scotsman, Daniel Wilson (1816-1892), who is credited with having coined the term 'prehistory', as well as introducing Scandinavian archaeology to Scotland and England (Trigger 1992: 61). Wilson is reported to have urged the British Museum to recognise the Three-Age System (Trigger 1992: 62), but initially made very little impact. It would seem that in the mid-19th century many British antiquarians were extremely resistant to accepting foreign ideas (Daniel 1963: 58; Trigger 1992: 62; Rowley-Conwy 2007: 235). Eventually, in 1866, the British Museum did accept this system of classification when Augustus Franks (1826-1897), in his first year as Keeper of the Museum, used the Three-Age System for the first time in a museum display. Two years later, in 1868 Franks would give the first paper about the Japanese 'Stone Age', in Europe, at the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology in London and Norwich² (Franks 1869: 268; Rousmaniere 2007: 264).

Jens Worsaae (1823-1885) and Sven Nilsson (1787-1883) along with Wilson were responsible for spreading, testing and popularising the use of the Three-Age System. In fact, it was Worsaae who had used the principles of stratigraphy to test the accuracy of the system (Malina and Vasicek 1990: 39). Trigger believes the adoption of the system to have been the beginning of prehistoric archaeology (1989: 121) and also places considerable emphasis on European antiquarianism as being its foundation. Although it certainly had its place, others, including myself would argue archaeology had always been the product of multi-disciplinary advancements in geology, anthropology, history and so on (Malina and Vasicek 1990: 66; Murray 2012: 136), which when compared to archaeology

² This short paper assessed the collection of stone objects made by Philip von Siebold (1796-1866) held by Leiden University. The discussion was chaired by John Lubbock (1834-1913), who concluded that although they had little evidence, it was likely there had been a Stone Age in Japan as most countries probably had one.

are all considerably older disciplines. These influenced early archaeology, through their advancements which could be applied to the study of past human cultures; for example, typologies would not be nearly as useful if seriation was not understood. Gowland did not train as an archaeologist, but a chemist and metallurgist, yet he was able to make significant contributions to the western understanding of Japanese archaeology through studying Japan's advancements in metalworking technologies and applying the Three-Age System to Japan for the first time. Furthermore, the role of antiquarians outside of Europe or 'the west' should not be overlooked. As will be seen throughout this thesis, Gowland held some Japanese scholars and his co-workers at the Osaka Mint in high regard, and they had a marked effect on his research. As such, an accurate history of the development of archaeology cannot be reconstructed without taking the development of influential ideas in other disciplines and geographical areas into account.

Before the mid-19th century, chronologies had been based primarily on historical records. The chronology of prehistoric periods remained elusive until geologists had proved the importance of seriation and stratification in dating archaeological remains. The Three-Age System allowed objects to be put into a sequence that provided a better understanding of the development of technology. This created increased importance in recording the exact location of finds *in situ*, but this lesson would take quite some time to be learnt by early archaeologists undertaking excavations. Typological dating, which is the essential component of the Three-Age System, remains one of the primary relative chronologies employed by archaeologists today (Lucas 2005: 5).

Growing up in the 1840s and 50s, Gowland witnessed a period in which the discussions of the origins of humankind had become uncertain (Harris 2003: 18). When he left for Japan aged thirty, the Three-Age System was already established in England. Technically the system had been adapted into a four-age system when in 1865 John Lubbock (1834-1913), who had been heavily influenced by the ideas of evolution, proposed the

division of the Stone Age into a Palaeolithic and Neolithic (Old and New Stone Ages) (Daniel 1967: 260).

Prior to the development of dating using modern scientific methods, the most notable being radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology, the only form of dating archaeological materials was through the use of historical records and datable objects, such as coins in specific contexts. Indeed, Flinders Petrie had great success using these methods when dating Egyptian sites throughout the late 1880s. By the 1870s fieldwork had become established as a component of archaeology, which allowed archaeological finds to bear scientific scrutiny (Lucas 2001: 10). This, and the other advances of the 1800s would have a large part to play as western archaeological practices were brought into Japan in the 1870s and 1880s, and the way that foreigners entering the country would attempt to understand and study Japan's past.

For much of the 19th century, European antiquarians focused predominately on historical records (Lucas 2012: 21). For example, the famous discovery of 'Troy'³ in Turkey, by the German antiquarian Heinrich Schliemann in 1868 followed the descriptions in Homer's Iliad (Cottrell 1953: 20). Towards the end of the century, however, academia was increasingly coming into conflict with these records and religious dogma. As such, many established texts and histories were reassessed for their validity against an emerging emphasis on empirical, scientific analysis to create and test chronologies to date objects and their related cultures. At the same time in Japan, quite the opposite occurred with the mythology of ancient historical texts were used by the newly established government with a nationalistic agenda.

³ Now known as Hissarlik.

Archaeology in Meiji Japan

The Tokugawa Shogunate (1600-1868) unified most of Japan and had ruled from the turn of the 17th century. During this time the Emperors were believed to have a lineage stretching back to the origins of the Japanese nation, entwined with myth, early history and Shinto belief and practices. Because of this, they were religious figureheads hidden from public view⁴ (Aston 1905). The Meiji Emperor (1852-1912) reigned from 1867 but only after the Meiji reform in 1868, did he gain control of the country, becoming a public figure for the first time. Japan entered an era of rapid modernisation, known as the Meiji period (1868-1912). After having reclaimed power, the Emperor became the embodiment of the nation (Mizoguchi 2006: 64); which involved constructing a new dual-persona, where the Emperor began emulating contemporary European rulers while continuing to display the tradition which illustrated the imperial link to Japan's past (Mary Redfern 2014 pers.comm.). As part of this process, between 1872 and 1875 there were six imperial processions in which the Meiji emperor travelled to various regions of Japan and made public appearances. These were intended to rectify the neglect of the imperial sovereignty during the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate. The aim was to re-establish the Emperor as an embodiment of the new government (Edwards 2005: 42) and introduce this new public persona to the people of Japan who had previously been forbidden from even looking upon the Emperor.

One of the outcomes of the reform was the separation of Shintoism and Buddhism, known as the *haibutsu kishaku* (廃仏毀釈) (Grapard 1984: 240). Shinto was considered to be the original native religion of Japan, with Buddhism seen as a foreign religion that had entered the country at the end of the Kofun period (250-600AD). Buddhism had coexisted with

⁴ The *Kojiki* (712AD) and *Nihon shoki* (720AD) described the imperial lineage from actual historical emperors and empresses. Back to the mythological emperor Jimmu, who was the great-grandson of the Shinto Sun goddess Amaterasu, who herself was the daughter of the male and female deities (Izanagi and Izanami) who gave birth to the Japanese islands.

Shinto practice and belief from the 6th century AD. Suppressing Buddhism in the 19th century placed greater emphasis on Shintoism, the Shinto gods and their connection to the imperial lineage described in the earliest histories. In turn, this helped to establish the Meiji Emperor more clearly as the head and embodiment of both the state and national religion.

The inability to modernise and negotiate successfully with western powers was seen as one of the major failings of the previous Shogunate government. In answer to this, the Meiji regime instigated a massive influx of modernisation and westernisation; railways were established in 1872, and compulsory schooling for children introduced from 1873 (Mizoguchi 2006: 62). Even before the Meiji Restoration, promising young Japanese students had begun reaching out to western institutions, famously the students of the 'Choshu five' in 1863 followed by the 'Satsuma fourteen' in 1865 (Chobbing 2000). After the restoration, to ensure the country was modernised as quickly as possible, foreign specialists were hired by the government to spread new ideas and technologies throughout Japan *en masse*. Thus western professionals in many industries and educational fields were entering Japan as foreign advisors, known as *o-yatoi gaikokujin* (お雇い外国人), to teach the Japanese workforce and student's new enterprises. These specialists brought their interests in geology, history and archaeology with them, having a profound effect on the way in which Japan viewed its past (Tanaka 2004). As Margarita Diaz-Andreu describes, Meiji period Japanese archaeology was a hybrid between 'western' and 'eastern' institutions, which she believes to have been intended to oppose the cultural imperialism of the western colonial powers (Diaz-Andreu 2007: 197). Although certainly true to an extent, I do not think this to be a complete explanation, for reasons discussed below.

A form of antiquarianism had existed in Japan before the Meiji restoration, discussed elsewhere (Ikawa-Smith 1982; Bleed 1986: 57; Askew 2004: 65; Edwards 2005: 42).

Japanese antiquarians had studied archaeological materials during the Edo period, such as Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725) (Trigger 1989: 76; Pai 2014: 45), who had first suggested stone tools found in Japan were human-made (Bleed 1986: 60; Askew 2004: 65). And similar studies were made by other notable Japanese historians such as Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700) and Tō Teikan (1731-1798) (Yonezawa 2005: 122). Their interpretations would go on to inform the understanding of Japanese history transmitted to the English speaking world by early European scholars such as Phillip von Siebold (1796-1866)⁵. When large numbers of westerners with their own interests in antiquarianism began to enter the country in the 1860s and 1870s, there was some anxiety over the security of Japan's heritage.

On May 23rd, 1871 Machida Hisanari (1837-1897) one of the Satsuma students, and later the head of the Tokyo Imperial Museum (now known as the Tokyo National Museum), made a plea to the Meiji government to protect Japanese antiquities and stop their nation's treasures from leaving the country. His plan was the first attempt to preserve ancient artefacts throughout Japan. Machida called for three actions to be undertaken by the government:

- Formation of a depository for antiquities.
- Preservation laws throughout every prefecture.
- Specialists employed to create drawings of collections for records of artefacts.

(Pai 2014: 60)

The government did use these statements as guidelines, but the laws that passed afterwards put a different emphasis on the value of archaeological materials. The protection was perhaps not as effective as Machida had hoped for as the government

⁵ From this point onwards Philip von Siebold will be referred to as P. Siebold in order to differentiate him from his son Heinrich who will be referred to as H. Siebold. As both are important to the history of archaeology in Japan.

reinterpreted his plans with nationalist intentions. The first action undertaken as a result of this was the *Jinshin* survey (壬申検査). This was an attempt to catalogue the important cultural properties in the holdings of shrines and temples, to assure they were not sold off. But this was likely also undertaken in anticipation of the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna (Tanaka 2004: 31; Suzuki 2013: 418; Pai 2014: 40), the capital of the Austro-Hungarian empire, to find examples with which to promote Japanese culture and craftsmanship on an international stage. The survey took place between May and August 1872, the same year Gowland entered Japan. This was carried out by several notable Japanese scholars involving Machida and included opening the Shōsō-in (正倉院), the famous imperial treasure house in Nara which holds objects from as early as the 8th century. These events had another clear motive, the viewing and recording of the objects of the Shōsō-in created a tangible link between the modern emperors of the 19th century and those of the 8th, described in the earliest histories. This made it possible to display a lineage back to the creation deities and origins of Japan before power was supplanted from the emperors and controlled by feudal lords, resulting in the Tokugawa shogunate. And before the foreign religion of Buddhism had encroached on what was regarded as the purely Shinto religious landscape in the 6th and 7th centuries. Essentially, the survey demonstrated the legitimacy of the Meiji emperor and his new government through the political use of archaeological and historical materials.

This trend continued through the use of monuments. Some archaeological sites were designated as the imperial tombs of emperors listed in the earliest histories, the *Kojiki* (712AD) and the *Nihon shoki* (720AD). This practice had in fact begun during the Edo period when the Shogunal government was forced to respond to complaints about the condition of imperial tombs. The first survey of tombs was enacted in 1697, and a series of repairs were made in 1699 (Edwards 2000: 376-377). This practice was taken up and built upon by the Meiji government after 1868 (Kishimoto 2011: 34). Although objects, ancient and historical, were being used to glorify the divine lineage of the imperial line, it

was quite apparent that many Kofun period sites had been looted and fallen into disrepair, furthermore not all members of the imperial family recorded in the early histories had been accounted for. This led to the establishment of the Imperial Household Tomb Office in 1871 to prevent the further destruction and looting of imperial tombs (Pai 2014: 60). The government was perhaps then stirred into action to protect tombs by the very rich findings from Eta-funayama kofun, Kumamoto prefecture, Kyushu in 1873⁶ (Anazawa and Manome 1986: 386). Two years after Machida's statements, on May 2nd, 1874 the first law protecting ancient sites was passed:

Provincial reports of the discovery of ancient tombs (Grand Council of State No. 59)

The whereabouts of imperial tomb sites from ancient times are currently not [all] known, and are under investigation, effective immediately throughout the country; [tombs found] from cultivation and oral tradition must have a report made of their location, a fair investigation of the tomb, everything removed, its nature, and its current state in a supplementary plan of its concise features for the Ministry of Religious Education⁷

(Translated by Luke Edgington-Brown).

This law attempted to locate more imperial tombs for designation while stating that the excavation of any tombs, known from legend, oral traditions or even sites resembling kofun was strictly prohibited (Edwards 2005: 47; Pai 2014: 60). However, it was not entirely in keeping with Machida's suggestions. The law was intended to protect *imperial* tombs. Thus only those tombs which had already been identified, or were being identified

⁶ Now held in the Tokyo National Museum, established the previous year 1872.

⁷ The original text is as follows:
古墳発見ノ節届出方 (太政官達第59号)。

上世以来御陵墓ノ所在未定ノ分即今取調中ニ付各管内荒蕪地開墾ノ節口牌流伝ノ場所ハ勿論其他古墳ト相見ヘ候地ハ猥ニ発掘為致間敷候若差向墾闢ノ地ニ有之分ハ絵図面相副教部省ヘ可伺出此皆相違候事。
(www2s.biglobe.ne.jp).

as imperial were appointed custodians⁸. The majority, if not found to be imperial after investigation were recorded but did not receive any legal protection. There were further edicts passed, in 1880 and 1884 (Pai 2014: 62-63) that more generally sought to make sure artefacts were collected and kept in museums. These, especially the 1884 edict, were primarily concerned with objects from kofun over any other sites or periods. However, there was no mention of recording human remains, despite kofun being tombs. These laws focused on the recovery of relatively complete objects, mainly for display, much as westerners had done in Europe for much of the previous century.

During Gowland's stay in Japan, this designation of tombs was still occurring. His experiences show first-hand how this law played out. Even years after the law had passed, the excavation of tombs by local people continued to happen, for instance in the case of Rokuya, the site was dug up by locals from a nearby village in April 1881. However, in keeping with suggestions made by Machida, the objects were removed, and drawings were made and kept as records of what had been found. Yet these objects did later leave the country, as a result of being sold to Gowland, quite opposed to Machida's original intentions.

In Gowland's archive, we can see some evidence for the protection of archaeological sites being enforced by local law officers during the 1880s. Gowland writes in the margin of one of his notes regarding Shibayama kofun (BOX 4-17-1 Appendix 3) that a policeman had caught him while investigating a tomb and he was made to promise not to do any more digging without permission. After this whenever he visited an area with important kofun he would find that policemen had been stationed at or around them. As a foreigner, Gowland would have been very conspicuous, he and other westerners were perhaps becoming more notorious for having an interest in kofun and *misasagi* (imperial tomb) towards the

⁸ This protection continues in a similar form today, the tombs being under the protection of the Imperial Household Agency, although in recent years archaeologists have begun to be allowed limited access (Edwards 2000: 371).

end of the 1880s. And we can assume from Gowland's description that he felt this was not a normal level of protection and the presence of the law was there to protect the monuments from him personally. Furthermore, in another note (BOX 4-20-5-4 Appendix 1) Gowland states that whenever he or others tried to excavate at a tomb, policemen would stop them from digging, yet the sites continued to be dug by local people and not systematically recorded.

Gowland wrote his complaint about being stopped from excavating in the margin of his notes on Shibayama kofun; this is no coincidence. Gowland did receive permission to excavate Shibayama from the local governor, discussed in Chapter 5. But this was long after the tomb had been opened. The site had already been examined by officials from the Sakai⁹ prefectural authorities, in 1874 or 1875 according to Gowland's notes (BOX 4-17-1 and BOX 4-26-1 Appendix 3), although it is possible they were only sent to view the tomb after reports of locals removing objects. The officials entered the chamber and removed some objects, after which the owner of the tomb was told he could do as he liked with it. We can imagine this was only after having ascertained that it was not imperial and had seemingly been looted in antiquity, see Chapter 5.

Upon passing this law, one of the first tombs to come under protection by the Meiji government had not been an ancient site at all. When visiting the imperial tomb of Misanzai kofun, allegedly the tomb of the first emperor Jimmu (660-558BC¹⁰), Gowland very quickly identified it as a fake, constructed by the contemporary government for the purpose of glorifying the imperial line.

⁹ Sakai city is now located within modern Osaka prefecture.

¹⁰ Through this thesis, where dates are attributed to a ruler they refer to the traditional reign dates, those from the early part of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* prior to the 5th century AD can be considered mythological due to their unrealistically long lengths. The later date is always the death date up to the reign of Empress Jito (645-703AD), who is the first Japanese ruler to abdicate the throne.

“The misasagi [Misanzai kofun] is of little archaeological importance as its construction differs entirely from any of the ancient mausolea. It is difficult to conjecture the grounds on which its form was decided, yet worthy of description, showing what is regarded by the government to be a fitting mausoleum for the first of the imperial line.” (Gowland 1907: 24).

Although the site itself had been historically recorded as the tomb of Jimmu, the Meiji government constructed a more elaborate tomb themselves in 1878. Gowland was very aware of the nature of the protection offered to imperial mounds during the Meiji period. Gowland did not discuss it at length although he offered some criticism of the way kofun sites were being exploited when discussing Misanzai kofun:

“...whilst everywhere ruined mounds and piles of broken stones mark the sites of scores of others [kofun], some of which were destroyed to furnish stone for the modern mausoleum of emperor Jimmu [Mizansai kofun]”. (Gowland 1907: 20).

This example illustrates that the Meiji government’s concerns were with their legitimacy rather than the protection of ancient monuments. Over the course of the end of the 19th century, imperial mounds became increasingly important to legitimising Japan’s colonial goals. Unlike early laws protecting monuments in Britain, discussed below and in Chapter 6, Japan’s laws were created from a top-down perspective by the government. Due to the first law not taking into account finding imperial tombs on privately owned land, another law that was passed on November 15th, 1888 to address this. This law was passed shortly before Gowland left Japan, called ‘*Section report on the investigation of the location of imperial tombs, occasions of the discovery of ancient tombs on the private property of the nation’s people*’ (*Imperial Household Department No. 3*)¹¹.

¹¹ 人民私有地内古墳発見ノ節届出方 (宮内省達乙第3号).



Figure 10. A photograph of cylindrical *haniwa* *in situ* from the site of Konabe kofun, Nara. Possibly the examples which Gowland refers to in his notes (Harris and Gotō 2003: 27).

Late in Gowland's stay, we can begin to see occasions in which the protection of imperial tombs began to have some effect on his studies, and his interest may have led to at least one tomb being dedicated to an imperial ancestor. In April 1888 Gowland notes that Konabe kofun (コナベ古墳), Hokkeji-chō, Nara City, had been designated an imperial mound between his visits:

"Since the beginning of this year 1888 they have been decided to be imperial tombs altho[ugh] on my former visit one at least i[.].e. Konabe had been sold to a farmer for cultivation" (BOX 4-?-1 Appendix 1).

"I was able to go upon it [Konabe kofun] and make careful measurements as it had not, until I called attention to it, received official recognition as an imperial tomb, whereas in other cases this was prohibited, and I had then to make my observations from outside the moats" (Gowland 1907: 12).

Konabe kofun became an imperial tomb in 1888; shortly before this, Gowland had intended to remove an *ento* (cylindrical) *haniwa*¹² from the site, shown in one of Gowland's photographs, Figure 10. In his unpublished notes, Gowland described how he and a local official, despite having had the permission of the local governor, he was refused entry and stopped from taking a *haniwa* by a newly appointed custodian:

"On asking the local gov[ernor] and another official who accompanied us to be allowed to take one or two of the cylinders [ento haniwa] as specimens we were told that they could not permit us to take any as it had been lately determined that the mound was a misasagi [imperial tomb] & nothing could be taken away from it. Two of the cylinders were just about to fall out into the moat & be broken up were excellent specimens, & in a few months will be destroyed & worthless yet they refused to let us take them. If however any had been taken away by the Japanese before the mound became a misasagi if they could be found we might have them" (BOX 4-?- 1 Appendix 1).

Therefore, we can see that the site had come under protection, but there was no attempt to reclaim anything that had been removed before its designation or maintain the site in any way. The law only sought to keep the current state of the tombs once they had been found to be imperial, with any natural erosion processes left to take their course. From Gowland's experiences of the first law, we can see that during the early 1880s there was relatively little protection for tombs if they were found not to be imperial. However, he had required permission from local officials, before Konabe kofun had become a *misasagi*, to remove the *haniwa*. The government's interest in ancient monuments lay primarily in the designation of tombs, not their preservation, which was Machida's concern. Kofun sites were the physical embodiment of the lineage of the emperor. As imperialist and racial ideologies increased throughout the 1910s and 1920s, at the beginning of the Taishō era

¹² 円筒埴輪, A simple cylindrical haniwa, rows of which were placed along terraces and the on the top of the exterior surface of kofun, from the Early Kofun period 250AD through to approximately 600AD at the end of the late Kofun period.

(1912-1926), there were increasingly stringent limitations put on archaeologists' ability to call into question the narratives of the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*. This occurred as Japan moved from legitimising itself as equal to colonial western powers, to legitimising itself as a colonial power with the expansion into Taiwan in 1895 and the annexation of Korea in 1910. The legitimisation of this annexation relied heavily on the narrative of the early histories (Pai 2014).

In Japan, the study of the ancient past was appropriated by the Meiji government as a nationalistic narrative created to legitimise their regime (Mizoguchi 2006; 2013; Smith 2010: 121). Due to the prevalence of the imperial myth in Japan, starting in the Meiji period, most Kofun period archaeology had been strictly confined to the study of the early 8th century texts for its interpretation. Early archaeologists who questioned the established imperial myths were in danger of having their careers and lives destroyed. In 1888 Naka Michiyo (1851-1908) received heavy criticism when he claimed that the first Emperor Jimmu was fictitious and that the dates of the other early emperors from the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were inaccurate by 120 years (Farris 1998: 60). Another later example, Kume Kunitake (1839-1931) was forced to resign from his post at Tokyo Imperial University after he had suggested Shintoism had derived from primitive sun worship (Brownlee 1997: 92-106; Mizoguchi 2013: 12). This all created an impeding effect on the progression of Kofun period archaeology, which would not begin to recover until the end of the Second World War in the late 1940s (Mizoguchi 2006: 65; 2013:14). Japanese scholars were not unaware of this situation as it was unfolding, illustrated in the quote below from Basil Hall Chamberlain on December 14th, 1887 during the discussion of Aston's paper '*Early Japanese history*':

"Japanese in good positions have frequently told me that they would not dare publicly to assert that the Mikado [Emperor] was not descended from the Sun-goddess, or that Jimmu Tennō had never existed, although privately they entertained no objection to the

foreign books in which the denial is made. Surely it is time to have done with all this make-believe. If the imperial dynasty depended for its safety on such airy nothings, its fate would long ago have been sealed.” [Basil Hall Chamberlain, December 1887] (Aston 1889: x).

The Stone Age of Japan

One of the western specialists who entered Japan during the early Meiji period and gained particular prominence in the history of archaeology in the country was Edward Sylvester Morse¹³ (1838-1925), an American zoologist who excavated Omori shell midden (大森貝塚) in Tokyo. He undertook this excavation in 1877 the same year he had arrived in Japan. These kinds of sites were already well known to American anthropologists, having studied similar sites produced by Native American peoples (Wyman 1868; Morse 1879: 269) and even earlier in Scandinavian archaeology (Morlot 1860: 301). However, Omori is considered to have been the first archaeologically recorded excavation of a prehistoric site in Japan (Bleed 1986: 58; Barnes 1990: 931; Tanaka 2004: 42; Edwards 2005: 37).

It has been claimed that although the shell middens were known in Japan from early times, their significance was not fully realised (Tanaka 2004: 24; Pai 2014: 95), but this is not entirely correct. Morse's excavation was more carefully recorded and executed than previous investigations, described as “*something like a systematic manner*” (Bleed 1986: 65), and in his 1879 report¹⁴, he identified objects from the Stone Age of Japan. The material Morse excavated came from what would become known as the Jomon period.

¹³ Morse travelled to Japan in 1877 taking a post at Tokyo Imperial University teaching biology and Darwin's theory of evolution (Edwards 2005: 36; Bleed 1986: 64). Morse was aware of the work of the Asiatic Society and references William Aston's work in his 1879 article (Morse 1879: 257). But there is no evidence, as of yet, that Gowland personally knew Morse, other than through his work.

¹⁴ Morse published his first paper on the finds at Omori in the journal *Nature* in 1877 (Morse 1877: 89). A full site report of Omori shell midden following afterwards in 1879, along with a few shorter articles in-between (see Table 2).

However, as mentioned previously, Arai and others in Japan had already identified stone tools as human-made (Bleed 1986: 60; Askew 2004: 65). In the west, Japanese stone tools collected by P. Siebold were identified as belonging to the Stone Age in the English language as early as 1868, in a paper by Franks (1868: 265). Later Japan was included as one of a list of countries known to have had a Neolithic by Darwin in his book ‘The Descent of Man’ (1871: 176) perhaps a reference to Frank's paper. In fact, Morse was probably not the first person to recognise the site as a shell midden; there is some evidence that they had been noticed by others. Specifically, Heinrich von Siebold (1852-1908)¹⁵, who may have carried out some investigation of the same site before Morse (Moos 2008: 58). In 1879, H. Siebold published “*Notes on Japanese archaeology: especial reference to the Stone Age*” (Siebold. H 1879). A copy of this volume exists within Gowland’s archive and was a source of Japanese terms which Gowland later employed, and informed some of his observations. For example, he makes a distinction between earthenware and stoneware (*sueki*), even briefly discussing the paddle and anvil technique, suggesting it was imported from Korea (Siebold. H. 1879: 9). This strongly influenced the way Gowland approached ceramic studies, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

Stephen Tanaka states that Morse’s claims suggesting that another people had lived in the archipelago before the Japanese occupation was a surprising concept to the Japanese (Tanaka 2004: 42). However, this is reliant on the preconception that the Meiji period Japanese considered themselves to have existed in Japan since its creation or that they were related to the Stone Age inhabitants of Japan, which, during and before the Meiji period, predominately they did not. P. Siebold had already claimed that the Ainu were indigenous and the Japanese had emigrated from the continent (Hudson 1999: 31; Pai 2014: 95). Furthermore, influenced by P. Siebold’s writings, there had been English language publications as early as January 1868, the year of the Meiji restoration, claiming

¹⁵ The son of Phillip von Siebold.

that the Ainu had been displaced from southern Honshu by the Japanese. Several other later articles and books discussed the Ainu in similar terms (Bickmore 1868: 22; Borlase 1876: 22; Griffis 1877: 26) see Table 2. Therefore, this idea was already very much prevalent among the general populous in Japan and English speaking scholars by the time Morse had excavated Omori shell midden. In fact, they were already known to contain human bone. Published in 1877, the same year Morse excavated Omori, William Griffis¹⁶ (1843-1928) describes shell middens in northern Honshu:

"The traveler to-day in the northern part of the main island [Honshu] may see the barrows of the Ainos' [Ainu's] bones slain by Japanese armies more than a millennium ago. One of these mounds, near Morioka, in Rikuchiu¹⁷, [is] very large, and named "Yezo mori" (Aino mound¹⁸), is especially famous, containing the bones of aborigines [Ainu] slaughtered, heaps upon heaps, by the Japanese Shogun, Tamura [Sakanoue no Tamuramaro (758-811AD)]..." (Griffis 1877: 28).

Here Griffis was referring to a pre-existing idea, that the Ainu were the Emishi, conquered by the Japanese between the 7th and 8th century AD. The term Emishi (蝦夷), which can also be read 'ezo', is problematic, as it referred to any non-Japanese peoples living beyond Japanese Kofun culture in modern Tohoku prefecture, Hokkaido and the Kuril islands. And in fact, Ezo could often refer to the island of Hokkaido itself. Thus although the Emishi are now often considered to be culturally separate from the Ainu, they were historically often conflated together. This resulted in Griffis displacing a prehistoric monument in time and associating it with a much later historic event. This idea can be traced back to a much earlier time. The author of the *Nihon shoki* (720AD), who was

¹⁶ Griffis was an American who was involved in modernising education in Japan and taught chemistry and physics in Echizen. He also wrote prolifically on history and fairy tales.

¹⁷ Modern Iwate prefecture.

¹⁸ The original Japanese word was likely Emishi. Perhaps a better modern translation would be Emishi mound or Hokkaido mound, Ezo being an old name for Hokkaido and the Ainu/Emishi.

writing in the late 7th to early 8th centuries, had claimed that the previous occupants which Emperor Jimmu had conquered, were the Emishi¹⁹, although this detail is omitted from the slightly earlier *Kojiki* (712AD). Thus, the earliest histories never claimed the Japanese had inhabited the islands since their creation.

Finding the point at which the Ainu began to be associated with the Emishi is harder, as notions of Ainu identity and their relationship to the Japanese varied throughout history. Hudson points out that in the late 18th and early 19th century common ancestry among the Japanese and Ainu was used as a form of legitimising the colonisation of Hokkaido (Hudson 1999: 31). The conflation of the Ainu and Emishi can perhaps be traced back to the work of Arai, who had argued in the early 18th century that the early parts of the 8th century histories were only loosely based on real events and that the Emishi were the ancestors of the Ainu (Askew 2004: 65). Furthermore, Kiuchi Sekitei (1724-1808) suggested the Ainu preceded the Japanese, as stone arrowheads were not as well known in the west of the country (Bleed 1986: 63). In a footnote of Aston's translation of the *Nihon shoki*, when describing Jimmu's subduing of the native peoples of Yamato, he also equates the Emishi with the ancient Ainu:

"The Yemishi [Emishi] are the Ainos [Ainu]... of whom remnant of some ten thousand souls now inhabit the island of Yezo [Ezo²⁰]. When the "Nihongi" [Nihon shoki] was written they still occupied a large part of the main island of Japan [Honshu]" (Aston 1896: 124).

As such, we can see preexisting Japanese scholarship had strongly influenced early western studies of Japanese history and archaeology. This appears to have spread into common knowledge among the Japanese of the 19th century. Griffis writing in 1877 describes a shell midden known as "Yezo mori" (see above) and H. Siebold writing in

¹⁹ This appears to have been the opinion of the author of the *Nihon shoki*. The Emishi were still present in northeastern Honshu during the time the history was finished in 720AD.

²⁰ Yezo and Ezo are archaic terms for Hokkaido.

1879 states that the locals referred to cave sites in Musashi²¹ and Joshu²² in Kanto as “Ainu caves” (Siebold. H 1879: 7).

H. Siebold reiterates the commonly held belief of the Japanese in 1879 that the Ainu were “savage peoples” that were displaced by Emperor Jimmu’s expansion into Yamato from Kyushu, as described in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* (Siebold. H. 1897: II; Aston 1896: 110). Morse differed from these previous explanations by suggesting that there was another Stone Age culture separate from either the Japanese or Ainu. He spoke about his ideas for the first time in 1877 and gave further talks and publications on the subject between 1877 and 1879. John Milne (1850-1913) continued to believe the Emishi to have been the Ainu. However, he suggested that when the Ainu were displaced by the Japanese, they had, in turn, displaced a third culture in Hokkaido. This culture was known as the “*koro-pok-guru*²³”, a term taken from Ainu legend, often translated as “pit dwellers”²⁴ who were believed by the Ainu to have been a separate people inhabiting Hokkaido before them (Milne 1879; Morse 1892: 257). However, John Bachelor suggested the *koro-pok-guru* were simply another tribe of Ainu (Bachelor 1901:12).

²¹ An archaic name for Saitama and part of Kanagawa prefectures.

²² An archaic name for Gunma prefecture.

²³ Chamberlain originally used a different translation, “dwells in burdock”, as they were said to be a people of such diminutive stature that they hid under burdock (*guru*) leafs to escape the rain (Chamberlain and Batchelor 1887: 18). However, Bachelor later noted that some burdock leaves he had seen were more than 4ft in diameter and thus would have made effective umbrellas for average sized humans (1901: 14). Chamberlain later also adopted the term pit dwellers, wherein *guru* is translated as pits. It is not clear if this was an intentional Ainu pun or a mistake of Bachelor’s translation, but they were also associated with the remains of pit houses, see footnote 24 below. This gnome-like concept of the *koro-pok-guru* is more popular today, and occasionally appears in Japanese pop culture as a form of *yokai* (妖怪); a supernatural being, of lower status than a *kami* (神, spirit or god). Originally a folklore explanation for the material remains of the Okhotsk culture of northern Hokkaido 600-1000AD, who had co-inhabited Hokkaido with the early Ainu.

²⁴ There are indeed pit dwelling sites that are spread across Hokkaido. In the 19th century the Ainu referred to these sites as “*toi chisei kocha utara kot chisei kot*”, literally “*homes of people who had earth houses*” the legend of the pit dwellers being a folklore explanation for these sites in their landscape (Hitchcock 1892: 434; Bachelor 1904: 2). Milne claimed that Capt. Blakiston (1832-1891), who had sailed around Hokkaido in 1869, gave a first-hand account of a contemporary pit house seen in the Northern Kuriles. Although, this does not appear in Blakiston’s paper on the subject (Blakiston 1872; Milne 1880: 414). These pit house sites, such as those found in Tokoro, Hokkaido are now considered to belong to Okhotsk culture 600-1000AD.

Tsuboi used similar yet different ideas to Morse's, identifying the Stone Age inhabitants as yet another separate people mentioned in the early Japanese histories, the "tsuchi-gumo" (Tsuboi 1892: 293). Often translated as "earth spiders"²⁵ the *tsuchi-gummo* are mentioned only once in the *Kojiki* but several times in the *Nihon shoki* where it describes their slaughter by Jimmu's troops, only after they had defeated the Emishi (Aston 1896: 129).

The reasons for believing the Japanese were not the original native inhabitants of the archipelago was primarily based on historians' studies of the early histories, and Ainu traditions (Morse 1879: 259). From a modern perspective, the Ainu are a people culturally separate from the Japanese, generally located within Hokkaido and the extreme northern tip of Honshu, now Aomori prefecture. But at this time, when referring to prehistoric periods, they are often lumped together with the Emishi, a separate culture that inhabited the area beyond the northwestern edge of Japanese Kofun period culture on Honshu before being invaded and assimilated into Japanese culture between the Late Kofun and Heian periods. The two cultures stretched back into an undefined prehistory and were conflated together with the "Stone Age" Jomon cultures. The Jomon are now widely believed to be ancestors of the modern Japanese but were subject to interbreeding with later waves of migration²⁶.

This conflation of Jomon, Emishi and Ainu further infiltrated the English language publications through the works of Hitchcock (1890; 1892; 1893), Erwin Baelz (1907), Neil Gordon Munro (1911: 665), Capt. Francis Brinkley (1904: 66; Brinkley and Kikuchi 1914:

²⁵ They are also described as living in caves, which Aston believed to be the origin of the name, as they hid away in holes or caves, like spiders (Aston 1896: 129). This was influenced by the folkloric Japanese belief at the time that they had lived in the artificial caves sites, but these were actually made as tombs during the Kofun period. It is not likely that the author of the *Nihon shoki* would believe they had lived in pit houses as the later Ainu viewed the *koro-pok-guru*, as pit houses were used as low status dwellings in western Japan into the 6th century, such as the late Kofun site of Nakuba, Kyoto (Tsude 2006: 64). However, Kofun period pit houses were significantly more shallow and not as apparent in the later landscape.

²⁶ However, as others have noted (Roth 2005: 10) there are modern scholars who believed Ainu to have preserved some essence of Jomon culture.

35) and James Murdoch (1925: 47) among others, and thus is important for understanding early western studies into Japanese archaeology. Many of the early writings on the origins of the Japanese and Ainu give racially focused discussions, heavily informed by race studies of the mid 1800s. We can see some influence from these ideas in Gowland's work and, although he tends to focus on the adoption of metal into Japan rather than the Stone Age, he does reference Oscar Peschel's 'Races of Man' published in 1848²⁷ in his unpublished notes. Pechel discusses a "Mongolian race" populating Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan, based on the physical appearances of the populations of those respective countries (Pechel 1876). Gowland only makes reference to these ideas and does not linger on racial studies. There continued to be some argument as to exactly who these Stone Age people were. Milne's explanation was the most popular. This stance would later be strengthened by the work of Koganei Yoshikiyo (1859-1944), a colleague of Tsuboi²⁸ who taught anatomy at Tokyo Imperial University, after having studied in Germany between 1880 and 1885. Koganei suggested there were visible physical similarities between Jomon and Ainu skeletons upon exhuming, collecting and studying 166 Ainu skulls and 92 skeletons. The removal of Ainu remains was another deeply contentious issue in the early study of the Ainu (Low 2012: 59).

Gowland, Aston and many others continued to equate the Stone Age population of Japan with the Emishi/Ainu, but Morse and Tsuboi²⁹ had different arguments, identifying them as a pre-Ainu people. Opinions greatly differed, and these arguments quickly became much more complicated in Japan, as many other Japanese scholars gave their own

²⁷ This book was originally published in German in 1848, but it was translated into English in 1876, perhaps making it more contemporary from Gowland's perspective.

²⁸ Tsuboi and Koganei had travelled together to Hokkido for two months in 1888. Koganei subsequently visited again for three months in 1889 (Low 2012: 59).

²⁹ Morse believed the Ainu were not the Stone Age inhabitants, as they did not create pottery and did not practice cannibalism which he believed to have found evidence for at Omori. Tsuboi initially believed that the true Stone Age occupants had been "*a people with little beard*" (Baelz 1907: 528). This was reliant on the fact that *dogu* (anthropomorphic clay sculpture which usually display feminine characteristics) are not depicted as having beards which he believed sufficient evidence to set them apart from the Ainu who were famously portrayed as being particularly hairy and very much bearded.

interpretations of the evidence, which is discussed elsewhere (Oguma 2002; Askew 2004; Low 2012). The anthropological studies on the Ainu written by Europeans at this time largely continued to attempt to identify the Japanese Stone Age. Although Gowland was aware of these arguments and they shaped his understanding of the period, his chronology focuses on later periods after the adoption of metals, so we will not focus any further on this discussion here.

Mizoguchi Koji places the study of Jomon or Stone Age archaeology at this time into the category of “safe” archaeology, separate from the more “dangerous” realm of the Kofun period, due to the way in which the Meiji government employed Kofun archaeology. He refers to the above discussion of the Japanese replacing a native people but believes it to have been a western idea (Mizoguchi 2006: 65-67). Hudson gives an excellent discussion of how perceptions of the Ainu shifted but does not discuss how the Ainu were conflated with the Emishi (Hudson 1999: 33).

During the Meiji period, Stone Age archaeology was not considered Japanese at all; it was believed to be Ainu. Whether or not the original inhabitants were the Emishi or the Ainu or a pre-Ainu people made little difference to the Meiji government or the identity constructed for the Emperor. The early histories never describe where humans came from, as far as the *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki* explain they were simply mentioned as the previous inhabitants of Yamato before the arrival of Japan’s first mortal ruler, Emperor Jimmu, in 660BC. It was this historical account which early archaeologists based their invasion hypothesis on in the first place. Thus, if anything, archaeology at this time seemed to be supporting the legitimacy of those early texts. Even when the author of the *Nihon shoki* identified the previous inhabitance of Honshu as the Emishi in the 8th century, that culture was still in the process of being subdued on the borders of the Japanese kingdom of Yamato. Therefore it may have been an attempt at legitimising their subjection by likening it to Jimmu’s legendary invasion of the Nara basin (Yamato) a thousand years earlier.

Important to our discussion, however, is that in the late 19th century the invasion of Jimmu from Kyushu was considered to be a historical fact by the Japanese (Mizoguchi 2006: 67) and western scholars³⁰. Even Aston, who was sceptical of the very early chapters of the Japanese chronicles, when discussing Emperor Jimmu's invasion describes it as one of the more believable elements of his legend:

"Though it is difficult to draw clearly a line which shall divide religious myth from legend with a historical kernel, we may conveniently assume that in Japan the latter begins with the story of Jimmu, as it has in all probability a foundation in actual fact, namely the conquest of central Japan by an invading army from the western island of Kiushiu [Kyushu] some centuries before the Christian epoch [the first century AD]" (Aston 1905: 116).

From a modern perspective, Omori shell midden is a Jomon period site. The cultures of Jomon and Emishi are now considered culturally distinct from the Ainu of the late 19th century, geographically, culturally and chronologically³¹. Today this would be regarded as an oversimplification based too heavily on vague historical descriptions, which occasionally deviate into highly controversial and racially focused interpretations³². However, the idea that the "Japanese race" arrived from the continent and displaced a native population continues in some form to this day. The changes in material culture that

³⁰ It is notable here that in British archaeology of the latter half of the 19th century it was common to see the English as the result of historical invasions and the Celtic fringes, Welsh, Cornish and Scottish as the decedents of the original inhabitanace. The English upper classes were seen as the heirs of the Norman invaders and the middle-classes the ancestors or the earlier Saxons, while the Celtic fringes were seen as the decedents of the more primitive native British (Trigger 1989: 214). In a similar fashion the Japanese, especially the imperial family, were seen to have superior or even divine origins from emperor Jimmu's invasion, while cultures on the fringe of Japanese culture, such as the Ainu were seen as having primitive ancestry. British scholars were perhaps more willing to follow these suggestions as they reflected their perceptions of their own origins.

³¹ Yet the Jomon period did continue much later in Hokkaido- throughout the Kofun period in western Honshu (250-710AD), which is now known as the Epi-Jomon period (250BC-700AD) (Kobayashi 2004: 31). The relationship between the Japanese, Emishi and Ainu still produces much debate.

³² In fact this is but a footnote in the troubled history of the Ainu people, who were only officially acknowledged as an indigenous population with a distinct language and culture by the Japanese government in 2008 (japantimes.co.jp).

Morse and others were seeing and interpreting as physical evidence for an invasion from the continent, is now viewed as the displacement of Jomon culture by Yayoi culture, currently used to separate the two periods between the 9th and 3rd centuries BC³³. The shift from the Jomon to the Yayoi is often believed to be visible in a difference in skull shape, and more recently DNA (Low 2012: 65). However, the concept of the Yayoi period had not yet been invented, only being applied in the 1920s. So the Yayoi objects, which had been found, represented the latest part of the “Stone Age” (Jomon) or the earliest part of the “Iron” or “Dolmen Age” (Kofun) in the late 19th century understanding (see Chapter 3). Invasion theories were a common feature of explanations for cultural change during this time and continued to be so well into the early 20th century. Thus with no better explanation, and with only historical descriptions and limited physical evidence to offer a relative chronology, the change in material culture between the Stone Age and “Dolmen period” was attributed to the invasion of Jimmu and the Japanese, which held the traditional date of 660BC.

Modern discussions of the genealogy of prehistoric cultures in Japan are complex and have no single agreed upon narrative, but the basic outline of late 19th century arguments remain present in some form to this day. The Emishi in northern Tohoku prefecture are sometimes called the Tohoku Yayoi (Crawford 2008: 446) as they were a pre-state rice agriculturalist culture that continued in east Honshu while early state formation was taking place in western Japan during the Kofun period. Okhotsk (600-1000AD) culture appeared in the northern part of Hokkaido a century or so before the Yamato (Kofun period) Japanese forced the Tohoku Yayoi into southern Hokkaido between the 8th and 9th centuries. It is often argued that the Tohoku Yayoi either replace or combined with the Late Neolithic Epi-Jomon (250BC-700AD) in northern Aomori prefecture and southern Hokkaido, to become Satsumon culture in southern Hokkaido (700-1200AD) (Kobayashi

³³ The traditional date for this and the start of the Yayoi period was 300BC but has recently been moved back to 900BC, see Chapter 3.

Table 2 Western publications on Japanese early history and archaeology 1850-1920

Year of publication	Author	Title	Publication and/or date read.
1852	Siebold. P.	(In German) <i>Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan.</i> (7th and last volume published, Vol.1 published 1832)	7th volume of a seven volume standalone title.
1855	Hildreth. R	<i>Japan as it was and is.</i>	Standalone title.
1860	Hildreth. R.	<i>Japan and the Japanese</i> (Reprint of Hildreth. R. 1855 under a different title).	Standalone title.
1868	Bickmore. A.	Some notes on the Ainos.	Read January 7th. <i>Transaction of the Ethnological Society of London</i> 7.
1868	Franks. A.	Notes of the discovery of stone implements in Japan. (Short study of Siebold P.'s collection of stone tools from Japan held at Leiden University).	Read August 26th at the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology in London and Norwich. Published 1869 in the <i>Transactions of the Third Session.</i>
1870	Humbert. A.	(in French) <i>Le Japon illustré.</i>	Standalone title.
1872	Cpt. Blakiston. T.	A journey in Yezo.	Read July 27th. Published <i>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.</i>
1874	Humbert. A. Translated by Hoey. C. and Bates. H.	<i>Japan and the Japanese illustrated</i> (Translation of Humbert. A 1870).	Standalone title.
1876	Borlase. W.	<i>Nippon and its Antiquities.</i>	Read September 7th Polytechnic Society at Falmouth. Standalone title.
1877	Griffin. W.	<i>The Mikado's empire: Book 1 History of Japan from 660 BC to 1872.</i>	1st volume of a two volume standalone title.
1877	Morse. E.	Traces of early man in Japan.	Read November 19th. Printed November 29th <i>Nature</i> 17.
1878	Morse. E.	Evidences of cannibalism in a nation before the Ainos in Japan.	Read to the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences. (Only title of the paper published).
1879a	Morse. E.	Cannibalism in an early race in Japan. (Published notes on Morse 1878?)	Read January 5 to the Biological Society of Tokyo university. Published in <i>Tokyo Times</i> , January 18th.
1879b	Morse. E.	Traces of an early race in Japan.	<i>Popular Science Monthly</i> 14. January.
1879c	Morse. E.	<i>Shell mounds of Omori.</i>	Memoirs of the Science Department University of Tokyo. (First reported in newspapers in early October).
1879	Siebold. H.	<i>Notes of Japanese archaeology with especial reference to the stone age.</i>	Standalone title.
1880	Milne. J.	Notes on stone implements from Otaru and Hakodate, with a few general remarks on the Prehistoric remains of Japan.	Read to the British Association November 11th 1879. Published 1880 <i>Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan</i> VIII.

Table 2 continued

1880a	Dikins. F.	Pre-historic man in Japan (Review of Morse. E. 1879c).	<i>Nature</i> , volume 21 February 12th.
1880	Sugiura. S.	Prehistoric man in Japan (Letter to the editor regarding Dikins. F. 1880a's review of Morse. E. 1879c).	<i>Nature</i> , volume 21 February 19th.
1880a	Morse. E.	The dolmens in Japan.	<i>Popular Science Monthly</i> . March. Presented to the Boston Society of Natural History the same year.
1880	Satow. E.	Ancient sepulchral mounds in Kadazuke.	Read April 13th. Published in <i>Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan</i> VIII.
1880	Darwin. C.	The Omori shell mounds. (A letter from Charles Darwin published together with Morse. E. 1880b defending his work from Dikins).	<i>Nature</i> , volume 21, April 15th.
1880b	Morse. E.	The Omori shell mounds. (A response to Dikins. F. 1880a).	<i>Nature</i> , volume 21, April 15th.
1880b	Dikins. F.	The Omori shell heaps. (A response to Morse. E. 1880b).	<i>Nature</i> , Volume 21, April 29th.
1880c	Morse. E.	Some recent publications on Japanese archaeology. (Response to Dikins. F. 1880b, and review of Milne 1879 and Siebold. H. 1879).	<i>The American Naturalist</i> 14. September.
1880	Reed. E.	<i>Japan: its history, traditions, and religions. Volume 1.</i>	1st volume of a two volume standalone title.
1881	Milne. J.	The stone age in Japan: with notes on recent geological changes which have taken place.	Read May 25th, 1880. Published 1881 <i>Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland</i> .
1881	Aston. W.	Stone tomb at Maiko.	Read December 15th, 1881 to the Asiatic Society of Japan.(Only title of the paper published).
1882	Milne. J.	"Notes" on the pit-dwellers of Yezo and the Kurile Islands.	<i>Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan</i> X
1882	Chamberlain. B.	<i>The Kojiki.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan</i> X (supplement)
1883	Iijima. I and Sasaki. C.	<i>Okadairi shell mound at Hitachi.</i>	Standalone title.
1884	Kanda. T.. Translated by Kanda. N.	<i>Notes on ancient stone implements, &c., of Japan.</i>	Standalone title.
1887	Chamberlain. B.	<i>The language, mythology, and geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino studies.</i>	Standalone title.
1887	Dönitz. W.	(In German) Vorgeschichtliche Gräber in Japan (Prehistoric tombs in Japan)	<i>Aus den Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft</i> . Sitzung 22. January.
1889	Aston. W.	Early Japanese history.	Read December 14th 1887. Published 1889 <i>Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan</i> XVI.

Table 2 continued

1890	Florenz. K.	(In German) Die staatliche und gesellschaftliche organisation im alten Japan (The state and social organisation of ancient Japan)	MAG Notizen 5 No. 44: 164-182.
1890	Hitchcock. R.	The ancient pit-dwellers of yezo, the Ainos of Yezo.	Report of the Smithsonian Institute.
1891a	Hitchcock. R.	Shinto, or the mythology of the Japanese.	Report of the U.S. National Museum.
1891b	Hitchcock. R.	The ancient burial mounds of Japan	Report of the U.S. National Museum.
1892	Tsuboi. S.	Notes on the discovery of more than two hundred ancient artificial caves near Tokyo. (First published in Japanese in <i>Tuyo-Makugei</i> 72 September 25, 1887)	The Imperial Asiatic Review and Oriental and Colonial Record IV. April.
1892	Aston. W.	Observations on Dr. Tsuboi's discovery of artificial caves in Japan (Discussion of Tsuboi. S. 1892).	The Imperial Asiatic Review and Oriental and Colonial Record IV. July.
1892	Hitchcock. R.	The Ainos of yezo.	Report of the Smithsonian Institute.
1892	Batchelor. J.	<i>The Ainu of Japan: the religion, superstitions, and general history of the hairy aborigines of Japan.</i>	Standalone title.
1892	Morse. E.	A pre-Aino race in Japan (Review of Hitchcock's papers on the Ainu).	Science. XX. No 501.
1893	Milne. J.	Notes on a journey in Northeast Yezo and the Kuril Islands.	Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan
1893	Hitchcock. R.	Some relics in Japan.	Report of the U.S. National Museum.
1894	Gowland. W.	<i>On the art of casting bronze in Japan</i>	Standalone title.
1895	Gowland. W.	Title unknown (Attempts to apply the Three-age system to Japan).	London and China Telegraph. May.
1896	Aston. W.	<i>Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the earliest times to A.D. 697.</i>	Standalone title.
1897	Gowland. W.	The dolmens and burial mounds in Japan.	Read April 16th. Published in Archaeologia 55.
1897	Cpt.Brinkley. F. (Editor).	<i>Japans: described and illustrated by the Japanese: written by eminent Japanese authorities and scholars. Vol. 1 (Regarding early history).</i>	1st volume of ten volume standalone title.
1897	Kishimoto. N.	Various views as to the origin of the Japanese people.	Far East.
1897	Siebold. P.	(In German) <i>Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan</i> (Reprint of Siebold P. 1832-1852, with annotations by his sons).	Standalone title.
1897	Edkins. J.	Origin of the Japanese.	The Japan Weekly Mail. May 29th.

Table 2 continued

1899	Gowland. W.	Early metallurgy of copper, tin and iron in Europe illustrated by ancient remains, and primitive processes surviving in Japan.	Read 18th May 1899. Published <i>Archaeologia</i> 56.
1899	Gowland. W.	The dolmens of Japan and their builders.	Read October 17th, 1897. Published <i>Transactions of the Japan Society</i> 1899.
1901	Florenz. K.	(In German) Japanische Mythologie. Nihongi "Zeitalter der götter. (Japanese Mythology: <i>Nihongi</i> age of the gods).	MOAG 5 (Supplement).
1901	Batchelor. J.	<i>The Ainu and their folk lore.</i>	Standalone title.
1901	Cpt.Brinkley. F.	Japan its history, arts and literature Vol.1 (focusing on history).	1st volume of an eight volume of a standalone title.
1902	Cpt.Brinkley. F.	Japan its history, arts and literature Vol.8 (focusing on ceramics).	8th volume of an eight volume of a standalone title.
1903	Cpt.Brinkley. F.	Primeval Japanese.	<i>The Smithsonian Report.</i>
1905	Aston. W.	<i>Shinto: the way of the gods.</i>	Standalone title.
1906	Batchelor. J.	<i>The Koropok-guru, or pit-dwellers of north Japan, and a critical examination of the nomenclature of Yezo.</i>	Standalone title.
1906	Chamberlain. B.	<i>The Kojiki</i> (re-release of Chamberlain. B. 1882 with added annotations by Aston. W.).	Standalone title.
1906	Kaempfer. E. Translated by Scheuchzer. J.	<i>The History of Japan. Together with a description of the Kingdom of Siam 1690-1692</i>	3 volumes of a three volume standalone title. (Reprint. First published in 1727).
1907	Baelz. E.	(In German and English) Prehistoric Japan.	Read May 19th 1906. <i>Annual report of the Smithsonian institution.</i> Published same year in German by <i>Zeitschrift für Ethnologie</i> , Berlin.
1907	Aston. W.	<i>Shinto: the ancient religion of Japan.</i>	Standalone title.
1907	Gowland. W.	President's Address. The burial mounds of the early emperors of Japan.	<i>The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.</i> 37.
1908	Gowland.W. Translated by Dikins. F.	(In French) Remarque sur les megaliths du Japon, d'après le Pr Gowland. (shortened translation of Gowland's work on kofun).	<i>Troisième Congress préhistorique de France.</i>
1908	Munro. N.	<i>Prehistoric Japan.</i>	Standalone title.
1910	Murdoch. J.	<i>A history of Japan vol. 1: from the origins to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1542 A.D.</i>	1st volume of three volume standalone title.
1914	Cpt.Brinkley. F. and Kikuchi, D.	<i>A history of the Japanese people: form the earliest times to the end of the Meiji era.</i>	Standalone title.
1915	Gowland. W.	Metal working in old Japan.	Read March 2nd. <i>Transactions of the Japan Society.</i> Volume XIII.
1917	Morse. E.	<i>Japan day by day, 1877, 1878-79, 1882-83.</i>	Standalone title.

2004: 31). And Satsumon culture is often believed to be the progenitor of the early Ainu. Okhotsk culture in northern Hokkaido did coexist with early Ainu culture, before ending in approximately 1000AD (continuing until 1200AD in the Kuril islands) after which Ainu culture predominated. But Okhotsk culture was remembered in the oral histories of the 19th century Ainu as the *Koro-pok-guru*.

Gowland did not focus on the Stone Age in Japan. As a metals expert, he was significantly more interested in the use of metals in the country throughout history. But when trying to adapt the Three-Age System to Japan, he was influenced by these ideas, creating a basis for what he saw as the start of the Bronze and Iron Ages, as will be seen when we explore his understanding of Japanese chronology in Chapter 3.

The beginnings of Kofun archaeology

The Asiatic Society of Japan was another highly influential force on Gowland's interpretation. The Society was established in Yokohama in 1872 by a number of *o-yatoi gaikokujin*, foreign specialists, diplomats, businessmen and missionaries; Gowland had been elected a member in 1874. The three most prolific early members were Basil Chamberlain (1850-1935), Ernest Satow³⁴ (1843-1929) and William Aston (1841-1911). Each would later become presidents of the Society³⁵, and all three are considered to have contributed considerably to early Japanese studies. Furthermore, all three became well known to Gowland, and correspondence between them is held in the Gowland archive, discussed previously (Harris 2003: 19-21). The first time Gowland examined Kofun period tombs is also recorded in the archive. He and Aston travelled around Lake Biwa visiting the tomb sites of Fūmon and Taniguchi kofun in late 1881, recorded in a small diary (BOX 4-4-1 Appendix 1), first discussed by Tomiyama Naoto (2014). The same diary records

³⁴ Ernest Satow acted as Japanese Secretary between Britain and Japan from 1870 to 1884 (Allen 1933), during which time he met William Gowland.

³⁵ Aston from 1888-1889, Chamberlin from 1891-1893 and Satow from 1843-1929.

several dinner parties with Satow listed among their number. Aston and Gowland had decided to try and work on a book about Japanese archaeology by at least 1884 (<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk>) which Aston mentions in a letter to Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917)³⁶. Aston and Gowland had planned to co-publish a book until at least 1889 when it is mentioned again in the flyer for Gowland's photographic exhibition (BOX 4-20-5-13 not transcribed, see Chapter 1). But the work was never completed.

There had been a lot of interest in Japan from western scholars after it was forcibly reopened to the world at the end of the Edo period. Publications in English attempted to give history of Japan mostly based on the *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki*, such as Griffis (1877) and Edward Reed (1880), that both covered the reigns of the early emperors. Even before this, short translations had appeared in other papers, such as portions of the mythological sections of the *Kojiki* translated for William Borlase (1848-1899) by Japanese students in 1875 (Borlase 1876) (See Chapter 6). However, these were all to furnish descriptive explanations of early history rather than full direct translations, in an attempt to build on much earlier European attempts to construct a Japanese past, such as those by Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) and P. Siebold. The early archaeological investigations of western specialists in Japan created more interest in Japanese early history and archaeology, which had been slowly building from the start of the Meiji period as the country opened up to greater trade and negotiation with western powers. This caused an explosion in the number of publications on these topics and the republication of these earlier works (see Table 2).

Importantly, in 1882 Chamberlain had read his translation of the *Kojiki* (712AD) to the Asiatic Society and published it as a supplement to their transactions the same year

³⁶ During the time that Tylor was in correspondence with Aston, he was collecting objects for the collections of the Anthropological Institute of London. And they remained in contact during Tylor's time as the Keeper at Oxford University Museum (<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk>).

(Sioris 1997: xiii). This was the first translation into English³⁷ of Japan's earliest history. However, the majority of the copies of this first publication were reportedly lost in a fire. So the first widely distributed publication of the book, which is still in print today, was released in 1906 with annotations made by Aston. Prior to this, in 1896 Aston had published his translation of the *Nihon shoki* (720AD) (Aston 1896). It is important to note that Gowland would have been aware of Japanese mythology and the genealogy of the emperors from previous publications, and could have had access to Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki* as early as 1882. Although a copy of Chamberlain's *Kojiki* does not appear in the archive, Aston would have been in possession of a full copy in order to have later made his annotations. Therefore, upon Gowland's joining the Society in 1874, it is possible he had a basic understanding of the Japanese histories, even if he could not read much Japanese. Shortly after Morse's publication of the Omori shell midden excavation report, he published another short article called 'Dolmens in Japan' (Morse 1880) in *Popular Science Monthly*. This was the first publication in English that specifically discussed a kofun site. Despite being a short paper, it would go on to be influential to the way in which Gowland and other westerners approached the study of the Kofun period. He mentioned *sueki* and the Japanese belief that it originated from Korea (Morse 1880: 600). Perhaps one of the most important observations in Morse's article was that there were no "dolmen" in Hokkaido. As the legendary first emperor, Jimmu was recorded as having been buried in a mound; Morse rightly identified kofun as belonging to early Japanese culture, which did not extend into Hokkaido (Morse 1880: 595), again supporting the early histories. The same year as this paper was published, Satow's paper, 'Ancient sepulchral mounds in

³⁷ It is clear from the content of the archive that Gowland could not read very much Japanese, as he has several handwritten translations of Japanese texts in English, not something he would require if he could read it in its original language. Despite not reading much Japanese, it is understood he could manage some conversational Japanese (Tomiyama 2016 pers.comm), he also used some Japanese terms in his writing.

Length of Chamber.	Breadth of Chamber.	Height of Chamber.	Length of Passageway.	Breadth of Passageway.	Height of Passageway.
14.0	10.6	11.6	28	4.3	5.3
9.0	7.3	8.6	22	5.6	5.8
14.0	11.8	8.9	7	4.5	5.0
13.0	7.0	6.8	20	4.6	5.0
14.0	6.4	8.6	14	4.3	6.0
11.0	5.6	8.7	11	3.6	5.3
12.0	6.8	8.3	8	4.1	5.0
12.4	8.2	12.0	8	4.4	6.0
13.8	7.9	10.2	8	5.0	6.3

Figure 11. The table of measurements used by Morse in his 1880 publication which show similarities to the later work of Gowland (Morse 1880).

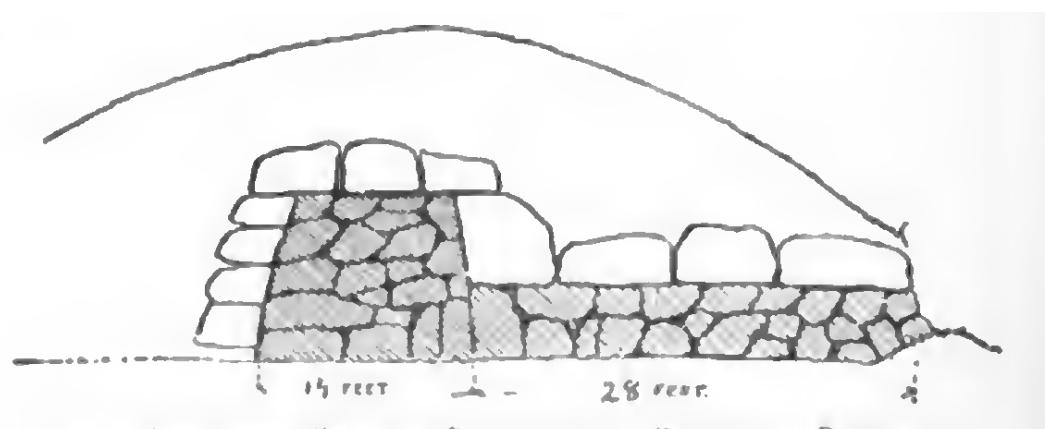


Figure 12. An elevation/cross-section plan of a kofun used in Morse's 1880 publication, which shows similarities to the later work of Gowland (Morse 1880).

Kaudzuke³⁸ (Satow 1880) appeared in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society*. This was also very important to Gowland's study of the Kofun period (Tomiyama 2014: 29).

These two 1880 papers by Morse and Satow³⁹ were very influential for the way Gowland went about studying the burial mounds of Japan in the early 1880s. Not only as Gowland's terminology take two clear cues from the titles of these papers; he uses the terms dolmen

³⁸ Gowland refers to this tomb as Kazuke (the ancient name for Gunma prefecture) and Omoru (the name of the nearest village). In his unpublished notes, he also uses "Futa-goyama" as the name, despite it being descriptive, meaning 'double mound', which Gowland then used as a term for keyhole shaped tombs. Mae-Futagoyama, meaning 'front double mound' is the current modern name (there are also three others known as 'middle', 'back' and 'small' double mound within the same cluster).

³⁹ Satow was more of what is referred to as an 'armchair' archaeologist, he went to the tomb but received information from others who he thanks within his paper. The measurements of Mae-Futagoyama given to Satow were found to be incorrect by Gowland who stated so in his notes when he surveyed the site (BOX 5-1-17 Appendix 1).

to refer to stone chambers or the general site, and sepulchral mounds to earthen mounds themselves. We can also observe similarities in the conventions of the depiction of stone chambers and tables of measurements of tombs in Morse's paper shown in Figures 11 and 12 and Gowland's work.

In 1880, Satow visited Mae-Futagoyama kofun part of the Ōmura kofun cluster in Gunma prefecture. This site had previously been opened after the local people of Ōmura village had proposed it as an Imperial tomb following a partial digging of the chamber while "chasing a badger" (Maehara 2009: 12). Following Machida's precaution, the villagers sent a letter to a local shrine in 1879 calling for an investigation. This site did not become an imperial tomb, but it was opened and the objects recorded and removed by a local, Inoue Mayumi (Maehara 2009: 13). Following the statements made by Machida, Inoue made careful records that were studied and reproduced by Satow. Gowland, following in Satow's footsteps, would later visit Ōmura and conduct his own study (BOX 4-10-1-1 Appendix 1). Thus, the way in which Inoue recorded the objects is important to Gowland's methodology and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

We have no evidence of Gowland being interested in archaeology before 1881 (Tomiyama 2014: 29), although he did have an academic interest in the metallurgical practices in Japan upon his arrival, discussed below. From the above, we can see that there was a flurry of interest around archaeology in Japan in the late 1870s. However, these two publications were the only papers on the Kofun period produced in English while Gowland was surveying kofun (Gowland 1897: 442). Tsuboi had begun publishing on Kofun period sites in late 1886 before he was dissuaded from their study shortly afterwards. There had been a German language paper published in 1887 by Friedrich Karl Wilhelm Dönitz⁴⁰ (1838-1912), which only gave descriptions of a dozen robbed tombs and local collections

⁴⁰ Dönitz was a German anatomist who stayed in Kyushu, Japan for three years making zoological studies. His paper gives short descriptions of the chambers and *sueki* stoneware vessels, but does not offer much interpretation, and rejects the idea that *sueki* was derived from Korean ceramics based on the higher quality of much later Korean ceramics (Dönitz 1887).

in Kyushu. And after Gowland's return to England, Romyn Hitchcock's papers of 1891 and 1893 were published in the United States which reference a lot of Gowland's work. However, Gowland's first paper exclusively on the Kofun period was not published until 1897.

The notebook mentioned above is dated to between September and December 1881, and describes a trip Gowland took with Aston to view two sites of several kofun in Omi around Kompirayama, which he refers to as Fūmon and Taniguchi in late November 1881:

"Nov[ember] 26 Left Osaka by 3:10 pm train for Otsu in company with Aston en [route] south for the Dolmens of Fūmon & Taniguchi via Karasaki on the shores of L[ake] Biwa." (BOX 4-4 Appendix 2).

Before this Gowland makes no mention of dolmen at all, instead he is preoccupied with his work at the Mint and Osaka Imperial Arsenal. His introduction to kofun was at the hands of Aston. And it was likely Aston who had initially decided to begin collecting information about physical remains of the Kofun period to compare to his studies of the early histories. Before Gowland had become involved, Aston was in contact with Satow after a previous letter regarding imperial tombs, which Satow responded to on October 23rd, 1881 (Ruxton 2008: 61). Satow had presented his paper on Mae-Futagoyama kofun in April of the previous year (Satow 1880). Therefore Aston seems to have been in contact with him as a specialist on the subject. Gowland already knew Satow and was in correspondence with him, but it seems to have mainly involved their shared interest in hiking (BOX 4-4-5 Appendix 1). On November 18th, 1881 (Ruxton 2008: 65), Satow sent Aston a letter with a copy of Morse's paper on dolmen (Morse 1880)⁴¹. Gowland refers to this in his notes:

⁴¹ This may refer specifically to BOX 4-65-10 (Not transcribed) which is a shortened version of More's paper.

“train 4.38pm to Osaka these dolmen resemble strongly those discovered by Morse in the neighbourhood of Dendzuka mura (Kawachi)” (BOX 4-4-29 Appendix 1).

In December of 1881, Gowland visited the village of Rokuya, in Tamba⁴². Seeming to follow the example of Satow, Gowland collected information from the locals who removed the objects and copied their drawings in his notes. Unlike Satow, however, Gowland was eventually able to purchase the objects that had been removed, over a year later in 1883.

In the meantime Aston had read a paper to the Asiatic Society on December 15th, 1881 entitled *Stone tombs at Maiko*, referring to Goshizuka and Kotsubo kofun, Kobe city, Settsu⁴³. But this paper was never published only the name is listed in the Society’s transactions (Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan 1881: vii; Aston 1896: 236). Another letter to Aston from Satow on January 5th, 1882, may demonstrate that Aston continued his work and shared his and Gowland’s finds with Satow, who responded:

“I congratulate you most heartily on your recent discoveries of dolmen, which will lead to something of importance, I feel sure. It certainly seems not unlikely that as you say the Ōzaka [Osaka] dolmens may belong to the period when the capital was in that neighbourhood” (Ruxton 2008: 68).

Again on January 31st, 1882 Satow responds to a letter from Aston: *“I am extremely delighted to hear that you are getting such success with the dolmens, and can assure you that the [Asiatic] Society will gladly devote a whole volume to the record of your researches”* (Ruxton 2008: 70).

⁴² Gowland often refers to Rokuya as “Tamba dolmen”.

⁴³ Located in modern Hyōgo prefecture.

Sadly we do not have access to Aston's side of this correspondence, and as he never published any notes on kofun. Although Satow refers to dolmen in Osaka, unlike those in Omi around Lake Biwa⁴⁴ or Tamba⁴⁵, it is more likely Aston was discussing the imperial tombs connected with the 8th century texts, such as the Mozu-Furuichi kofun cluster⁴⁶ in Sakai city, Osaka; but perhaps the tombs of Rokuya and Omi were mentioned. Although Aston was a specialist in translation and the early histories he was usually based in Kanto or Nagasaki and likely enlisted Gowland's help as he was based in Osaka, in the Kansai area. Because of this Gowland was in a particularly good location to continue the study of the many surrounding large tombs.

Thus Aston had left their study to Gowland when he returned to Kanto. The two remained in contact during the rest of Gowland's stay in Japan, and even upon Gowland's return to England, he was still trying to produce a collaboration with Aston.

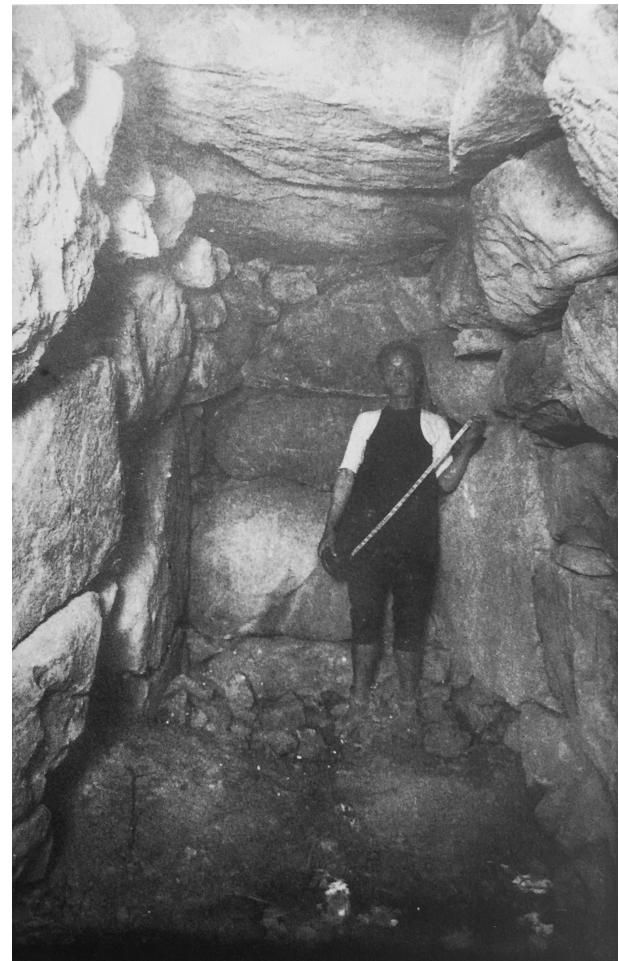


Figure 13. A photograph of one of Gowland's assistants, holding a retractable measuring tape inside of "mound 3" of Tsukahara kofun (Gowland 1897: 447; Harris and Gotō 2003: 68) © Trustees of the British Museum.

⁴⁴ Located in modern Shiga prefecture.

⁴⁵ An archaic name for parts of modern Kyoto, modern Hyogo prefectures.

⁴⁶ These two tomb clusters centre around the tombs of Konda Gobyoyama kofun (Furuichi) and Daisen kofun (Mozu) traditionally said to have been those of Emperors Ojin (270-310AD) and Nintoku (313-399AD). They are respectively the second largest (425 meters) and largest (486 meters) of the keyhole shaped tombs in Japan. Dating from the 5th century, Middle Kofun period, and currently on the tentative list to become a UNESCO world heritage site (Pearson 2016: 33; mozu-furuichi.jp; whc.unesco.org).

When Gowland visited Rokuya in December 1881, he may well have been attempting to collect information in a similar way to Satow at Mae-Futagoyama. However, Gowland never published a site report in the same way and was likely saving his information for the collaboration with Aston. Satow writes that he was accompanied by officials to Mae-Futagoyama by the Assistant Vice-Minister of the Interior and the Chief Secretary of Gunma prefecture, who facilitated his visit and allowed him to have drawings made of the objects which had been removed (Satow 1880: 170). This was likely made possible as Satow was a well-respected diplomat who had been working in Japan since he was a young man (Satow 1921; Allen 1933). In a similar fashion, Morse was escorted to Hittorigawa⁴⁷ kofun by two teachers from Osaka College, Ozawa and Amakusa (Morse 1880: 4). Gowland's early work seems to have gone largely unsupervised, but he was primarily making measurements of the mounds and chambers of tombs that had been long since vandalised and stood empty. When he attempted to make more intrusive studies or remove large objects, he would gain similar permission, as seen in the case of Shibayama kofun and Konabe kofun. The Gowland Collection includes many objects such as sherds of broken pottery, which he removed from sites. These sometimes included descriptions such as "from the moat" or "bank above mound" which would imply that he may have undertaken small-scale excavations which were not recorded. Another example is the kiln site he explored in 1885 or 1886 at Sakuraidani, Osaka, discussed in Chapter 4, about which he gives only a very short description.

It was not until December of 1887, Gowland found the opportunity to make his first proper excavation of a tomb; Shibayama kofun. Gowland took extensive notes and clearly planned a site report. Although many details appear in his 1897 paper, the full report was never published (see Chapter 5 and Appendix 3). It is notable that the dates of the excavation occurred on December 29th and 30th. It is hard to imagine why Gowland would choose to excavate a tomb on a mountainside during the middle of winter, with

⁴⁷ Gowland also later visited Hattorigawa in 1886, see BOX 5-7-6-4 Appendix 1.

fewer daylight hours. A possible explanation is that although he had gained permission and was accompanied by officials (BOX 4-17-1 Appendix 3), he still did not want to draw too much attention to the fact that they were there. So he undertook the excavation at a time in which the surrounding fields would be out of use, and they were unlikely to be stumbled upon by locals (see Chapter 5).

Early archaeological investigations in Meiji Japan

Between Rokuya, at the start of his interest in archaeology, and Shibayama, shortly before his return to England, Gowland visited many sites, but for the most part only made notes and measurements of them, which he listed in his 1897 paper. Gowland would appear to have already had access to the equipment and the skills required, to make detailed surveys of the tombs. For example, his plan of Mae-Futagoyama Kofun (BOX 5-1-17-1 Appendix 1) shows the common conventions, suggesting a theodolite was used. A line of 5ft 5" in height is drawn in front of the tomb entrance. This shows the height at which the instrument was set up from ground level. There are also three points drawn on the side of the mound in front of it, suggesting the theodolite was used to take the vertical reading of these points, the distance was likely recorded with a measuring tape. A photograph taken in a tomb of the Tsukahara kofun cluster shows an image of a Japanese person, presumably employed by Gowland, holding such a measuring tape, perhaps an attempt to give scale to the photograph but was perhaps also a tool used to make plans (Figure 13). From recent surveys of the sites he visited, it has been confirmed that his methods were quite accurate, even compared to modern LiDAR⁴⁸ survey (Ichinose and Araki 2015: 16). In the early 1880s, it had become quite popular in British archaeology to make accurate plans of sites, primarily their structure, which can be seen in Flinders Petrie's early work at Stonehenge (1880) and the pyramids at Giza (Petrie 1883). As such, Gowland's work was following the contemporary trends in archaeological practice in England.

⁴⁸ LiDAR is acronymous for "Light Detection and Ranging".

Another influence on Gowland towards the end of his study in Japan was the Japanese archaeologist Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863-1913). Two of Tsuboi's papers are held in the Gowland archive, as handwritten translations into English, in BOX 4-59-1 (Appendix 1) and BOX 4-62 (Appendix 1). The first is an extract from *Tuyo-Makugei* first published on September 25th, 1887, three months before the excavation of Shibayama. This discussed artificial caves near Tokyo and was later published in English (Tsuboi 1892) and is discussed in Chapter 3. The second of Tsuboi's papers translated by Gowland is a report on the excavation of Ashikaga kofun cluster (足利古墳群) in Tochigi prefecture in 1886.

Tsuboi first published on the site in *The Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society* in May 1887 (Tsuboi 1887) and very likely influenced the way Gowland approached his first excavation at Shibayama kofun at the end of December the same year (discussed in Chapters 5 and 6). An original copy of this report is also held in the Gowland archive (BOX 4-20-7-1 not transcribed) as well as a copy of the later more detailed report from 1888 (BOX 4-55 not transcribed). Gowland was very aware of this excavation later, and spoke highly of it after his return to England, referencing it several times in his discussion of Shibayama and describing Tsuboi as "...a most indefatigable archaeologist" (Gowland 1987: 474). Tsuboi's excavations and work are still highly regarded today. Mizoguchi writes "*He not only made careful recordings of the artefacts discovered in the stone chambers but also provided a highly insightful interpretation, for that time, about social stratification and hierarchy*" (Mizoguchi 2013: 14).

Gowland never met Tsuboi personally while in Japan, but he was well aware of his work. On Tsuboi's part, he had no idea who Gowland was until visiting the British Museum in 1889, soon after the purchase of the collection that August, where he came face to face with Gowland's dancing girl *haniwa*⁴⁹. Tsuboi had previously been aware of the object from drawings he had found in Japan but was quite shocked that it was in London. He

⁴⁹ Museum number: Franks. 2210.

inquired as to where it had come from, and the Museum staff told him about Gowland (Kawamura 2013: 99). However, the full record of what Tsuboi had done in England remains unclear. He is said to have attempted to attend a series of lectures given by Edward Tylor. But upon attending Tsuboi discovered that the lectures were based entirely on Tylor's previously published work that he had already read, so decided not to continue after the first lecture (Katsumi 2005: 20). Tsuboi gave a lecture at the Oriental University Institute in Woking, England⁵⁰ likely towards the end of his stay, published in April 1892. And the discussion for the paper was lead by Aston where he mentions Gowland's collection and kofun objects at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, discussed in Chapter 3. This is as close of a connection to Gowland that has yet been found, but it is very possible that Gowland met Tsuboi when he was in England. Tsuboi was adamant that Japanese archaeology should not be beholden to western scholarship stating "*It is mortifying for me that it is said that I am a disciple of Morse and that Morse is the father of Japanese archaeology.*" (Oguma 2002: 12). Having largely rejected the work of Morse, he wanted the Japanese to reclaim the discussion of their own origins. However, he did study western books extensively and traveled in the western countries, giving at least one paper in English (Tsuboi 1892), which included discussions with western scholars. As such, he cannot be said to have been entirely anti-western (Oguma 2002: 13), as much as he was anti-Morse. In fact, Morse's work at Omori had been unpopular among western researchers at the time and received particularly harsh criticism from Frederick Dickins (1838-1915) (1880: 350) and Milne (1881: 409).

Gowland had a carefully made translation of Tsuboi's report (BOX 4-62) and a copy of the original publication, both still exist in his archive. In Gowland's 1879 paper he makes several comparisons between Tsuboi's finding at Ashikaga and his own at Shibayama kofun (Gowland 1897: 474-475). There is no very clear indication as to whether or not

⁵⁰ The college building itself no longer exists but it was located on the corner of Oriental Road and College Road outside Woking train station.

Gowland became aware of this excavation before he undertook his own. But it is very notable that Gowland had only become concerned with recording the location of objects within their context towards the end of his stay in Japan. Tsuboi's report gives many object drawings, plans and diagrams of the tomb and makes reference to the locations of objects within the tomb, much as Gowland had recorded in Shibayama Kofun.

Gowland paid meticulous attention to any publications on kofun, and some parallels can be drawn between his and Tsuboi's excavation. Sadly Gowland's notes on Tsuboi's work are not dated. It is possible that these were made after Gowland had visited Shibayama the first time. As Gowland makes mention of there not being evidence for a wooden coffin at Ashikaga (BOX 4-62 Appendix 1), yet in his notes from July 1887 (BOX 4-26-6 Appendix 3), he first notices the remains of the wooden coffin at Shibayama, stating that he had never heard of one before. However, I suggest that Gowland had become aware of Tsuboi's excavation in the intervening months before his excavation in December 1887 this is discussed further in Chapter 5.

Tsuboi excavated several kofun sites, but because of the political situation surrounding burial mounds, and his experiences after he excavated a tomb in Kyushu that he was unaware had recently been designated as imperial, he refocused his efforts on the relatively safer realm of Jomon period archaeology (Edwards 2005: 43). In doing so, he focused his efforts on ancient peoples who were not believed to be genetically connected to the Japanese or the imperial family. Indeed, nothing was published in Japan in English on the Kofun period for the rest of the 1880s, perhaps reflecting the political climate regarding this period of archaeology at the time. We can see from Satow and Aston's communication that there continued to be an interest in kofun archaeology, yet Aston, Gowland and Hitchcock did not publish on the period until after they left Japan, which would suggest there was enough pressure even on foreign scholars to hinder their research. There were very few publications regarding the archaeology of the Kofun

period, and those that did appear were based heavily on museum displays, the early histories and Gowland's research (Hitchcock 1891; Brinkley 1904; Baelz 1907), as other western scholars were not able to undertake their own fieldwork. This continued to be the case until the work of the first generation of Japanese archaeologists from the end of the 1880s, which slowly began to enter western scholarship partly through the publications of early Japanese archaeologists⁵¹ themselves. Neil Gordon Munro's work '*Prehistoric Japan*' (1911) shows more direct references to Japanese scholarship but, still relies upon much of Gowland's work. Even by 1911, twenty-three years since Gowland left Japan, his work remained relevant:

"The subject of the Japanese dolmens has been carefully treated by Prof. Gowland in the important monograph previously referred to [(Gowland 1897)]. Although much information has been accumulated, owing to the industry of the Japanese investigators, no comparative study has been seriously attempted." (Munro 1911: 350).

Furthermore, Gowland's work and 1897 paper continued to be an influential publication on Japanese archaeology in the west. However, because Japanese scholarship was rarely translated into English, this produced a bias for western observations of Japanese archaeology and perhaps was responsible for the later focus on western scholars as the progenitors of Japanese archaeological research. This can be seen during the discussion of Gowland's 1915 paper on metal working in Japan, Henri L. Joly remarks:

"it may be said that to him [Gowland] and to Dr. Munro [(1911)] the Japanese owe the beginnings of their scientific investigations in the archaeology of their own country, and particularly of the remains of the earlier protohistoric culture. Much has been done in that direction since Prof. Gowland left Japan, and read before various learned Societies

⁵¹ Gowland would appear to have been aware of the first generation of Japanese archaeologists in the late 1880s, from copies of the bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society present in the archive, from 1888. However, this was at the end of his research in the country. (BOX 4-53; BOX 4-54; BOX 4-55; BOX 4-56 not transcribed).

papers on Japanese dolmen sepultures [kofun] and the evolution of metallurgy and metal handicrafts in Nippon [Japan]. However, it almost seems as if Prof. Gowland had either a dowsing stick - or the luck which often favours some early workers in any field of research - for the number of metal relics yielded by the tumuli which he opened [Shibayama kofun] was comparatively far greater than has been the case since." [Henri L. Joly 1915] (Gowland 1915: 95).

Gowland's interests and motivations

The first major part of the collection Gowland purchased were the objects from Rokuya (BOX 4-20-1-3 Appendix 1), bought in 1883. However, the ceramic coffin from Sakuraidani (BOX 5-1-3-6 Appendix 2) and the collections from Shibayama (Appendix 3) were only purchased in the last couple of years before Gowland left Japan. As such, it would appear that Gowland made a push to gather much of this material once he knew he was leaving the country.

Before Gowland was enlisted by Aston to study kofun and developed an interest in archaeology, it seems from the information in his notebook, that he did not have enough work at the Mint, and despite also working for the Imperial arsenal in Osaka, this still did not fill his days. Most of the early entries in September 1881 consist of short comments on newsworthy events, such as earthquakes, fires, an imperial funeral (BOX 4-4-9 Appendix 1) and the visit of the British princes Albert and George to the Mint, accompanied by Satow (BOX 4-4-17 Appendix 1). But predominantly they describe the weather and progression of the harvest. Gowland was already a keen hiker and was collecting modern Japanese arts and crafts (BOX 4-4-3 Appendix 1). He also had a preexisting interest in early metalworking techniques in Japan, which he claims to have begun to study upon arriving at the mint (Gowland 1899b: 267). This is likely the reason Aston had decided to work with Gowland in researching Japanese archaeology. Aston was already an

accomplished academic in the Society of Antiquaries and thus would have initially given the work some gravitas. Travelling through the hills and mountains of Japan with the added academic objective of recording ancient tombs and collecting objects was perhaps an attractive proposition to Gowland. After he travelled to sites of Fūmon and Taniguchi kofun in Omi with Aston in November 1881, the notes quickly change in character to become hurriedly jotted down observations about stone chambers and descriptions of visits to tombs.

Other than simply being a hobby, Gowland was in a unique position to study these tombs from Osaka which stood among the ancient capitals of Japan in Yamato⁵² in the Kansai region, the centre of Kofun culture, while most of the Asiatic Society members were situated around Tokyo and Yokohama in the Kanto region. There are still a good number of tombs in Kanto, but Kansai is better known for its imperial tombs and ancient history. The academic value of the tombs had been made apparent to him by contact with Aston and Satow, but what was this value to Gowland? Although many disregard genuine interest as a positivist explanation, I would argue that it is an essential element, although difficult to quantify in any meaningful way. It has been suggested that part of the appeal to antiquarians studying collections was the ability to increase one's social status (Levine 1986: 11; Lucas 2001: 6; Diaz-Andreu 2007: 404). And it could be said that the practice of fieldwork, especially in an exotic foreign country, was seen as a particularly masculine, scholarly and romanticised pursuit. As an unmarried professional, Gowland seems to have had a considerable amount of money with which to acquire these objects. Although he visited Rokuya in December 1881 was one of his earliest activities of an archaeological nature, he was not allowed to purchase objects from the site until May 1st, 1883 (Ishahiya pers.comm.). A similar story is attached to the ceramic coffin (Franks.2212). Gowland likely first viewed and photographed the coffin with Romyn Hitchcock in 1885 (see

⁵² Yamato is an archaic name for the Nara basin and/or the whole of Japan as a geographical area as well as for Kofun period culture. In the 19th century, it was occasionally used to distinguish the early Japanese from the Emishi/Ainu "aborigines".

Chapter 4), but was not allowed to purchase it until 1887 when he had paid for a new entrance gate for Hō-onji dera, the temple that owned it (BOX 5-1-3-6 Appendix 2). Gowland was first made aware of Shibayama kofun by “one of” his servants, and records in his diary having many dinner parties (BOX 4-4 Appendix 1), which would imply he was living a somewhat comfortable lifestyle in Japan. Again at Shibayama and Konda kofun, Gowland had official escorts to the tombs to remove objects. It is not clear if any money changed hands, but all of these events do seem to undermine the proposal made by Machida in 1871. It is possible that he may have been collecting in order to continue his study with Aston back in England. Furthermore, Aston and Chamberlain were already in contact with Tylor who had been attempting to collect objects for the Royal Anthropological Institute from at least 1883. Whether Franks was connected to this network is a point for further research. However, if Gowland was aware he could sell his collection soon after his return, this may explain why he appears to have become much more active in his collecting towards the end of his stay in Japan.

The status he could acquire from this was very likely a considerable part of the appeal for Gowland’s interest in kofun. However, the academic and social payoff for Gowland’s work took some time to materialise, as the laws coming into practice perhaps forced him not to publish until years later. Even then the original attempts at site reports, similar to those of Morse and Satow 1880, appear to have been abandoned. Ultimately this may have been beneficial to Gowland, and part of the period’s scientific and personal appeal. As it was a period which had received little study and the sites were difficult to access as their study was becoming slowly more restricted. This put Gowland in an excellent position to benefit from speaking about their study after his return to England.

Upon his return, Gowland enjoyed a middle-class lifestyle and was an active member of multiple academic societies, in both the sciences and humanities, of which he became vice president or president of several, as discussed in Chapter 1. The first action in

becoming involved with these societies was his photographic exhibition, giving pictorial evidence of his seven years exploring Japanese tombs, and promising a future paper with Aston on the subject. Therefore his work on kofun was utilised as valuable to his early career as an academic and asserting himself as a scholar of Japan in archaeology, much as his time working at the Osaka mint would be for his metallurgical studies. Exactly why Aston and Gowland never completed their work together is still unknown, although we can assume most of Gowland's work towards this was consolidated into his three papers on Kofun period archaeology. Aston never published anything on the Kofun period which was not a discussion of the early histories. If perhaps some of Aston's archive materials could be rediscovered then more light may be shed on this topic.

Archaeology and nationalism

Bruce Trigger once set out what he considered to be three characteristic types of social context in which most archaeological traditions were undertaken (Trigger 1984: 358); 'nationalistic', 'colonial' and 'imperialist'. These three definitions of archaeological traditions are based on who is undertaking the research and their intent for doing so. Colonial archaeology is undertaken by a colonising population and used to justify the poor treatment of the subjected native population, such as early American archaeology. Nationalist archaeology is used to glorify the history of a nation carried out by the nation which identifies with it, such as Meiji period archaeology in Japan. And imperialist archaeology is undertaken with the intent of making worldwide cross-cultural observations used to explain the inherent cultural, economic and/or political superiority of the powerful nation or ethnic group undertaking research. For example British archaeology in the late 19th century. However, there is some crossover between these definitions, such as Meiji and Taishō (1912-1926) period archaeology in Korea could be considered both colonialist and imperialist, while the archaeology undertaken within Japan was often used with a nationalist agenda. Furthermore, late 19th century British archaeology was generally

imperialist, yet drew off colonialist ideas about contemporary populations in other parts of the world that were perceived as existing in more primitive levels of civilisation.

All three of Trigger's traditions seem to hold racist undertones intrinsically. His explanation of British Imperialist archaeology covers the history of archaeology from the 1850s to 1960s, and there are two points that are important when discussing the late 19th century. The first draws off Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and Lubbock's work which suggested that there was a strict progression of statehood and technology through unilinear progression. Inspired by the work of Darwin (Trigger 1989: 170) their work postulated that less technologically advanced cultures were intellectually and emotionally less advanced than those of civilised cultures and were doomed to extinction due to the edicts of cultural evolution (Lubbock 1865; Trigger 1984: 364; 1989: 176). Trigger viewed this as an explanation used at the time for the predominance of European or western culture. The second point suggests a growing dissatisfaction in England with the cultural evolution idea of a strict unilinear progression in the 1880s due to industrial competition from abroad, leading to a greater emphasis on biological differences between races. Although Tigger seems to leave a gap for 'normal' archaeology, which does not fit within his traditions, Diaz-Andreu differs from this, believing all archaeological traditions to be inherently nationalist (Diaz-Andreu 2007: 10-11).

Discussing Japan, Diaz-Andreu gives a brief discussion, with a slightly inaccurate history, and is heavily influenced by Mizoguchi (Diaz-Andreu 2007: 198-199), incorporating Mizoguchi's safe and dangerous archaeology model, much as I have done above. This discussion believes the Meiji government used its archaeology and history with nationalistic motives, intended to glorify the emperors and the Japanese nation. However, at the same time, she argues that: "*Archaeologists from the non-colonised world generally accepted ideas coming from their colleagues in the imperial powers as enlightened and*

authorised" (Diaz-Andreu 2007: 203) suggesting that the process of importing institutions, such as archaeology, were one-sided.

Many English language works on the history of Japanese archaeology perhaps overemphasise the importance of the direct influence of westerners in Japan, and I suggest the preexisting work of early Japanese scholars and the way in which the Japanese recorded their own archaeology influenced the majority of the early texts shown in Table 2. Western writers primarily offered a different way of presenting this information and reconstructing the past from physical remains in a more systematic manner, the latter practice being only slightly more advanced in the west at the time. I would argue this had beneficial effects on both sides, as the methodology was reinterpreted from a different perspective, such as at Mae-Futagoyama (see Chapter 6).

When Diaz-Andreu discusses Japanese archaeology, she suggests that nationalistic archaeologists were the result of Japan defending itself from the imperialism of the western powers, by adopting British institutions. I would agree there is certainly some truth to this, but this worked on a government level and did not inform the actions of individual archaeologists to be inherently nationalistic themselves. The protection of imperial tombs and glorification of the imperial line had been underway long before European scholars began to study kofun in the early 1880s. Diaz-Andreu discussed Gowland and Morse

Country	Date of legislation
Greece	1834
Japan	1874
Hungary	1881
The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland	1882
Turkey	1884
France	1887
Bulgaria	1889
Romania	1892
Cantons de vuad (Switzerland)	1898
Portugal	1901
Italy	1902
Hesse (Germany)	1902
Cantons de Bern (Switzerland)	1902
Neufchatel (Switzerland)	1902

Table 3. The 19th to early 20th century legislation on the protection of monuments. Information taken from Baldwin 1905: 44-45 and Pai 2014: 58.

suggesting that they were responsible for introducing archaeology to Japan but she neglects to comment on how the western archaeologists were contributing to a nationalistic practice in Japan when they were acting on their own. In Gowland's case, he made no public statements until he left the country, to the extent that even Tsuboi did not appear to know who he was until 1889.

Diaz-Andreu also briefly discusses Tsuboi, seeming to suggest that he based his studies on British archaeological practices after finishing his studies in England in 1889. Although partly true, Tsuboi visited Britain between 1889 and 1892, but he had already published detailed site reports years before this, discussed above. He had been influenced by reading many western publications in archaeology (Kawamura 2013) but developed his methodology in Japan, and certainly few excavations at the time in the west were as careful as what he practised in the late 1880s. Tsuboi did not know Gowland during the Englishman's stay in Japan and openly rejected Morse, so exactly what influence they had on Tsuboi's work is not as immediately apparent as Diaz-Andreu seems to suggest.

Much of what Satow and Gowland recorded at the tombs they studied were based on previous Japanese records made in accordance with the statements of Machida. It is often assumed that having been educated in England, Machida received these ideas from the west. However, there were no laws protecting ancient sites in Britain at this time, Lubbock formed the first in 1880, which was vetoed by the Society of Antiquaries of London, after which a law was finally passed in 1882. Furthermore, most European countries did not have any legislation protecting monuments until after this, see Table 3. It could be said that the British laws regarding the protection of monuments took a bottom-up approach (Baldwin 1905), and were impeded by landowners (see Chapter 6), quite the opposite from the early Japanese laws which took a top-down approach and thus could be more quickly implemented. The early Greek law in 1934 was partly in response to the popularity of classical objects among collectors in other European countries. Thus

perhaps if Machida had a knowledge of this legislation, it could be said to have been an influence. However, the British laws can still not be said to have directly influenced Machida.

Ideas about the systematic recording of archaeological sites were still in their infancy in Britain. Pitt-Rivers' excavation report for Cranborne Chase had extensive drawings of objects and trenches, which were considered unusually carefully recorded when it was published in 1887. The report of Cranborne Chase received a very limited release, and his earlier work was not as well recorded (Bowden 1991: 72). Exactly when and how Machida formed his ideas, which informed his statements in the 1870s is an interesting topic, which cannot be discussed in detail here, although there are often suggestions that it was due to increasing fears of westerners exporting culturally and historically important objects. Morse was basing his investigations heavily on evolutionary theory and cultural evolutionary theories developed by Spencer and Lubbock. So Morse's ideas surrounding the pre-Ainu people were established on the concept that his findings indicated the Stone Age population made decorated pottery (*Jomon doki*), yet the Ainu did not make pottery, either importing ceramics or using their own wooden vessels (Hitchcock 1892: 436). But Lubbock's theories would suggest that once a culture had evolved to be able to acquire a certain technology, they could not lose more advanced technologies. Thus the Ainu must never have been able to produce ceramics of their own and must be a separate race from the culture which produced the shell mounds. These ideas were beginning to become outdated by the 1880s, and one of the main reasons his work on the subject was unpopular at the time. Furthermore, Morse's work could be said to be the product of colonial American anthropology as the majority of his interpretation consists of direct comparisons with Native American examples.

The manner in which the Meiji government employed archaeology was clearly a nationalist system. In the case of Machida, his statements were an attempt to protect

Japanese culture and antiquities broadly. He was not seeking to pursue a nationalist agenda himself as an individual actor; however, his suggestions were reshaped to fulfil a nationalist agenda by the government. Furthermore, Tsuboi's excavation reports of kofun were rather dry and descriptive, not the kind of writing one would imagine in the glorification of the imperial line, although he did have an interest in reclaiming the study of Japanese origins for the Japanese (Oguma 2002: 13-14). I would argue that if early Japanese archaeologists were all actively seeking to push a nationalist agenda, a model such as Mizoguchi's dangerous and safe archaeology would not be viable. The model is dependent on examples of Japanese archaeologists coming into conflict with the system of the Meiji government imposed upon them, and putting themselves in danger of being punished. If no Japanese archaeologists had attempted to cross that boundary between safe and dangerous archaeology the model would not be identifiable.

However, these theories are of course macro-scale discussions of the historical progression of archaeology as a discipline, not intended to fit every single instance but to describe general trends. Gowland, and many of his contemporaries - both western and Japanese - on the micro-scale as individual actors do not always fit comfortably into these larger systems.

Trigger and Diaz-Andreu both seem to describe an underlying racism in western antiquarianism at this time, based on the concept of unilinear civilisation. Although this was certainly present, Gowland does not display any racist undertones in his published work or his personal and unpublished notes. Even when his contemporaries are routinely describing the Ainu as “savages” or “hairy savages”, Gowland describes them as “aborigines”. This is still a problematic term from a modern perspective, but one that has the benefit of not being openly offensive and demeaning⁵³. Furthermore, Gowland’s first

⁵³ It is notable that Gowland did not appear to have any direct experience of the Ainu and does not seem to have ever visited Hokkaido.

publication was coauthored by his Japanese assistant Koga Yoshimasa, at the Osaka Mint (Gowland and Koga 1887), the two continuing correspondence after Gowland returned to England, which included them sending photographs of their families to one another. Both would be strange undertakings for someone harbouring thoughts of racial superiority. The way Gowland approached other races extends to his treatment of prehistoric peoples that from a modern perspective could be considered an early example of postcolonial thinking and very progressive for his time.

Upon first arriving in Japan, Gowland already displayed an interest in the early production of metals. As a metallurgist by trade, it is perhaps not surprising that Gowland was showing an interest in what seemed to him, the “*archaic processes*” which the Japanese workmen employed to produce metals upon his arrival in Osaka. Gowland uses several examples in his work of earlier Japanese practices, such as separating gold from silver, which he describes as having first witnessed in 1872 (Gowland 1912; Gowland 1914: 257). Interestingly, rather than dismissing practices as archaic, he approached them with curiosity and attention to detail at this early point. This would inform his later work and evolve into an interest in the production of metals and ceramics of the Kofun period during the mid 1880s. In his 1899 paper, Gowland states:

“..,when I first arrived there in 1872, a most favourable field for the study of metallurgical processes in their primitive forms. I hence began at once a series of systematic investigations of the methods and appliances then in use, and continued the research during my long residence in that country.” (Gowland 1899b: 267).

Satow’s 1880 publication had included allusions to undertaking chemical tests on some objects by a “Mr Atkinson” (Satow 1880: 133). Importantly this is the first reference to an attempt to explore the chemical composition of metal objects from the Kofun period and may have again been an aspect of Satow’s research which influenced Gowland. During

the end of Gowland's time in Japan he began to take chemical samples, such as at the site of Shibayama kofun (see Chapter 5; BOX 4-26-9 Appendix 3). Upon his return to England, he performed chemical analysis for the Society of Antiquaries of London. At the site of Grays and Thurrock in Essex on bronze and copper hoards and another in Southall in Middlesex (Brabrook 1922: 390-391). He also undertook metallurgical analyses of a hoard of Roman pewter from a Romano-British site in Appleshaw, Hampshire, producing an appendix to the report by G. H. Englehart, together with Charles Read (Englehart, Read and Gowland 1897). In addition, Gowland made a study of the silver production remains recovered from the excavation of Roman Silchester in 1899 (Gowland 1900), wherein he used several examples of what he called “*primitive processes*” of metalworking which were practised in Japan. This, and the title of Gowland's 1899 paper, ‘*The early metallurgy of copper, tin, and iron in Europe, as illustrated by ancient remains, and the primitive processes surviving in Japan*’ immediately brings to mind images of British Imperialism, colonialism and elitism. However, they primarily discuss the metallurgic process used in Japan during the end of the Edo period which had survived into the early Meiji period during Gowland's early stay in Japan. By the time he had left, he and his other western colleagues had trained the Japanese workforce at the Osaka Mint in modern metallurgic processes to the point at which Gowland had coauthored his first academic paper with his Japanese assistant during the last couple of years of his residence.

The rapid change in culture that occurred during the Meiji period was unprecedented and did not fit the Victorian cultural evolutionary theories proposed during the latter 19th century. Spencer himself made some statements about Meiji Japan as it developed. Originally writing in 1867 (Spencer 1860)⁵⁴, just before the Meiji restoration, he uses late Edo period Japan as an example of a society that had reached an evolutionary plateau in

⁵⁴ This date comes from a footnote given on page 417 of the sixth edition published in 1915.

advancement, having developed naturally to organise itself, but was in a state of disintegration due to the outside influences of westerners:

"Of the way in which disintegrations are set up in a society that has evolved to a limit of its type, and reached a state of moving equilibrium, a good illustration is furnished by Japan. The finished fabric into which its people had organised themselves, maintained an almost constant state so long as it was preserved from fresh external forces. But as soon as it received an impact from European civilisation, partly armed aggression, partly by commercial impulses, partly by the influence of ideas, this fabric began to fall to pieces. There is now in process a political dissolution. Probably a political reorganisation will follow; but, be this as it may, the change towards dissolution - a change from intergraded motions to disintegrated motions" (Spencer 1860: 521).

Spencer appears to have been under the impression that after the disintegration of the 1850s and 1860s, Japan would eventually obtain a new equilibrium, if only slightly more advanced than it was before. Due to his expertise in the development of societies, he was consulted by Mori Arinori (1847-1889) about a Meiji constitution. Mori was another of the Satsuma students and the Minister for Japan in the United States. Spencer records in 1873:

"He [Mori] came to ask my opinion about the re-organisation of the Japanese institutions. I gave him conservative advice - urging that they would have eventually to return to a form not much in advance of what they had, and that ought not to attempt to diverge widely from it" (Duncan 1911: 161).

The Meiji constitution came into force on November 29th, 1890. In August 1892 Spencer wrote to Kaneko Kentarō (1853-1942), in reference to his advice to Mori:

“Probably you remember I told you that when Mr. Mori, the then Japanese Ambassador, submitted to me his draft for a Japanese Constitution, I gave him very conservative advice, contending that it was impossible that the Japanese, hitherto accustomed to despotic rule, should, all at once, become capable of constitutional government.

My advice was not, I fear, duly regarded, and so far as I gather from the recent reports of Japanese affairs, you are experiencing the evils arising from too large an instalment of freedom⁵⁵. ” (Duncan 1911: 319).

The modernisation of Meiji Japan put pressure on the established theories of the Victorian period. Trigger gives the 1880s as the point at which unilinear cultural evolution began to fall out of favour in Europe (Trigger 1984: 364). This coincided with a time in which many of the *o-yatoi gaikokujin* were returning to their respective countries throughout the 1880s and 1890s. As part of this, Gowland had been in Japan and witness firsthand the development of Japanese industry from “primitive techniques” of the Edo period to adopting modern European techniques merely over the span of his sixteen year stay. Spencer’s predictions about Japan’s development after being reopened to the west were proven quite wrong with the course of time. His statements slowly change from a stance that Japan *could* not achieve a constitutional government, to that it *should* not as its society would not be ready for it.

The emerging disciplines of western anthropology and archaeology in the second half of the 19th century had looked to existing contemporary cultures to understand the material remains of the past. This lead to the understanding of prehistoric and preliterate peoples constructed through ethnographic studies of what were considered to be primitive cultures at the time. Such as indigenous African, Australian and North American populations, which still manufactured and used stone tools and/or had no system of writing (Evans 1872: 13;

⁵⁵ This may be in part a reference to Mori having been shot to death on the day of the constitution’s proclamation by an anti-western nationalist in 1889 (Chobbing 2002 12-13).

Trigger 1989: 171; Van Ripper 1993). In a very similar fashion, Morse and others in the 1870s had looked to the Ainu as an untapped anthropological resource to understand the Stone Age of Japan.

“...the lower races of men in various parts of the world present us with illustrations of social condition ruder, and more archaic, than any which history records as having ever existed among the more advanced races. Even among civilised peoples, however we find traces of former barbarism.” (Lubbock 1870: 1-2).

*“...all the weapons of the [indigenous] Australians which I have described, are traceable by variation to the same common forms equally as primitive as those of the stone age of Europe;..”*⁵⁶ (Pitt-Rivers 1906: 189).

Humankind's history had been proven to be much older than previously thought by mid 19th century geologists, and unilinear cultural evolution was falling out of favour towards the end of the century. However, what replaced unilinear cultural evolution was the idea that civilisation had diffused into Europe from the Near East (Trigger 1984: 364), replacing an uncivilised prehistory. Therefore, due to continuing colonialist western perceptions of less technologically advanced contemporary populations, Stone Age societies - including those who had existed in Europe - also continued to be seen as un-evolved, uncivilised and barbaric. These misconceptions about other cultures and prehistoric man would still characterise the majority of early discussions about the Stone Age at the start of the 20th century.

As we will discuss in Chapter 6, in 1902 Gowland was the first person to accurately date the raising of the trilithons at Stonehenge to the end of the Neolithic (Gowland 1902a;

⁵⁶ This quote is taken from *Evolution of Culture*, published after Pitt-River's death, and it was originally from a paper he gave in 1875 *Proceedings of the Royal Institution* VII: 496-529.

1902b). Although there is nowhere that Gowland firmly states this belief directly, I would suggest it was a pragmatic observation of the development of Meiji Japan that allowed him to separate assumptions about other cultures, past and present, based on the level of their societies' technology. This then allowed him to make accurate estimations of the abilities of Neolithic peoples during his investigations of Stonehenge. Although Gowland makes similar statements in a few of his papers after his excavation at Stonehenge in 1901, his 1906 paper '*Copper and its Alloys in Prehistoric Times*' and 1912 paper '*The Metals in Antiquity*' perhaps display this at its best, when he states:

“...It is clearly evident from the abundance of the remains which have been unearthed that during a period to be measured only by many centuries he [Neolithic cultures] had reached and maintained the highest development of that civilisation which was possible with such imperfect appliances. No further advancement could be made until some new material was made available for the manufacture of others...” (Gowland 1906: 11).

“It is too often assumed that before man became acquainted with metals he was a mere savage but little superior to wild animals of his time, but that view is entirely erroneous... They were in fact, men, possessing greater intelligence and higher culture than is usually attributed to them... and if we ourselves were deprived of metals I hardly think that we could surpass them in the... arts of everyday life”. (Gowland 1912: 235).

Here Gowland is referring quite generally to Neolithic cultures; he does not express the opinion that British Neolithic man was in any way unique. But this belief had clearly been bolstered by the evidence that he unearthed at Stonehenge. Gowland was the first person to suggest a Neolithic or early Bronze Age date for the site, which no one at the time was willing to accept. However, he stuck by what the material evidence showed and was unswayed by the broad social assumptions and normative values of archaeology at that time. Prior to this, the date put forward by important antiquarians and early archaeologists,

Lubbock, Pitt-Rivers and Arthur Evans was the end of the Bronze Age (Lubbock 1865: 53-55; Pitt-Rivers 1870: 3; Evans 1888: 324). The idea that a Stone Age culture could be culturally advanced if not technologically advanced perhaps would have brought much of the foundations of late 19th century anthropology and archaeology into question. Following that logical path, it could conversely be suggested there had been misconceptions over the contemporary cultures that used stone tools, who were considered to be primitive, not that Gowland ever directly stated this. As such Gowland's date for Stonehenge was rejected and forgotten (see Chapter 6). But Gowland would go on to continue to make the statement, that Stone Age peoples were considerably more highly cultured than previously thought, until the end of his life (Gowland 1906: 11-12; 1912: 235).

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Gowland was able to separate the mental faculties of a people and their access to technology. So from this, we can see that Gowland did not consider ancient cultures to be primitive at all, only the technology which they possessed. Conversely then, when discussing the Meiji period Japanese and the metallurgical practices that he had witnessed during his stay in the country, he did not view his Japanese colleagues to be any less intelligent or cultured because they continued to use primitive processes. It would appear very likely that it was witnessing his Japanese co-workers at the Osaka Mint, and the way in which they adapted so quickly to the introduction of western technologies, that helped him to establish an opinion toward the people of the past which avoided the negative preconceptions common at the time. More broadly it could be said the progression of Meiji period Japan had begun to change western perceptions of cultural evolution at the close of the 19th century. Gowland's view of other cultures is evidence of this, and was far ahead of his time, strongly influencing his later work and being one of the primary reasons he was able to approach archaeological evidence in such an objective and scientific manner.

Conclusion

Although Gowland had an interest in early metal production techniques upon arriving in Japan in 1872, he had only gained an interest in archaeology after 1881, after he was inspired by Aston and the works of other antiquarians at the time, namely Morse, Satow and Siebold. Although he visited 406 tombs, Gowland only made one careful excavation of a Japanese tomb, Shibayama kofun. It is likely that his work in this area was limited in part because of his lack of experience of archaeological work, and in part by the protection tombs were coming under at that time. In the political climate of the Meiji period, kofun were intrinsically entwined in nation building mythology. Thus during the late 1880s, it was perhaps not a climate in which further investigations and publications on kofun could be made by foreigners in Japan. Gowland and his contemporaries were aware and highly sceptical of the early histories⁵⁷, as can be seen in his account of Misanzai kofun, or the words of Basil Chamberlain (Aston 1889: x). However, the nationalistic system continued to impede the work of both early Japanese archaeologists and foreign researchers in Japan.

It is often said that Gowland had relatively little impact on Japanese archaeology, as he did not publish until sometime after his return to England, and then did not publish in Japanese or make his work available to a Japanese audience. However, I argue Gowland still holds an important place in the history of archaeology, even if he was not well-known in Japan until much later. It was during Gowland's stay in Japan and his observations on early Japanese archaeology that made him aware of the importance of preserving sites and recording objects to construct a larger picture of ancient periods and was influenced by both early Japanese and western archaeologists (discussed further in Chapter 6). Although Tsuboi had initially more influence on Gowland's early excavation, Gowland may

⁵⁷ The inaccuracy of the early histories was not lost on the Japanese scholars. The History Department at Tokyo University was founded in 1887, but Shigeno Yasutsugu had been lecturing since 1879 and would make attempts to create non-nationalistic histories of Japan, which did not focus only on the exploits of emperors (Tanaka 2004: 78).

have had some influence on Tsuboi in the 1890s (discussed in Chapter 3). Approaching archaeology as a material scientist and incorporating his life's work in metallurgy to archaeology, Gowland created some of the earliest examples of multidisciplinary archaeology in Japan. This can be seen in his 1889b and 1912 papers where his work on the metal working processes he witnessed first hand in Japan were applied to prehistoric cultures in Europe and beyond. His research went onto inform one of the first multidisciplinary excavations in England, at Silchester (Gowland 1900), causing Gowland to make some public comments on how the excavations were being conducted. It may be that his excavation of Shibayama and those comments made him an ideal candidate to excavate Stonehenge the following year. It was here that Gowland's excavation technique show influence from the work of Meiji period Japanese archaeologists following the statements made by Machida, but also a missing link in the development of archaeological practice from the work of the geologist William Pengelly. And the indirect influence of Flinders Petrie (see Chapter 6). A combination of the best of Japanese and British archaeological fieldwork of the 19th century.

Morse based his excavation technique at Omori shell midden on earlier excavations of shell middens in Massachusetts in the 1860s (Wyman 1868; Morse 1879: 269). Other than being physically in Japan, there was not anything else particularly original about his excavation technique. He approached the subject as a naturalist, applying contemporary American anthropological thinking to Japan; what we can say, however, is that he was the first to record a site of the physical remains of Jomon culture as an anthropologist. But then, Morse, Gowland and Tsuboi have all at times been argued to be the "father" of Japanese archaeology. Rather than trying to determine exactly who can lay claim to its parentage, it is more interesting to try and identify the string of events and their outcomes in the larger context of the history of archaeology through the lens of the activities of these early scholars. As with any advancement in any field of academia, it is the combined efforts of many individuals, their reasoning, experimentation and shared ideas that create

progress, not spontaneous events, despite how history may often remember it. Trigger's views on the bias which existed within early archaeological traditions are undeniably true for many of the individuals and larger systems in the late 19th century. However, I believe it is reasonable to disagree with some of Diaz-Andreu's statements on the subject. Although the larger systems in archaeology during the 19th century were often nationalistic, colonial or imperialist, this does not always fit the work of individual archaeologists even when hampered by those systems. In fact, I would suggest that it was quite often the case that archaeological evidence was often later reinterpreted for these causes by governments or academic circles who already held these views. Evidence which conflicted with these traditions was usually ignored, or in extreme cases actively suppressed. The development of Meiji period Japan was in opposition to the Victorian theories on cultural development and may have been a significant reason for them beginning to fall out of favour in the 1880s. Gowland steered clear of the core social assumptions of the late 19th century and the negative bias which most of his contemporaries exhibited when discussing prehistoric man (Spencer 1860: 521; Lubbock 1870: 1-2). Instead, Gowland viewed these peoples as having the same mental capacity as modern peoples, only lacking the technology. I argue that this is the result of his sixteen years observing his Japanese colleagues quickly adapt to western technological techniques from those very ancient processes they had employed before. Gowland knew similar technologies had been used in Europe in much more ancient times, the subject of several of his papers. Through this lack of a typical historian's bias, believing non-metalworking, non-literate and non-classical cultures to be inferior, lead to a very accurate estimation of the date of Stonehenge that only managed to be replicated in recent years. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, Gowland's statements on the date of Stonehenge were largely ignored. Kofun archaeology had been directly hampered by nationalist archaeology. While in England the study of Stonehenge and Neolithic Britain was indirectly inhibited by the inherent imperialism, colonialism and racism in British archaeology at the time.

Chapter 3:

19th century western perspectives on the Kofun period

Introduction

Basic chronologies of Japanese archaeology are not difficult to come by (Kidder 1959: 35; 1972a: 24; Mizoguchi 2013: 34; Barnes 2015 (1993)), however, if one were to study these chronologies, some stark differences between them would come to light depending on their publication date and author. This is because chronologies are narratives constructed by archaeologists to make sense of the archaeological record, and these narratives are not static but in a constant state of flux. Every discovery can prompt a change of approach even within an individual's conceptual model. This is just as true today as it was for Gowland and his contemporaries at the end of the 19th century. In order to understand Gowland's concept of Kofun period chronology, it is necessary to understand how it was constructed, what ideas this was based on and where these ideas originated. In doing so, I also intend to give a general understanding of the modern chronologies of the Kofun period to the reader.

The construction of archaeological narratives is often concerned with origins. This was a defining characteristic of the Three-Age system, which was primarily concerned with what technology was used at what point in time, and the early chronologies of the late 19th century. And it continues to be a characteristic of modern-day chronologies (Lucas 2005: 54). Changes in the material record are seen as indicative of cultural change, and sub-periods are often set in place to define the origins of this change and its progression chronologically.

As discussed in the previous chapters, in the late 19th century relatively little was known about Kofun period tombs or exactly from what date they originated. What history they had was gleaned from the earliest chronicles of Japan; the *Kojiki* (712AD) and the *Nihon shoki* (720AD). As such we will begin this chapter with an exploration of the modern chronology followed by Gowland's understanding of the Kofun period. As an example of the earliest point in the academic study of Kofun period archaeology.

The single most iconic element of Kofun period culture in modern Japan are the monumental mounded tombs. Dating between the 3rd and 7th centuries defining the name of the period, 'Kofun' meaning old (古), tomb (墳). They are among the earliest complex structures in Japan to have survived prominently in the landscape into much later periods; other structures from that time were either wooden and exist now as a series of postholes or were earthworks including paddy fields and irrigation channels. Since the start of written history, kofun were connected to the history of the Emperors and the emergence of Japanese culture, acting as the most obvious evidence to support the 8th century histories; the first point at which history and archaeological materials could be easily connected. Thus, as one may expect, early studies and the sub-periodisation of the Kofun period throughout the 20th century focused primarily on changes in tomb structure and what this conveyed (Mizoguchi 2013). The Kofun period is subdivided between the 4th and 7th centuries into Early, Middle and Late sub-periods. It traditionally ends with the Asuka period, which marks the end of most tomb construction, specifically keyhole shaped tombs, and the arrival of Buddhism in 552AD and/or its official adoption by the imperial family in 593AD. This was followed by the start of recorded history in the Nara period when the early histories were first written. The sub-periods are based on a series of perceived origins of social change seen through material culture between 250 and 710AD. Throughout this thesis, to avoid confusion, I use what I understand to be the most common conventions in Kofun chronology:

- 250-400AD Early Kofun period: the start of keyhole shaped tomb construction.
- 400-475AD Middle Kofun period: increased centralisation leads to an influx of foreign technologies and specialisation of production. The largest tombs are built at this time. Tomb clusters appear at this time.
- 475-600AD Late Kofun period: introduction of Buddhism, tombs become smaller, more emphasis is put on the inner chamber, and multiple burials are included in tombs. Large clusters of very small tombs for minor elites begin to appear showing an increase in bureaucracy.
- 600-710AD Asuka period: First Chinese and Korean style edicts and laws passed, elite identity changes with the establishment of cap rank systems. Tomb building declines. Imperial tombs show Chinese Daoist influence.

I do not use the term 'Final Kofun period' (Mizoguchi 2013) in this thesis. It can play an important function in defining the end of keyhole shaped tombs and the first Chinese style law reforms. However, it is not yet well known enough and may cause confusion as a term when compared against the discussions of the majority of authors who do not use it.

This chapter attempts to explore and discuss how early western archaeologists - primarily focusing on Gowland - observed and understood Kofun period archaeology and from where this understanding originated.

19th century understanding of the Kofun period

As a trained metallurgist Gowland's initial interest in Japan focused on metal techniques the Japanese had previously used, which had similarities to much older processes in Europe

(Gowland 1899b) (See Chapter 2). He developed an interest in the adoption of metals by prehistoric societies and attempted to apply the Three-Age system, which he first discussed in his paper *The Art of Bronze Casting in Japan* (1894). In the following year, he wrote an article in *The London and China Telegraph* on the same topic, after which his papers on the Kofun period were published (Gowland 1897; 1899a; 1907). Finally, Gowland published *Metals and metal working in old Japan* (1915). Although not evident from the title, this was a synthesis of his previous work, intended to give a potted history of metalworking in Japan from its adoption in the Bronze Age through to the Edo period.

Figure 14 shows a model I have constructed of Gowland's understanding of the Kofun period based on his work published between 1894 and 1915. It is important to take into account that the 19th century chronology of the Kofun period was created with a mixture of historical sources and early archaeological data. The early histories had received a lot of study in Japan, and while archaeological materials had also received antiquarian scholarship it was beginning to become better understood as archaeology developed as a science.

From my survey of late 19th and early 20th century western publications on Japan (see Chapter 2) it would appear that Gowland was perhaps one of the only westerners to attempt to periodise Japanese prehistory. Because of this, his work would be very influential on others. In particular on the work of Brinkley (1903: 801), Baelz (1907: 537), Munro (1911) and James Murdoch (1925: 44). Kofun archaeology was impeded from the mid 1870s through to the 1940s (see Chapter 2). This meant from a western perspective Gowland's collection and research were some of the most complete on the topic for much of the early 20th century. Gowland's chronology of the Kofun period - which he referred to as the 'Dolmen period'- was based on limited evidence. This was due to how little was known about Japanese archaeology when he left the country at the end of the 1880s, the same time at which the first generation of Japanese archaeologists began to publish. This

chapter attempts to build a clearer understanding of the 19th century understanding of the Kofun period, rather than to glorify Gowland's work, as much of the evidence he used could now be considered very outdated, although it still has some merits.

The work of Morse (1877), H. Siebold (1879), Milne (1881) and others, had defined the Stone Age in Gowland's model of Japan's prehistory (see Chapter 2). By the time Gowland began to publish on the Kofun period in the 1890s, he had continued to claim the "aboriginal" people were the Ainu (Gowland 1897: 505).

"The identity of these remains... prove undoubtedly that they belong to the aborigines, the Ainu, who once occupied the whole country and were gradually driven back to the north by a more powerful race [the Japanese]". (Gowland 1897: 505).

In Gowland's understanding, the act of driving the Ainu into the north stretched from Jimmu's arrival in 660BC to the historical descriptions of the subjugation of the Emishi in the Early Heian period during the 10th century, over a period of approximately 1,500 years. He did, however, avoid engaging in arguments surrounding the actual identity of the aborigines (Oguma 2002: 8), continuing to use this as a distinction between the Stone Age people and the immigration of the Japanese race into Japan. Thus he considered Jimmu's invasion to be a mythological explanation of actual events, as Aston did (see Chapter 2).

"That the builders of the dolmen were not the aboriginal inhabitance of the country is very conclusively proved by the evidence afforded by the "Kitchen Middens," or shell-mounds, which are found at many points on the coast of the main island, and also in Kyushu." (Gowland 1897: 504).

Gowland was aware that the ceramics which occurred in shell middens - now identified as "*Jomon dok*" - were visually distinct in their material, decoration and form from those found in kofun. In a similar manner, he noted that stone tools found with Jomon ceramics never

21st century understanding of ancient Japanese chronology

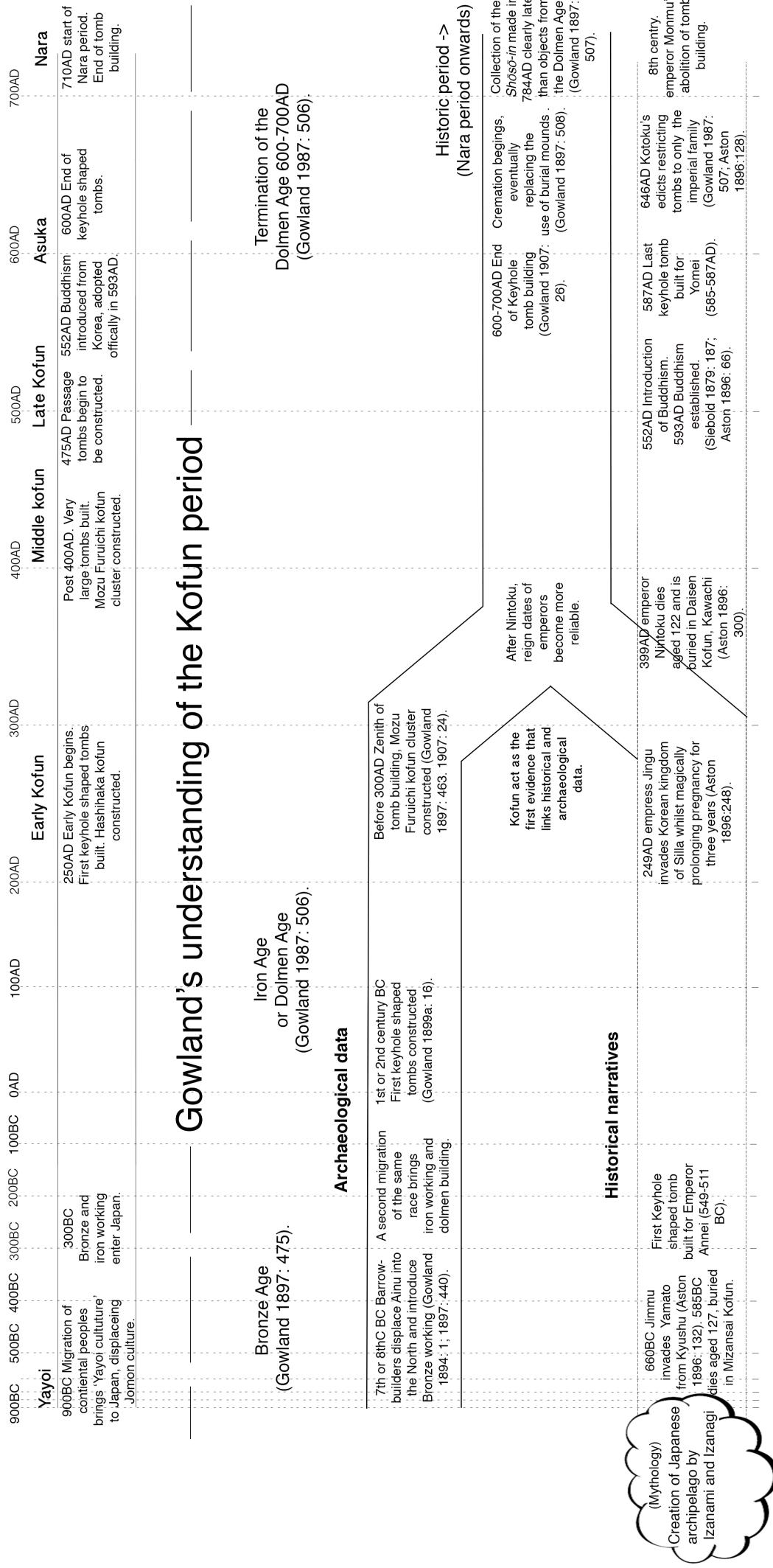


Figure 14. A model of Gowland's understanding of the Kofun period and Japanese prehistory.

appear in kofun (Gowland 1897: 504). Furthermore, shell middens were dated to the Stone Age by their contents throughout the whole of Japan, yet there are no kofun sites, or other early sites containing metal objects in Hokkaido, which had already been established by other scholars (Morse 1880: 595; Baelz 1907: 536). This all supported the idea that the Stone Age peoples had been replaced by a people who built monumental tombs and used metals. Although the early Japanese histories claimed Jimmu had invaded the Nara basin from Kyushu, the fact that shell middens also appeared in Kyushu suggested that the Japanese had not originated from there either, as they were also attributed to the Ainu. Gowland admitted he did not have enough information to suggest where the Japanese race originated, but it was often assumed they had arrived from the continent:

"Whence they originally came is a problem so far unresolved, and the present available data are far too scantily to enable me to even theorise with profit on the approximate locality of their original home." (Gowland 1897: 595).

In his earlier study of Yasui rock tomb, a rock cut tomb in Izumo, Gowland seems to conflate "aboriginal" people with the *tsuchi-gunmo*, discussed in Chapter 2. He initially believed that earthenware was the ceramic of the Stone Age population of Japan, which was replaced with Stoneware ceramics by the invading Japanese:

"[It is] Very difficult to account for the presence of the 4 very archaic vessels of soft pottery[,] red pottery [hajiki earthenware,] along with the others of dark grey earthenware [sueki stoneware] which is entirely characteristic of the dolmen [Kofun] period. the chamber of the tomb is of the roughest char[acter]. much more rudely made than any I have seen in other parts of Japan. the district [Izumo] too is one with much strong evidence points out at being one of the points occupied by the Jap[anese]s [when] they migrated from the mainland. The districts further E[ast] as Kawachi, & the basin of ... the river at the mouth of which which Tokiyo [Tokyo] is situated was certainly of later occupation [by the Japanese]. It

is here just possible that we may have here a secondary interment, the sepulchral pottery pertaining to the earlier burial not having been removed.” (BOX 4-10-2-2).

Here Gowland refers to the preexisting idea in Japan that the *tsuchi-gunmo*¹ - that Gowland and others conflated with the Ainu, Emishi and the Stone Age (Jomon) population - had inhabited the rock cut tombs present across western Japan. Tsuboi Shōgorō had published a paper on rock cut tombs in Nishi Yoshimi, Tokyo in 1887 and later again in English (1892) where he proposes that they were used as dwellings and only later repurposed as tombs. Gowland seems to come to this conclusion based on a mixture of Tsuboi’s early research on rock cut tombs, early history, folklore, and his own observations of the presence of *sueki* stoneware at Yasui (which as we will discuss in Chapter 4, Gowland knew was used as a grave good). Therefore, Gowland believed that Yasui had originally been an indigenous tomb, but was then later appropriated by members of the invading Japanese race and used for a secondary burial. There is little indication of when this document was written, but from the presence of “J.” numbers, which were used once the collection entered the British Museum, it is likely it was written using older notes after Gowland had sold the collection in early 1889. Gowland seems to have moved beyond this understanding by the time he began to publish, as he does not mention it in any of his papers. When he does refer to the ceramics from Yasui, he includes them in his discussion of dolmen period ceramics (Gowland 1897: 493). However, he seems to have held the belief that *sueki* stoneware replaced the earlier *hajiki* earthenware and is perhaps conflated *hajiki* with slightly earlier Yayoi period ceramics. In the discussion of Tsuboi’s paper, William Aston, who chaired the discussion, disagreed with Tsuboi and correctly believed that the rock tombs were not originally dwellings, asserting that they were always intended as tombs based on the presence of *sueki*, and their construction (Aston 1892: 124). Gowland seems to have also held this belief by the time he published in the late 1890s, but it is not clear who influenced

¹ Gowland does not use the term *tsuchi-gunmo* himself, referring to them as aborigines much as he does with the Emishi and Ainu.

whom. Whether Gowland and Aston had further interactions with Tsuboi during his stay remains to be discovered. However, this is perhaps the largest influence that Gowland and Aston's work had on Japanese archaeology, as they helped to dissuade Tsuboi from continuing studies of the *tsuchi gunmo*.

When Gowland did publish, he suggested there were likely several migrations of the same race from the continent which became the Japanese. China and Korea come up as likely candidates (Gowland 1899a: 35), which resonated with the work of Oscar Pechel (1876) and others, although Gowland stated to his knowledge no similar dolmens had been found in either country. Thus there are two important points to take into account in Gowland's model:

- The earliest Japanese, from somewhere on the continent, settled in Kyushu and later the Nara basin and Osaka bay (Yamato).
- Non-Japanese Stone Age peoples (*Jomon/Emishi/Ainu/Tsuchi-gunmo*) were displaced from western Honshu into the east.

As discussed above, the earliest histories date the reign of Emperor Jimmu to around 660BC. Most 19th century scholars considered Jimmu himself and the specific dates to be fictitious. However, the action of an invading Japanese race was believed to have occurred at a similar time. Thus the dates we are given for the introduction of the Japanese race and metal to the islands was initially based on this date and was seen as a fanciful retelling of actual events which corresponded with material evidence (Aston 1905: 116; Gowland 1915: 20).

With regard to the end of the Kofun period, in many ways, the histories make this a much easier problem to solve. The work of the Jinshin survey in 1872 (See Chapter 2)

demonstrated that objects from the 8th century Shōsō-in were seen to be typologically different from earlier objects. Another clear indication that Kofun period inhumation burials dated to a period earlier than the 6th century is the lack of obvious signs of Buddhism and cremation.

The Bronze and Iron Age in Japan.

What Gowland refers to as the 'Iron Age' or 'Dolmen Age' is essentially the Kofun period. However, Gowland also attempts to discuss what he sees as evidence for a Bronze Age; a concept not previously applied to Japan. This is what is now known as the Yayoi period. This period is characterised by the appearance of organised wet rice agriculture, which until recently had been given the starting date of 300BC, when agriculture, bronze and iron working were believed to have entered Japan as a package from the mainland. More recently accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS), an advanced form of radiocarbon dating, has been used on samples of soot adhering to the surface of earthenware *Yayoi doki*². This pushed the date for agriculture further back, to a calibrated C14 date of 900BC (Mizoguchi 2013: 35). These findings resulted in a split between the arrival of wet rice agriculture, which appeared in 900-800BC, and bronze and iron working, which is still believed to have appeared around 300BC (Barnes 2015 (1993)). However, Gowland did not attempt to identify the adoption of agriculture, and its origins do not appear anywhere within his discussions. He was primarily interested in the adoption of metalworking. The term and concept of the 'Yayoi period' only began to be used in the 1920's. Materials from the Yayoi had been noted much earlier, and there had been discussions of a transitional period between the Stone Age and Dolmen age from the start of the 20th century, but it remained problematic. Gowland, writing in 1915, described his understanding of the end of the Stone Age in Japan:

²弥生土器, literally 'Yayoi pottery', referring very generally to the orange-red earthenware ceramics which were used throughout the Yayoi period.

“From the evidence at present available, the Japanese appear to have migrated from the mainland of Asia through Korea to the island they now occupy about seven or eight centuries before our era.” (Gowland 1915: 20).

This would refer to between 800 and 700BC, which would be earlier than the traditional date for Jimmu’s invasion in 660BC. However, Gowland does not reference anyone or give much discussion as to how he came about this date. Although the recent AMS dates did result in the start of the Yayoi period being moved back from 300BC to 900BC this was based on evidence of agriculture to which Gowland did not have access. While the evidence Gowland was focusing on, the advent of metalworking, is still believed to not appear until 300BC. Therefore it is much more likely to simply be a more vague date attributed to Jimmu’s invasion. Gowland goes on to suggest that the immigration of the Japanese race also brought metalworking into the country: *“The aborigines [Jomon/Ainu/Emishi] whom they [the Japanese] found there were totally unacquainted with the use of metals. Hence all the earliest objects of metal which have been discovered in the country are Japanese, and are not older than that time”* (Gowland 1915: 20).

Gowland attempted to further clarify this basic chronology by applying the Three-Age System to Japan and creating a Bronze Age, a distinct third phase between the previously existing two. This was essentially the Yayoi period, although the period itself would not have a name until around the time of Gowland’s death. The separation between Yayoi and Kofun culture was not well understood. The name Yayoi derived from Yayoi-cho, an area of Tokyo University’s campus where Yayoi period objects were first discovered from the Mukogaoka shell mound in 1884. A formal report for the site was only produced in 1932 (Kidder 1993: 80). However, the name *Yayoi-shiki*, literally ‘Yayoi style’ had already began to be used as a name for ceramics before this (Munro 1911: 293).

Gowland's attempts at defining a Bronze Age were not altogether successful, for the reasons discussed above. Although, this could be considered one of the earliest attempts by a westerner to clarify what would become known as the Yayoi period in Japan. Baelz also gives a brief description of the Bronze Age in 1907 and is most likely influenced by Gowland's work:

"The bronze age can be disposed of in a few words, for comparatively little is known about it. There are no distinct graves of this period, although Bronze weapons and other implements often occur near the surface in fields or clearings of south-western Japan. Together with them are sometimes found unglazed hand-fashioned cups and bowls of red clay. The bronze swords and lances are double edged, and are similar to those of the Bronze Age in Europe. They are often so large that they were perhaps intended for sacrificial purposes rather than for use against enemies." (Baelz 1907: 586).

From this quote, it would appear that Baelz was not aware of Yayoi period burials, whereas simple earthen barrows were a feature of Gowland's understanding. Gowland's explanation of the Bronze and Iron Ages is reliant on the idea that the technology was brought about by the arrival of the Japanese race in at least two waves. The first wave brought about the first earthen mounded tombs (barrows) and bronze working, and shortly afterwards the second wave brought stone chamber tombs (dolmens) and iron working.

Two large bronze bells (OA+.536 and 1887,1121.11³) and a bronze halberd (OA+.612) appear in the Gowland Collection, and numerous objects from this period were on display in museums in Japan in the late 19th century. Although no precise records of their locations had been made, they were known to be more common in Kyushu, often found by farmers, or associated with "simple mounds" (Gowland 1897: 475).

³ It is notable that the museum number of this object would imply that it entered into the collection in 1887 before Gowland sold his collection in 1889. The exact reason for this has yet to be investigated.

“These remains, which consist of bronze swords and arrowheads, personal ornaments of steatite, jasper, rock crystal, and other stones, and along with which no objects of iron occur, are generally found in but slight depths below the surface of the ground. It is impossible to say with absolute certainty whether they had or had not been originally covered with mounds of earth.” (Gowland 1897: 439).

Here Gowland is trying to account for the finds of Yayoi period objects, which were not only associated with burials, but found at agricultural sites, used as ritual objects. When describing “swords”, he is perhaps conflating them together with halberds⁴. In effect, he is describing the kinds of assemblages that today are known to date from the Final Yayoi period 50BC-200AD (Mizoguchi 2013: 191), perhaps especially those which appear between northern Kyushu and western Shikoku. Mounded burial sites from the Yayoi period are considered to be communal burial sites containing the burials of communities with very few grave goods, other than bronze daggers and spears, such as the site of Yoshitake-Takagi, Fukuoka (Mizoguchi 2013: 150). However, as Gowland does not name or describe any sites in particular detail, it is difficult to know exactly how he came to this understanding of them and this remains an area for future research.

The ritual contexts that Gowland is describing consisted of only bronze objects with none of iron. However, iron, was in fact, available during the Yayoi period from 300AD and was imported from the continent well into the 5th century. After which iron sand was discovered in Japan’s riverbeds allowing for more intensive production. As such, during the Yayoi period, iron was used sparingly and primarily for utilitarian objects, such as blades added to wooden agricultural tools. Due to iron and bronze arriving at approximately the same time, this meant that historically Japan had not fitted the Three-Age System well. This led to some disagreement between Aston and Gowland in a series of letters from 1895:

⁴ 銅劍, *doken*, bronze sword. 銅矛, *dohoko*, bronze halberd, 銅鐸. *dotaku*, bronze bell.

"You say that there was in Japan a Bronze Age beginning with the immigration of the race... about the second century B.C. Now I have taken the view that there is no proper bronze use in Japan. Bronze is not mentioned in The Horyuji or Kojiki perhaps however as it is included in 銅 or copper. But copper was not mined in Japan until the seventh century if we may believe the Horyuji? It is perhaps manipulated but was afterwards Imported (like iron) from Corea [Korea]. It seems to me presumable that the most ancient bronze and iron found in Japan are of Chinese or continental manufacture." [William Aston May 9th 1895]
(BOX 4-22-8-1 Appendix 1).

Aston had begun to tackle this problem from a historical perspective referencing the *Hōryū-ji*, the records of a temple of the same name in Nara founded in 607AD by Prince regent Shotoku. It is notable here that before he published Gowland gave the date of 300BC for the migration of the Japanese race and the start of bronze working, it is not yet clear where this date came from or what it was based on. But it may be a reference to the traditional date of the first keyhole shaped tomb (Gowland 1897: 462; 1907: 26). Gowland replied to Aston's letter with his own three days later:

"I have to thank you very much for your critical remarks, as in all scientific research ones chief aim should be to ascertain the truth. I have jotted down below very briefly the reason for my statements respecting a Bronze Age in Japan. They are based solely on a study of the articles of bronze found buried in the ground of an older date than the period of dolmens or chambered tumuli. Definition of a Bronze Age - A period during which bronze was the only metal in use. Bronze swords never occur along with articles of iron & have never been found in dolmens, but simply buried in the ground: perhaps in some areas there may have been small barrows of earth where they were dug up. Hence older than iron & older than dolmens. The bronze arrow heads are found under the same conditions in one instance along with a very ancient form of stone ornament called "Kitsune no Kewa" never

19th century western perspectives of the Kofun period found in dolmens. (see Kanda's paper on Stone implements⁵). These arrow heads however survived during the early bronze age but they occur very rarely." [William Gowland May 12th 1895] (BOX 4-22-9-1 Appendix 1).

Gowland's definition of a Bronze Age was based on what metal was worked and in use, rather than where it was mined and forged, the latter being important to Aston's definition. Gowland based the Bronze Age purely on the evidence of burials he believed to be earlier because they did not include iron. As prehistoric agricultural and habitation sites were not as well represented during the Meiji period, it is perhaps understandable why Gowland was not aware agricultural tools incorporating iron had been in use during the Yayoi period, particularly as they did not appear in burials. Gowland goes on to explain that as no bronze weapons appear in kofun, they must have been replaced by iron weapons and thus been produced by later events than the barrows which contained bronze weapons. However, this does not explain where Gowland acquired his start dates for the Bronze and Iron Ages.

Gowland's understanding of kofun sites

"The Bronze Age begins with the immigration of the race, and terminates not long afterwards. The Iron Age then commences and extends to the present time. It is worthy of note here that the Bronze Age and the first period of the Iron Age are also characterised by two distinct forms of sepulchral monuments- the former by barrows or simple mounds of earth, and the latter by megalithic dolmens and highly specialised forms of chambered tumuli" (Gowland 1915: 20).

Although a key part of modern Kofun period chronology, during the end of the 19th and start of the 20th century, there was no defined understanding for the chronology of the kofun sites themselves. Gowland is not able to give a chronologically organised typology of

⁵ Referring to Kanda Takahira's 1884 paper *Notes on ancient stone implements, &c., of Japan*.

tombs, he could only say that keyhole shaped tombs had developed from more simple mounds:

“...it is certain that the [Japanese] race practiced mound-burial, especially in the western parts of the island they now occupy several centuries before our era. That the simple mounds precede those that contain a rude stone chamber, which we call a dolmen, is also not open to doubt... The period of the dolmens is thus a continuation of that of the simple mound.” (Gowland 1897: 440).

Gowland's terminology here is again somewhat confusing as he called Shibayama a simple mound, yet it does have a stone chamber (Gowland 1897: 451), but in the above quote, he is referring to barrows, earthen mounds without a stone chamber.

Gowland separates stone chambers within kofun into different classes based on the design of their chambers. However, he does admit that this did not represent a typology:

“It must, however, be borne in mind that such an arrangement does not necessarily represent the relative age of each class,...” (Gowland 1897: 444).

The largest limitation on Gowland's understanding of the Kofun period was due to his selection of sites. He was not aware that the tombs from the Early and Middle Kofun period were distinctly different from those of the Late period. The tombs of the Early and Middle Kofun periods are known as vertical style stone chambers, *tateanashiki sekishitsu* (豎穴式石室). These comprise graves dug into the top of an earthen mound, the grave then being lined with stones. Gowland refers to these as “*summit burials*”, but only considered them to be a verity of dolmen. Gowland's use of the term dolmen is rather vague. However, all of

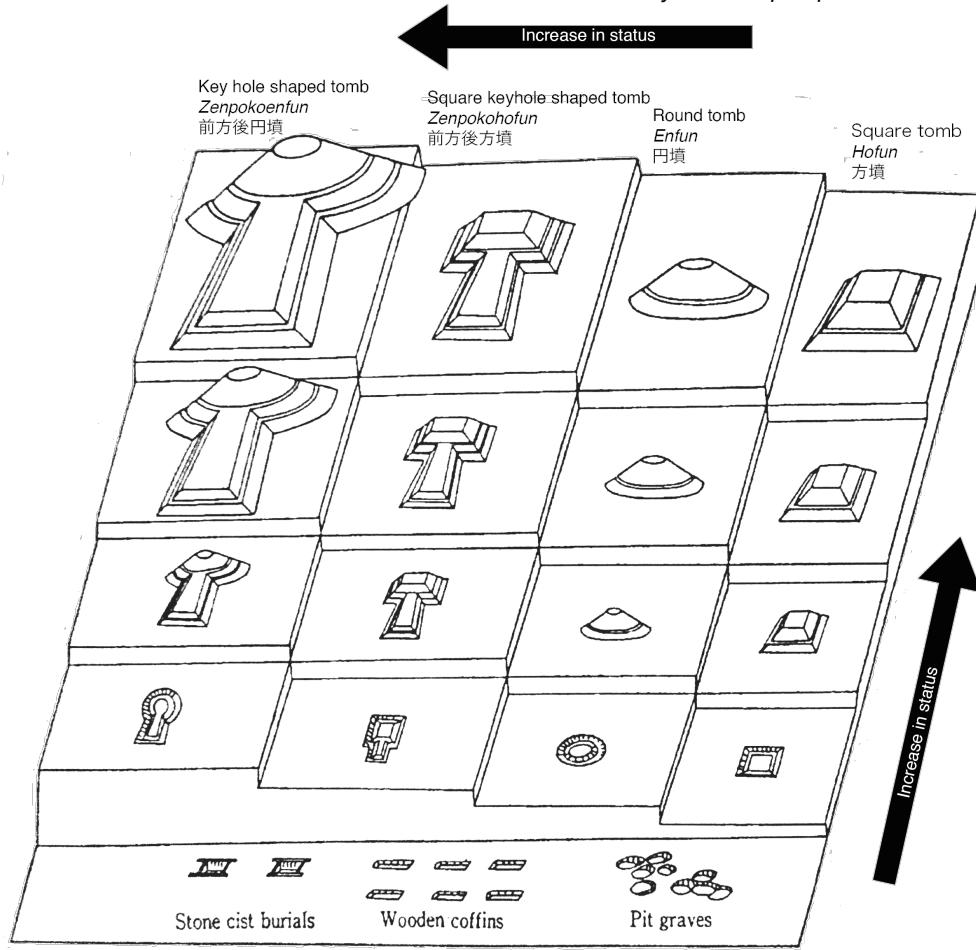


Figure 15. Hierarchical structure of tomb forms during the Kofun period up to 600AD, but excluding the Final Kofun and/or Asuka periods (Redrawn from Gina Barnes 2007: 8).

the 140 examples of kofun Gowland measured dated to the Late Kofun period⁶ (Gowland 1897: 444-445; 1899: 3-4). These were either rock-cut tombs or kofun sites with what are now referred to as horizontal-style stone chambers, *yokoanashiki sekishitsu* (横穴式石室).

Due to the nature of vertical style tombs, entering them was significantly more difficult and destructive, meaning fewer had been robbed; it also meant that Gowland was not able to gain access to them. He makes little mention of the differences in the shapes of the earthen mound and does not directly say whether round and keyhole shaped tombs were

⁶ The Late Kofun period is the best represented in the Gowland Collection: both Rokuya and Shibayama Kofun date to this period. The beginning of this sub period is based on the appearance of passage tombs. Because the passage tombs could be more easily opened, multiple burials could take place within the same tomb. There was also a general decline in the amount of weaponry and armour although they are still common among elite grave goods. The late 5th century saw a switch of focus to smaller tombs, but with more elaborate inner stone chambers. Tombs generally shrank, but this was due to an increase in bureaucracy, leading to a greater number of lower level elites buried in small circular mounds. There are an estimated 100,000 kofun sites in Japan, but 90% of these are clusters of very small passage tombs of the Late period (Tsuboi 1987: 55).

contemporary with one another or not. However, he does not appear to have been aware of square or square keyhole shaped tombs, perhaps as these sites tend to be eroded. Figure 15 shows the different shapes of tombs now known to appear during the Kofun period.

Gowland was aware of the sudden growth of tombs in Yamato from the Mozu-Furuichi Kofun gun, believing there to be some credit to the records of those emperors being interred there:

"If any reliance may be placed on this supposition, the enormous mounds of Nintoku, Richu and Ojin⁷ may be considered to be the tombs of the emperors whose names they bear, ... From this it follows that the building of double mounds reached its zenith about the fourth century of our era (300AD)". (Gowland 1897: 463).

The Mozu-Furuichi *kofun-gun* is now believed to date to the Middle Kofun period, taking several decades to build (Pearson 2016: 36). According to the *Nihon Shoki*, Nintoku died at the age of 122 in 399AD. Gowland was highly sceptical of Nintoku's dates, likely influence from the work of Aston⁸ (1889: 45). The early histories' description of Nintoku suggests an unnaturally long life and were based on the more mythological earlier sections.

"Nintoku is said to have reached the advanced age of 122, but, it must be remembered, that it is not until the next reign [Richu 400-406AD] that the miraculous details which characterise the early portion of Japanese history cease. ...it must be noted that the dates I

⁷ Referring to Konda Gobyoyama kofun (the tomb assigned to Emperor Ojin), part of the Furuichi kofu cluster and Kami Ishizu Misanzai kofun, (the tomb assigned to Emperor Richu) and Daisen kofun (the tomb assigned to Emperor Nintoku) both part of the Mozu kofun cluster. Both of these tomb clusters are now located in Sakai city, Osaka.

⁸ There is some further historical evidence in the 5th century from the *Song shu* (488AD), a late 5th century Chinese history of the Liu Song dynasty (420-479AD) which record several tributary missions from what are now known as the "Five Kings of Wa". Named as San, Chin, Sei, Ko and Bu, who are believed to represent emperors recorded in the *Nihon shoki*. Bu is almost always believed to be Yüryaku (456-479AD). The identity of the others is debatable, but they are often believed to be Nintoku (313-399AD), Richu (400-405AD), Inyo (411-453AD) and Anko (453-456AD) (Soumaré 2009: 188; Pearson 2016: 33). The same emperors who are attributed to the imperial mounds in Sakai city, Osaka. However, Aston and Gowland do not appear to have been aware of these histories.

have given, which are those of the *Nihongi* [*Nihon shoki*], before the reign of Richu, should be accepted with reserve." (Gowland 1907: 30).

The traditional reign dates for the three emperors being Ojin (270-310AD, 40 years), Nintoku (313-399AD, 86 years) and Richu (400-405AD, 5 years). As these dates cover the entire 4th century, it would appear Gowland used this as his approximate date for the appearance of the very large tombs of the Mozu-Furuchi kofun cluster in modern Sakai city, Osaka. These tombs had been assigned to them, based on their descriptions in the early histories. Gowland only considered the reign dates from after the reign of Richu to be accurate but still prescribed the zenith of tomb building approximately before the 4th century AD.

Referencing only "Japanese archaeologists", Gowland states that there was a common belief in Japan that the first keyhole shaped tomb belonged to Emperor Annei (549-511 BC) and the last to Emperor Bidatsu (572-585AD) (Gowland 1897: 462). But, in a later paper, he suggested Yomei for the last tomb (585-587AD) (Gowland 1907: 26). Annei is one of the emperors discussed in the very early sections of the *Nihon shoki* whose dates cannot be considered accurate. As such Gowland was hesitant to use these dates:

"Whilst not accepting the strict accuracy of these dates, there seems to be no reason to doubt that several are as early as one or two centuries before our era [200-100BC], and that they continued to be but for five or six centuries afterwards [500-600AD]". (Gowland 1897: 462).

Gowland's date for the last keyhole shaped tomb, of either Emperor Bidatsu or Emperor Yomei, is close to the current date approximate date of 600AD. This was an observation made by Japanese archaeologists and uncovering exactly who Gowland is referencing here is a point for further research into earlier Japanese scholarship. However, Gowland

dated passage tombs much too early, and this was supported by dates for sites at the time which had been misdated due to confused typologies.

“Some remarkable specimens of this ancient metal-work that were taken from the chambers of a dolmen at Edamura (Higo) [Eta-funayama kofun] are in the Imperial Museum, Tokyo⁹. Five Chinese mirrors were found together with the other objects, and from their designs they are either of the time of the Minor Han Dynasty (221-264 A.D.) or of the first half of the Tsin [Jin dynasty] (265-419 A.D.). The date of the dolmen is not later than the beginning of the fourth century of our era [300AD]”. (Gowland 1915: 26-27).

Gowland’s date would suggest Eta Funayama, Kumamoto in Kyushu dated to the Early Kofun period; this is not accurate. The site is a Late Kofun period 5th-6th century AD tomb. Although the mirrors were Chinese imports and slightly earlier than the burial event, Gowland’s dates are far too early. When Gowland was writing bronze mirror chronologies had not been properly established, but it still displays the use of comparative typologies from China.

As bronze mirrors appeared alongside iron objects in kofun, they offered a form of early dating evidence and were used in later chronologies¹⁰, see Figure 16. It had long been observed by Japanese antiquarians that they had originated from China, at least in their design. Therefore, typologies of Chinese mirrors were used as evidence for historical interaction between China and Japan, which could be traced back to the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD)¹¹.

⁹ Now known as the Tokyo National Museum, where the materials from Eta-funayama kofun are still held.

¹⁰ The start of the Kofun period was later defined for the first time in the work of Tomioka Kenzo, who produced a study of Chinese bronze mirrors in the 1920s which showed that the triangular rim mirrors dated to the 3rd century AD (Kishimoto 2011: 34).

¹¹ Gowland cites “the curator of the Tokyo Imperial Museum”, unlikely to be Machida Hisanori as he retired after a year as curator in 1882.

Aston writes about the description of the Japanese Queen Himiko¹² and her kingdom of Yamatai in the 3rd century Chinese history the *Weizhi*¹³. Although he mentions the golden seal she was given in a footnote, he does not discuss the one hundred bronze mirrors she was supposed to have received from the Wei in 238AD (Aston 1889: 58-59; Soumare 2009: 23). Japanese historians were already aware

of the mirrors received from the Kingdom of Wei; it is perhaps possible that Gowland was aware of the history sourcing 3rd century Chinese bronze mirrors in Japan, and misidentified those from Eta-Funyama kofun due to not having access to a detailed typology.

The beginning of tomb construction, how metals were introduced and the origin of the Japanese race continued to be difficult topics to define. Gowland and his contemporaries



Figure 16. A triangular rim, deity-beast mirror, now part of the Gowland Collection OA+7193. (www.britishmuseum.com). © Trustees of the British Museum.

¹² The true identity of Queen Himiko and the location of her Kingdom of Yamatai is a subject to which many entire books and other publications have been devoted (Aston 1887: 56-59; Farris 1998; Piggot 1997: 15-43; Barnes 2007; Kidder 2007; Soumaré 2009: 5-26; Lucie 2011: 74-79). However, Mizoguchi doesn't believe the arguments surrounding Himiko are as important and that they are given too much attention (Mizoguchi 2013). The topic cannot be done justice here, but it is important to note that Gowland would have been aware of this section of the *Weizhi* from Aston's partial translation published in 1887.

¹³ The *Wei zhi* described the Japanese Kingdom of Yamatai and its Queen Himiko, neither of which appears in the earliest Japanese chronicles. But, as the dates nearly match, Himiko (170AD-248AD) was often believed by Japanese scholars to be another name for Empress Jingu (169-269AD), and Yamatai a mispronunciation of Yamato. Aston disagreed with this belief, which only became common during the Meiji period. Previously it had been suggested to be located Kyushu. And Aston continued to believe the location was Dazaifu, modern day Fukuoka prefecture, Kyushu, perhaps influenced by the 18th century Japanese historian Motoori Norinaga (Barnes 2007: 85).

were not aware of the changes in tomb construction that took place throughout the Kofun period. And his understanding of changes between the Yayoi period and the Late Kofun period were similarly ill-defined. But he did make some attempts to date the start of the kofun period, what he called the “Dolmen Age”.

Gowland's appears to have believed the date for the start of the building of keyhole shaped tombs was synonymous with the start of the Dolmen Age. However, he was somewhat vague about exactly when the migration of Iron Age dolmen builders appeared. In 1897, Gowland gave an approximate start to the Dolmen Age of between the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Gowland 1899a: 16).

“From these considerations it would appear that the beginning of the dolmen period may not have been widely separated in time from the commencement of our era [1AD], although it must be remembered that one or two isolated examples would tend to place it in an earlier age.” (Gowland 1897: 510).

However, Gowland did later begin to suggest older dates. By 1915 Gowland's date for the start of the Dolmen Age changes:

“The Japanese, when they migrated from the mainland, were passing out of the Bronze Age stage of culture and entering the Iron Age, as I have already stated, and they had become skilful workers in iron when they became dolmen builders, three or four centuries BC [300-400BC]”. (Gowland 1915: 44).

Captain Francis Brinkley¹⁴ (1841-1912) published a paper about the invasion of Jimmu in 1904 entitled *Primeval Japanese* which is a fanciful retelling of the event from the 8th century histories followed by a discussion heavily influenced by Gowland. Both men make

¹⁴ An Irish military advisor, who knew Gowland, possibly due to Gowland's work at the Imperial Arsenal in Osaka, Gowland's notes mention that he had made a potluck with the captain on December 15th, 1881 (BOX 4-4-36 Appendix 1).

the point that at first the migration consisted of Bronze Age “barrow-builders” who were succeeded by Iron Age “dolmen-builders”, of the same racial origin, but as two separate migratory waves. Brinkley states that:

“It has been supposed that the dolmens do not date from a period more remote than the third century before Christ [300BC], whereas Jimmu’s invasion is assigned to the seventh [660BC].” (Brinkley 1904: 802).

Brinkley appears to have become confused by Gowland’s changing chronology and his use of terminology, i.e. his distinction between the barrows of the Bronze Age starting with Jimmu’s supposed invasion and the slightly later dolmens of the Iron Age.

China has a significantly earlier written history than Japan, and had very early evidence for the use of bronze and iron; 3000BC and 2357BC respectively (Gowland 1912: 248; 1915: 55). Gowland believed this was the source of Japanese metalworking but was not imported to Japan until much later. In a similar fashion, Gowland believed stone chambered earthen mounds to have been imported from the continent due to the much earlier records of Chinese elites being buried in similar monuments, the tomb of Hia How Kao’s¹⁵ tomb in 1848BC being the earliest he was aware of (Gowland 1897: 440). Despite seeing the form of Chinese tombs as significantly different from Japanese tombs. Gowland claims the earliest date the Japanese were in contact with the Chinese was in 265BC (Gowland 1987: 509), there is no Chinese history referring to the Japanese of this date, and it is not entirely clear what he is referring to here. But perhaps the most likely explanation is that he is referencing Aston’s end date for the Chinese history the *Wei zhi* (220-265AD) (Aston 1887: 56) and he believed it to be 265BC in error. It is notable that he does not refer to this date again in his later papers.

¹⁵ It is not yet clear where Gowland was obtaining his information on China, but it could potentially have been from the publications of the Northern China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he sometimes refers to in his unpublished notes.

As was normal for late 19th century archaeology, Gowland based his construction of Japan's chronology on a mixture of early archaeology and history, using the early histories of Japan and the comparative earlier histories of China. Most of this information came from Aston's research and the work of Japanese historians and archaeologists. This was undertaken similarly to how the histories of Egypt, Greece and Rome had been used in Europe to study the prehistory of non-literate peoples on the periphery of those classical cultures. Due to inaccuracies in the histories, there is some confusion in his early chronology.

Gowland knew there was a lack of evidence behind his dates. Like many of his contemporaries, he was aware of the discrepancies when discussing prehistoric sites. The dates were often only vague guidelines when discussing such ancient periods with so little information. Gowland states in his 1889 paper the limitations of his evidence for the start of the Dolmen Age:

"The date assigned to the beginning of dolmen-building is much less definite [than its end], and in fact, only roughly approximate. It is princely based on the time which must have required for the erection of the vast numbers of dolmen in the country... and so the long period demanded for the evolution of the complex dolmens from the same forms." (Gowland 1899a: 36).

A race of warriors

"At the beginning of the Iron Age the race had passed beyond the stage in which they were merely hunting-tribes, and had become a highly civilised people, especially skilled in the working of metals and the fabrication of weapons of war. The Japanese of the Dolmen

Period were a race of warriors, and the art of war is chiefly represented in the remains." (Gowland 1915: 22).

The Three Kingdoms period of Korea is named after the three kingdoms which controlled most of the Korean peninsular during the Kofun period in Japan. These are known as Silla (57-935AD) Paekche (or Baekje) (18BC-660AD) and Koguryo (or Goguryeo) (37BC-668AD). However, there is a fourth geographical area on the Korean peninsular at this time called Kaya (or Gaya) (42-562AD). This is not considered to have been a kingdom in its own right but rather a collection of independent polities which are collectively known as Kaya.

There are descriptions of Japanese invasions of Korea in the Japanese chronicles, by Empress Jingu in the first half of the 3rd century. Ordered by the sun goddess Amaterasu (Aston 1892: 225) Jingu invades and founds Mimana, and soon afterwards invades Silla, which promptly surrenders and promises to pay tribute to the Yamato. Emperor Yūryaku sent a second invasion in 463AD, over a dispute arising around tributes. Mimana, generally believed to have been Kaya or an area situated within Kaya, is recorded in the Japanese chronicles as having been under the direct control of the Yamato. There is little evidence to support this, and it has generally been disregarded by scholars, including those in the late 19th century (Aston 1887: 43; Kwan-u 1974a; 1974b, Edwards 1983; Kidder 1985; Barnes 2007: 9). However, some historians still suggest that there may have been some form of Japanese control within Kaya (Best 2006).

As well as China, Gowland had suggested Korea as the likely origin of the invading Japanese race at the end of the Stone Age, with further migrations throughout a short Bronze Age. This was primarily due to the geographical proximity of Korea and the island of Tsushima as well as his knowledge of burial mounds in Korea (Gowland 1899a: 35). Due to

the large amount of weaponry, armour and horse riding equipment present in kofun, Gowland characterised the Dolmen Age Japanese as a warrior people.

Egami Namio (1967) proposed that the early Japanese exhibited a warrior culture based on the large amount of military equipment present in the tombs of the Middle Kofun period. This has some similarities with the characterisation Gowland gives to the immigration events which he believed started the Bronze Age and Iron Age in Japan. Egami suggested Japan had been invaded, but his invasion hypothesis was not based on the observations on changes in material culture between the Jomon and Yayoi. periods. Instead, he saw the changes in grave goods in the early 5th century AD between the Early and Middle Kofun period as evidence for invading horse riding nomads from the northern slopes of East Asia. He proposed the horse-riders had ridden down the Korean peninsula and established the Korean kingdoms as they went, before crossing the Sea of Japan and establishing themselves in Yamato. He goes as far as to name Emperor Sujin (98-30BC) as the first of this new dynasty (Farris 1998: 63). The horse-rider theory is another of many early state theories that attempted to address the appearance of radical changes in material culture as an invasion of foreign peoples from mainland Asia.

In particular, Egami's theory was based on visual similarities between Kofun period horse and military equipment and Korean examples from the Three Kingdoms period (Egami 1967; Ledyard 1975). Little was known about Korean archaeology in 19th century western archaeology, so Gowland was not familiar enough with Korean iron artefacts to make this observation. However, there had been previous observations of Kofun period ceramics being of similar form and construction to traditional Korean ceramics, discussed in Chapter 4.

The belief of an invasion from the Korean peninsula, however, was never widely accepted. This theory has since been largely disregarded (Edwards 1983; Kidder 1985; Barnes 2007:

9). This had likely more to do with relations with the Korean kingdoms during the early 5th century (see Chapter 4).

Although far from a perfect chronology, Gowland was able to create a basic outline of the Kofun period, which is made all the more impressive given how little information he had to go on. From this point onwards constructing a chronology became significantly easier, as the dates of the early 8th century histories become more reliable, leading into the Asuka period and the end of kofun.

The end of the Dolmen Age

Thanks to the early histories written at the start of the 8th century and the collection from the Shōsō-in , the end of the Kofun period and the start of the Asuka period could be clearly defined. From the 1980s onwards we can also see the adoption of the Asuka period in modern chronologies, which lines up very well with Gowland's termination of the Dolmen Age (Gowland 1897: 506).

It was, then, the narrative of the *Nihon shoki* and the *Kojiki* which initially formed the basis for an understanding of the origins of the Japanese race in the archipelago, and followed the history of the mythological early emperors into events in early history. Including, the arrival of Buddhism during the Late Kofun period and its official adoption in 593AD, traditionally marking the start of the Asuka period. This is followed by the Nara period in 710AD when the first written histories were compiled supplying two important dates:

- 552AD¹⁶ Buddhism is introduced by an envoy from the Korean kingdom of Paekche (Aston 1896: 64), during the middle of the Late Kofun period.
- 593AD Buddhism is officially adopted by the Japanese imperial family (Aston 1896: 221), at the very end of the Late Kofun period).

The first Japanese histories were written in the early 8th century AD, shortly after the Kofun period had ended. The early chapters are purely mythological, but the later chapters which focus on the emperors and empresses of the 6th and 7th centuries are much more reliable sources of information. Thus from the 19th century, there was a relatively good understanding of the latter part of the Kofun period and the introduction of Buddhism, even if there are still mythological elements present. The introduction of Buddhism brought about a gradual change in burial practice from inhumation to cremation, and the practice of grave goods became less popular. This occurred at a similar time when new law reforms were being introduced, influenced by Korean and Chinese practices. These brought an end to the costly tradition of building monumental tombs, and thus the end of the Kofun period. This is now known as the Asuka period¹⁷, which is characterised by an influx of Buddhist art and architecture and the end of keyhole shaped tombs in approximately 600AD. A series of edicts were also made by the imperial Prince Regent Shotoku at this time in 601AD, and another by Emperor Kotoku in 646AD. In addition, Empress Jito was the first member of the

¹⁶ This is based on the date of sutras being sent from the Korean King Song of Paekche (501-523AD), (Aston 1896: 66). Others dates are occasionally used for a slightly earlier event. There is another record that states in 538AD a Buddhist statue was sent from Paekche, this is taken from the *Shoku Nihongi* (literally *Nihon shoki* continued), a later 8th century text and is considered to be less reliable (Kidder 1972a: 15; 1999: 33). King Muryeong, the father of Song, also described in the 12th century Korean history known as the *Samguk sagi* (Best 2006: 317; 325) his tomb, known as Songsan-ri Tomb No. 7, was discovered in 1971 at Gongju in Chungcheongnam-do, South Korea complete with an inscription identifying him.

¹⁷ So named as the imperial palaces were constructed within Asuka, modern Nara prefecture at this time. There existed a tradition throughout the later part of the Kofun period of temporarily enshrining the body of the deceased rulers in a specially constructed structure within the precinct of the palace before burial, and constructing a new palace for the next ruler at a new location, although there is some evidence to suggest that part of the old palaces were moved to the new location, such as roof tiles of an older date than the rest of the structure (Isahaya Naoto pers.comm. 2015). This continued until the Nara period, with the construction of a fixed Chinese style capital in Nara city, Nara prefecture.

imperial family to be cremated in 701AD¹⁸ (Aston 1896: 423). Although Jito's ashes were believed to have then been buried in her husband Tenmu's kofun; Tenmu had been interred eleven years previously as an inhumation burial. The implementation of the Taiho Ritsuryo law reforms in 701AD (Piggot 1997) and the establishment of a new palace in Nara marks the end of the Asuka and the start of the Nara period. Then, from the 8th century during the reign of Emperor Monmu¹⁹, tomb building was abolished altogether (Gowland 1897: 508).

Traditionally the Kofun period had been divided into three sub-periods, Early, Middle and Late, however, the term 'Asuka period' had begun to be used by the 1970s as a transitional period, which could either be seen as a further sub-period or a separate period in its own right. More recently modern scholars have begun to define a new sub-period between the adoption of Buddhism and the end of keyhole shaped tombs in 600AD and the *Hakusorei* in 645AD, known as the "Final Kofun" sub-period, which sits between the Late Kofun and Asuka periods (Mizoguchi 2013: 35).

Gowland's understanding of the Kofun period had a very clear end point, working backwards from known history. It was clear that Buddhism had been introduced in 552AD and officially adopted in 593AD, and the early histories recorded the first Buddhist member of the imperial family, Shotoku *taishi*²⁰ (Aston 1896: 128). Shotoku's edicts in 604AD known as the 'Seventeen Articles', made several moral statements, incorporated a Korean cap

¹⁸ Jito was the first member of the imperial family to abdicate the throne; dying eleven years after her son Monmu took the throne in 697AD. (Kidder 1972a: 18: 1972b).

¹⁹ 42nd Emperor Monmu (697-707AD) was the son of Emperor Tenmu (672-686AD) and Empress Jito (686-697AD), the two previous reigning rulers. As Jito's is the last chapter of the *Nihon Shoki*, Monmu is the first emperor not to have a dedicated chapter in the earliest histories.

²⁰ *Taishi* meaning Prince Regent, as Shotoku ruled along with Empress Suiko and appears in her chapter of the *Nihon shoki* (Aston 1896: 121-159).

rank system²¹ and included a call for the general populous to revere for three Buddhist treasures²².

This was later followed by the first Chinese style law reform, given by Emperor Kotoku in 646AD known as the *Taika* reform. This included alterations to the cap rank system and a section of which dealt with tomb construction called the *Hakusorei* (薄葬令), also recorded in the *Nihon shoki* (Aston 1896: 217-133). This included very severe rules restricting tomb construction and the ranks of individuals who were allowed to have tombs, limiting them to only the highest cap ranks and members of the imperial family. Even the largest stone chambers, allowed to those of the rank of imperial prince and higher, were only 9ft in length and 5ft in width (Aston 1896: 218). This is considerably smaller than even Shibayama Kofun at 13.8ft by 10.5ft, which was a late 5th to early 6th century tomb for a low level regional elite, see Chapter 5. Therefore it was believed that only imperial tomb building persisted during the later half of the 7th century (Gowland 1897: 5-6). However, it is generally thought that these measurements were not rigidly followed as many tombs at this time do not strictly fit these measurements. After this, there was a final abolition of tomb building by the time of Emperor Monmu (697-707AD) (Gowland 1897: 508).

The historical record was supported by the appearance of objects from the survey of the Shōsō-in in the 1870s. The imperial treasure house was historically recorded as having collections of objects from as early as 784AD. Because these objects were visibly typologically later than those found inside tombs, they were used to determine the end of the Dolmen period. Thus Gowland was able to ascribe a date of 600-700AD (Gowland 1897: 507). Tomb building is currently believed to have been heavily restricted during the Asuka period 600-710AD and ended completely by 710AD, the start of the Nara period.

²¹ Cap ranks were a form of elite ranking system derived from Korean and Chinese practises, the Seventeen Articles in 603 was the first time this system was used, several changes were made to the system at later dates, 645, 647, 649, 664, 685 and 701 (Piggot 1997: 85-87).

²² The three Buddhist treasures consist of the Buddha, the sutras and the congregation.

Japanese historians were generally in agreement that cremation had begun by the start of the Nara period in 710AD by which time monumental tomb building had ended. So Gowland's estimation for the end of the Kofun period is much more accurate.

Conclusion

Gowland would have been aware of the arguments surrounding the Ainu/Emishi and pre-Ainu, but this was outside the area of his interest, which was primarily based on the introduction of metalworking to Japan, coinciding with the development of kofun and the Japanese inhabiting Yamato. So up until the introduction of bronze, Gowland's model sticks closely to the mythology of the early histories which had been established as a nation building mythology by the Meiji government (see Chapter 2). Therefore Gowland attributed the date of the 7th or 8th century BC to the immigration of the Bronze Age peoples from the continent. Although this aligns well with the recent recalibration of the start of the Yayoi to 900BC this event appears to ultimately still be based on the date of 660BC for Jimmu's invasion of Yamato, so its current accuracy would seem to be coincidental.

Gowland's understanding of the Bronze Age was focused on the start of bronze objects being used. Because Gowland's research was based primarily on tombs and their content, the majority of which dated to the Late Kofun period. This put severe limitations on what he was able to accomplish. Thus he was not able to make any meaningful discussion in clarifying the Yayoi period, that included the immigration of continental peoples, or the start of the Kofun period when tomb construction began.

He was able to construct the rough outline of the Kofun period, with a mixture of what was evident from the early histories and the relatively limited knowledge of Kofun archaeology. The chronology he was able to put together was impressive, but it lacked the detail which could only be applied with further research. Due to an overall lack of information pertaining

to kofun sites and materials available at that time, he was further hindered by the restrictions which were put on Kofun period sites (see Chapter 2). Throughout the 20th century, great strides have been made in refining our understanding of the chronology of the Kofun period, and this continues to shape our understanding of early Japanese state formation. In a similar fashion to how Gowland's chronology of the early half of the Kofun period needed further refinement, in the light of more information, we will likely be able to construct a better model of the period with future discoveries.

Chapter 4:

William Gowland's ceramic research:

the introduction and production of stoneware ceramics



Figure 17. A selection of *sueki* ceramics from the Gowland Collection (www.britishmuseum.org).
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Introduction

One of the major themes that occurs within Gowland's notes is an interest in Kofun period ceramics and their connection to Korean ceramics. Therefore, this chapter sets out to build on Gowland's research in the late 19th century and explore his interpretations of the introduction of new forms of material culture brought about by the importation of ceramic technology at the start of the Middle Kofun period in the late 4th early 5th centuries AD. During Gowland's time in Japan, he developed an interest in ancient production and was fascinated by the terminology used by the Japanese and westerners collecting, selling and studying these objects, which were believed to have originated from the continent. As

such, this chapter will use Gowland's research as a framework to explore ceramic production during the Kofun period. In discussing Gowland's research, this chapter will also touch upon how these objects were produced and what the part stoneware ceramics had to play in ways the Kofun period elite identified themselves through tomb assemblages and ritual feasting during the latter half of the period.

*Sueki*¹ (須恵器) is the earliest Japanese stoneware and the first Japanese ceramic to be fired in kilns, produced within specialist workshops, starting from the end of the 4th century. Figure 17 shows a collection of *sueki* from the Gowland Collection. All *sueki* is coil built, but smaller vessels are then shaped on a *tournette*, also known as a slow wheel, while the larger vessels are shaped and consolidated using the paddle and anvil technique. After shaping, all pots are fired in sloping kilns, incorporating a reduction firing technique at the end of the firing to give the ceramic a darker grey-brown colour. Its foreign designs and darker colour made it very distinct in appearance from the light red-orange ceramics of earlier periods. The new technology of kiln firing allowed ceramics to be water resistant², enabling them to be used for several purposes for which earthenware was unsuitable.

¹ Occasionally anglicised as 'sue ware'. However, as the word 'ware' does not specifically convey that it refers to a ceramic let alone a stoneware and still requires explanation, I use the original Japanese term *sueki*.

² Stoneware is produced by being fired at higher temperatures which bring about the process of vitrification; the process which defines a stoneware. When temperatures reach over 1200°C the silicates within the fabric of the ceramic's body fuse into a glassy paste (Rice 1987: 94, Sinopoli 1991: 30). This is often aided by the use of a feldspar (a very large family of silicate rocks, occurring very commonly in the earth's crust), commonly used as a flux in clay which lowers the melting point of silica and promotes vitrification. Depending on the feldspar used, this can occur between 1118°C for soda and 1150°C for potash (Rice 1987: 97). This essentially means that the high temperature of firing causes the body of the ceramic to become non-porous and water resistant. Water would slowly seep through an earthenware ceramic, but a stoneware ceramic could hold it quite comfortably. However, it also causes the fabric of the pot loses elasticity, meaning exposure to high temperatures, such as when cooking, which would cause it to crack.

Stoneware ceramics did not supplant the pre-existing earthenwares³ of the Early Kofun period, called *hajiki* (土師器)⁴. Whereas stylistically the *hajiki* of the early Kofun period shows a direct link to that of Yayoi-Kofun transitional period ceramics, *sueki* shows far more Korean influence. It is visually similar in forms and decoration to contemporary stoneware vessels from southern Korea, around the basin of the Raktong-gang River, separating the kingdom of Paekche from the polities of Kaya. In Kofun period Japan, the new stoneware was appropriated into a prestige ceramic, used for rituals, feasting, and as grave goods, and only then by those within the elite strata of society that reflected the way ceramics had been used by the elite of the south Korean kingdoms⁵. During the late 4th and early 5th centuries, there were a large number of civil and technological imports from the Korean peninsula, including kilns and firing techniques, horse riding and iron forging. Even the way rice was cooked changed, incorporating new ceramic rice steamers.

Sueki stoneware⁶ is also very relevant to the modern understanding of Kofun period chronology. From the 1960s onwards *sueki* typologies were used to create a relative chronology for Kofun period sites, from the point at which *sueki* was adopted in Japan at the turn of the 5th century AD. This was based on the typological study of the site of

³ Earthenware is defined as a low fired ceramic, fired at temperatures of approximately 900 to 1200°C (Rice 1987: 82) often in bonfires or pit fires. Stoneware is differentiated by having been fired at higher temperatures of approximately 1200°C or more, which requires a kiln of some form.

⁴ *Hajiki* is orange/red in colour and shows a direct typological relationship to earlier ceramics from the Yayoi period and continued to be produced in bonfires or pit fire, rather than a kiln. These simple methods of firing are inefficient, with temperatures only reaching between 600 to 800°C. Therefore *hajiki* can be defined as a low-fired earthenware. This method would also have had a low output of production, allowing only a small number of ceramics to be made at any one time.

⁵ More often assumed to have originated from Paekche and Silla than the Northern kingdom of Koguryo.

⁶ *Sueki* is often referred to using the generic term *doki* (土器). This term is comprised of the characters '土' meaning earth and '器' meaning ware, and as such is sometimes directly translated as earthenware. However, *doki* is used as a more general term for pottery and does not fit the English definition of an earthenware. *Sekki* (炻器) does literally translates as stoneware. This term does roughly fit the English language term as it refers to ceramics that have been fired between 1200°C and 1300°C, and is often used to refer specifically to unglazed pottery (Rousmaniere 2012: 35-36). This term can include *sueki*, but it is not commonly employed by modern Japanese archaeologists as there is a tendency to confuse the ceramic term *sekki* (炻器) for *sekki* (石器) the much more common, general term for artefacts made of stone, with the exact same pronunciation. This term could also be directly translated as 'stone wares'.

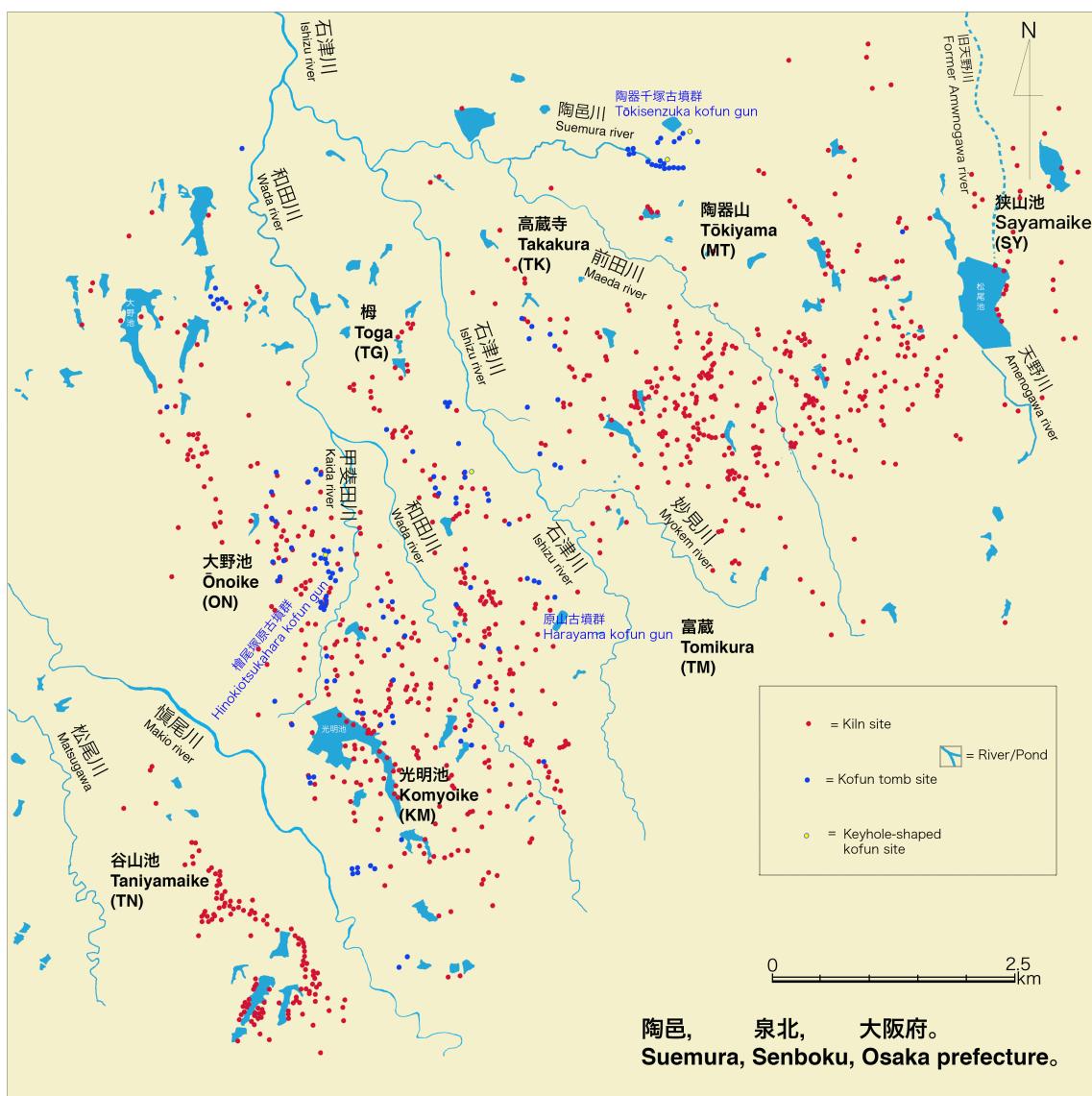


Figure 18. The site of Suemura, Osaka (Redrawn from Osaka Prefecture Senboku Archeological Museum 1980: 23; Osaka prefectoral Chikatsu Asuka Museum 2006: 9).

Suemura⁷ (陶邑村), Senboku hill area⁸, Sakai city, Osaka, shown in Figure 18, and its associated ceramics. When *sueki* appears in Japanese archaeological site reports, it is accompanied by a lettered code referring to the locations of the kilns in Suemura. This

⁷ The name *sueki* translates as 'offering ware' and is derived from a name for the site of Suemura, Sakai city, Osaka, given in the *Nihon shoki*, as *Chinunoagatasumura*. The term for *sueki* was originally *suenoutsuhamono*, (スエノウツハモノ), which was later abbreviated, to *sueki* by the 1920s, after which the name began to become popular through the work of archaeologists such as Gōtō Shuichi in 1935 (1888-1960) (Tanabe 1981: 8).

⁸ Although often described as a single site, Suemura is a 15km by 9km landscape consisting of many hundreds of kiln sites and three known kofun clusters. It has received a considerable amount of investigation since the 1960s and is the basis for the relative dating of Middle and Late Kofun period sites. Over its entire use as a ceramic production centre, it is estimated that approximately 1000 kilns were used to manufacture *sueki*, between the the 5th and 10th centuries AD. As such Suemura is considered a particularly important example of Kofun period production, and 2,572 *sueki* objects, three oven tools and ten tiles discovered at Suemura were listed as important cultural assets in 2004 (Chiketsu-Asuka Museum 2006: 87).

code is then attributed to ceramics found at other Kofun period sites and used to indicate the position in the Suemura typology. In the study of the collection by the modern Gowland survey team, all datable *sueki* objects have received relative dates based on the Suemura typologies, showing how the study of this site is of particular importance to Kofun period archaeology. For example, the *sueki* from Shibayama kofun (see Chapter 6) were attributed to TK47 or MT15, meaning the ceramics were most similar typologically to those from kiln No. 47 at Takakura and No. 15 at Tokiyama, which have been dated to approximately 500AD or the first part of the 6th century. However, Suemura and its significance were not known in the 19th century.

In the last chapter, we briefly discussed Yasui rock tomb, a rock cut tomb in Izumo in the discussion of the *tsuchi gunmo*, which displays Gowland's early understanding in the difference between *hajiki* and *sueki*. In this chapter, we will move on to discuss Gowland's investigation of the *sueki* kilns at Sakuraidani, Osaka, which he was able to identify using observations of contemporary Korean potters during his time in Korea in 1884. This places Gowland at the very beginning of the history of studying these sites (Hishida 2015). Sadly the description of his actual excavation is rather short and not very detailed. However, to an extent, we can reconstruct some of Gowland's interests in ceramic technology and his understanding of its chronology through his notes and collection.

The Gowland Collection contains a large number of *sueki* stoneware objects. The exact number is difficult to know at the time of writing, as many exist as complete objects, collections of sherds that make up complete or partially reconstructed ceramics, or collections of unrelated single sherds that were collected from the same site. Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest there is a number of *sueki* vessels within the collection gathered by 'Siebold', also marked in Japanese with red *katakana*. It is likely that this refers to Heinrich von Siebold, but this has not been verified.

The investigation of the Sakuraidani kilns near Taikozuka kofun cluster took place in October 1887 (BOX 5-1-11-1 Appendix 2), only a few months before the excavation of Shibayama kofun the following December. Gowland had already been collecting information about Kofun period ceramics, for a publication with Aston as early as 1883⁹. But Gowland had visited Sakuraidani originally intending to investigate the origins of a stoneware coffin (Franks.2212)¹⁰ which was removed from its associated tomb by a local priest, Sakurai Giomon in 1884 before the site was destroyed (BOX 4-16-1; BOX 5-1-3-5 Appendix 2). Gowland had become aware of the coffin in 1886 or 1887 from one of Romyn Hitchcock's photographs of the coffin as it sat on the porch of the Hō-onji temple, shown in Figure 19. It was during his investigation of the site of the remains of Taikozuka kofun cluster that Gowland discovered the remains of several kilns. This investigation was likely intended to build on Aston and Gowland's discussion of "Dolmen Age" ceramics. Although, if any excavation had taken place Gowland's methodology was perhaps not developed enough to allow him to make significant records of it. *Sueki* had been associated with kofun since long before the Meiji period. Following this previous scholarship, Gowland was able to begin reinterpreting the early understanding of Kofun period ceramics in the light of material evidence of production and a detailed ethnographic study of a similar contemporary production site in Korea (BOX 3-1-1 Appendix 2).

This chapter attempts to identify Gowland's understanding of the development of ceramic technology in Japan during the Kofun period and place his early investigations of *sueki*

⁹ This is mentioned in a letter between Basil Hall Chamberlain and Edward Burnett Tylor in 1883 held by the Pitt-Rivers Museum (<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk>).

¹⁰ Hitchcock had originally believed that the coffin photographed to have been broken "*In at least one instance we found remains of stone and clay coffins... [the figure] shows a clay coffin taken from a chambered mound in Settsu. When I first saw it and made photographs it was perfect but soon after it was broken in two*" (Hitchcock 1893: 524). Although he mentioned fragments of others, Gowland states that his example was the only one he was aware of (BOX 5-1-3-6) and makes no mention of a second broken coffin at Hō-onji, we can assume that Hitchcock was mistaken, but it is not yet clear how he came to hold this belief.



Figure 19. Two photographs of the stoneware coffin Franks.2212, at Hō-onji temple, Sakuraidani, Osaka, taken by Romyn Hitchcock and perhaps William Gowland between 1886 and 1887 (Hitchcock 1893: 523; 525).

kilns into their place in the history of archaeology¹¹. The early 8th century histories will again be consulted to understand why ceramic production was known to have been important and has implications suggesting larger changes in society through the introduction of specialist workshops in the 5th century.

19th century understanding of *sueki*

By the time Gowland arrived in Japan in 1872, the collecting of *sueki* and other ancient ceramics was already somewhat popular among collectors and tea masters. During the 18th century, the scholarly pursuits of collecting and observing material artefacts had become a popular pastime, taking inspiration from much earlier Chinese scholarship (Díaz-Andreu 2007: 189; Falkenhausen 2013). Influence from Qing dynasty China had created increased interest in natural history, which included the study of ancient ceramics dug up from the ground such as *sueki*. These early studies emphasised the form and function of the vessel over its interpretive value (Tanabe 1981: 4).

During the 19th century, *sueki* was most commonly referred to as *gyōgiyaki* (行基燒), a term which Gowland used himself in some of his notes (BOX 4-2-2 Appendix 2; BOX 4-26-6 Appendix 3). This term derives from the recorded historical date for the introduction of the potter's wheel to Japan in the 8th century by a Chinese Buddhist monk named Giyōgi (670-749AD). It is clear from the use of this name that early collectors recognised

¹¹ This chapter was made possible with funding from the Great British Sasakawa Foundation and the help of Professor Hishida Tetsuo who offered invaluable advice and kindly took me to visit the local archaeological unit's offices and to the sites in Sakuraidani themselves in 2014. As well as many useful explanations of the material that he gave during the surveys at the British Museum between 2013 and 2016. Many of the topics I will discuss in this chapter draw from Hishida's own work on production during the Kofun period (Hishida 2007) and information pertaining to Gowland and ceramic research, will likely appear in his forthcoming papers, as such I have included many personal comments as references below.

the rilling marks¹² left on the surface of the smaller *sueki* vessels as having been formed on a wheel and dated them accordingly. But, as Gowland rightfully claims in one of his notes, *sueki* was considerably older than this date (BOX 5-2-1-1). It is also notable that the marks identified were not formed by a true potter's wheel, but a *tournette*¹³. As *tournettes* are turned by hand, the speed at which they are capable of rotating is not sufficient to shape large vessels. Larger vessels needed to be shaped using the paddle and anvil technique.

The *Kojiki* (712AD) and *Nihon shoki* (720AD) describe a significant interaction between the early Japanese state and the Korean kingdoms throughout their history, and the craftsmanship of the Korean people was believed to be superior to the Japanese, to the extent that Yamato was likely to have imported Korean craftspeople. This, as well as physical similarities between ceramics found in the Kofun period and ancient Korean ceramics, had led early Japanese scholars to believe that Kofun period ceramics had originated from Korea. Early European scholars influenced by these beliefs began to reiterate this belief in English language publications. Both Heinrich von Siebold (1879) and Morse (1880) had discussed the idea that *sueki* had been imported from Korea.

"In the vicinity of the dolmens [kofun] and in paths leading to them, fragments of a hard, unglazed blue pottery [sueki] were found; and these fragments are identical with vessels

¹² Rilling marks refers to the striations on a ceramic's surface caused by forming the vessel on a potter's wheel or *tournette* (Rice 1987: 132-134). The distinction between a true potters wheel or "fast wheel" and a *tournette* is the speed at which the design of the object is able to rotate. The slow wheels turning at the speed of between 80-100rpm (rotations per minute) and the fast wheel turning at up to or more than 150rpm. In the case of the fast wheel, the speed allows the forming of the entire vessel in the process known as throwing. In the case of *tournettes*, rotary kinetic energy was not fundamental to the production of the vessel (Rice 1987:12). The Japanese terminology does not afford differentiation between potter's wheel and *tournette*, both referred to as *rokuko* (轆轤).

¹³ During the Yayoi period decorating using a rotary wheel can be seen from the application of comb marks with a definitive beginning point, which coils uninterrupted around the vessel several times in a fluid motion. In order to achieve this effect, a turning wheel would have had to have been employed. This form of decorating ceramics can be seen to have continued appearing on the *ento-haniwa* of the Early Kofun period. Small *sueki* vessels, such as *tsuki*, *takatsuki* and *haso*, however, were the first ceramics to have been partly formed on a *tournette* (Rice 1987: 132-134). The true potter's wheel was not imported until much later.

dug up in various parts of the empire, which are regarded by Japanese archaeologists as being of Corean [Korean] origin, from nine to twelve hundred years old.” (Morse 1880: 7).

The dates Morse gives here would place the age of *sueki* between 680-980AD. It is not clear where these dates came from, but they could refer to the traditional 7th century date for the introduction of the potter’s wheel by Giyōgi and thus maybe conflating the two types of stoneware which the Japanese made at the time between large and small vessels, see below. From what Morse describes we can clearly see that he is drawing on previously existing Japanese scholarship, although he gives no direct reference as to whom he received this information. H. Siebold gives a slightly more detailed account in his publication, but again neglects to reference the origin of this information. However, here he does allude to the Japanese distinction between *sueki* with paddle and anvil marks¹⁴ *chosendoki*, (朝鮮土器, ‘Korean pottery’) and those with rilling marks from a wheel, *gyōgiyaki*. The latter was later known by Japanese scholars as *saishiki* (祭食), literally meaning ‘feasting wares’ as there were examples found in tombs containing the remains of food:

“In the second class of pottery¹⁵ I count that purely Japanese, which up to the year 700 B.C. when the lathe [potter’s wheel] was introduced from China, was formed by hand alone; subsequently to that date it always bears lathe marks [rilling marks]. Its material is mostly a hard grey-coloured clay...

¹⁴ The production marks caused by the use of the ‘paddle and anvil technique’. After a vessel is formed with the coiling technique, a wooden anvil is held on the inside surface while the outside is beaten with a paddle to consolidate the walls of the ceramic, remove air bubbles and shape the vessel before it is fired. If the anvil is carved, it can leave circular markings. The modern Japanese name for these tool marks is *ategukon* (当て具根), and the decoration itself is called *doushinenmon* (同心円文).

¹⁵ The first kind of ancient pottery which H. Siebold discussed can be identified as *Jomon doki*. He makes no distinction with *Yayoi doki*.

The third kind of ancient pottery hitherto discovered is of Corean [Korean] origin and is made a peculiarly hard material of grey colour. The vessels bear some resemblance to the Japanese pottery above described, but the design is formed not by straight, but by curved lines. The inner part is seamed by many curved lines which appear to have been formed by pressure [anvil marks]. They are found together with bronze objects in localities noted in history as having been formally populated by Coreans, as, for instance, in Kiushiu [Kyushu] and also in the provinces of Jōshiu (Kōzuke¹⁶) and Musashi¹⁷” (H. Siebold 1879: 9).

The much earlier date for the introduction of the potter's wheel which H. Siebold gives would seem to be based on the traditional date of Jimmu's invasion in 660BC, although the date still suggests that it was introduced from China. Contrary to Morse's very late date, H. Siebold gives a much too early date which seems to be based on the traditional arrival of tomb construction and the immigration of the Japanese race (see Chapters 2 and 3). He believed all earthenware ceramics to have been made by the Stone Age Emishi/Ainu/pre-Ainu (see Chapter 2). *Sueki* with anvil marks he attributes to Koreans but does not offer a date.

From the discussion Gowland gives regarding the date of *sueki* it appears he was aware of the one thousand year controversy surrounding the dates, Gowland attempted to test the 19th century understanding of *sueki* ceramics and its suggested foreign connections. Firstly, following Morse's dates, based on the dates for Giyōgi and the term *gyōgiyaki*:

“The pottery has been termed "Gyogi yaki" by the Jap[anese] because accord[ing] to an old tradition a Buddh[ist] priest Gyogi introd[uced] the pottery wheel from China in the latter half of the early 7th or first half of the 8th but there are not the slightest grounds

¹⁶ Now part of modern Gunma prefecture.

¹⁷ Now part of modern Kanagawa prefecture.

whatever for supporting this old tale. On the other hand there is overwhelming evidence. in fact the opinion & testimony of all dolmens that these sepulchral mounds are of a much more remote date & the potters wheel date from many centuries earlier. how many of it is impossible to say... the earliest of this pottery is coeval with the start of the dolmen period - this I am inclined to fin[d] appears as not later than the 2nd century B.C." (BOX 5 2-1-1 Appendix 2)

Gowland, quickly dismisses the Giyōgi story origin for *sueki*, as they were found in tombs known to date much earlier than the late 7th century monk was said to have been born. As seen in Chapter 3, Gowland uses the 7th century as the termination of the "Dolmen Age" as there were comparative objects from the Shōsō-in in Nara that were visibly very different from objects found in kofun. He paid far more attention to H. Siebold's dates and the terms *Chosen doki* and *Chosen guruma* (Gowland 1895: 323), and always noted if they were visible on any sherds that he found. For instance in his diagram of Shibayama kofun (BOX 4-2-1 Appendix 3) the only incomplete vessel depicted is that of "Pot V". A single sherd of this object is shown on his plan marked with the letters 'K' and 'W' referring to 'Korean wheel' (See Chapter 6 and Appendix 3).

In Gowland's unpublished notes (BOX 5-2-1-1 Appendix 2) he gives a date in between the dates of H. Siebold and Morse for the beginning of *sueki* production, dating it to the 2nd



Figure 20. *Hajiki* earthenware ceramics from Yasui rock tomb. Museum numbers from left to right: Franks.2201; Franks.2203.2; Franks.2202 (Gowland 1897: 493).

century BC, which in the modern chronology would have placed it during the Early Yayoi period. Although a little more accurate, this is still much too early. Prescribing calendar dates at this time, without historical references was extremely challenging, and in this instance, it would appear that Gowland was attributing *sueki* to what he believed were the Iron Age dolmen building peoples, displacing the previous earthen mound building Bronze Age peoples in his understanding of Japanese prehistory. Thus this would appear to be based on the idea that iron working and *sueki* would have appeared at the same time. However, this does not appear in his later publication when he discusses *sueki*'s origins (Gowland 1896: 494). From modern research, we know that *sueki* was a later development, and was not adopted by the Japanese until approximately 400AD at the start of the Middle Kofun period. During the Early Kofun period, earthenwares continued to be used. Gowland also mistakenly believed that *hajiki* had completely replaced *sueki*, despite finding both ceramics at some sites, such as the Late Kofun period rock cut tomb, Yasui rock tomb, Izumo (Nishimura 2015: 5; 2016: 12; BOX 4-10-2-1). In fact, *sueki* simply became the elite ceramic, while *hajiki* continued as the utilitarian ware. Thus *sueki* was over-represented in the elite tombs that Gowland was researching. *Hajiki* was occasionally used as a grave good but in far fewer numbers and very simple forms, such as those at Yasui rock tomb, shown in Figure 20. Gowland's research mainly consisted of finds from elite tombs of the Late Kofun period, which had displayed a large number of elite ritual *sueki* against a far smaller sample of *hajiki* ceramics. However, in the case of elite domestic sites finds of *hajiki* will outnumber *sueki*.

Although Gowland was primarily a metals specialist, he did show a particular interest in the production of ceramics and paid close attention to the technological characteristics of the ceramics. For instance, he made notes on how well fired the pottery was. In his 1897 paper, Gowland described *hajiki* as 'lightly burnt terracotta' and the majority of *sueki* as 'earthenware more or less hard burnt'. Gowland's third type was 'coarse terracotta', which he used to refer to high fired storage vessels and sarcophagi (Gowland 1897: 495-498).

Gowland's terminology refers to earthenware, low fired stoneware and properly vitrified stoneware. From this, it can be seen that Gowland had become sufficiently informed about the fabric of ceramics to identify how well fired they were.

Sueki had long been associated with kofun, as these were where most of the complete vessels were coming from. Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863-1913) began to use the term 'tumulus ware' from around 1887 (Tanabe 1981). Gowland himself refers to *sueki* as "sepulchral pottery" on multiple occasions before this date. By at least 1889 he used the term tumulus ware which may have been influenced by Tsuboi (BOX 4-8 Appendix 2).

Development of stoneware technology in East Asia

Before giving a discussion of Gowland's investigation of *sueki* kilns, to put his understanding in context, we will discuss the general background of the introduction of stoneware into Japan and how that technology spread. The spread of stoneware technology in East Asia is synonymous with the spread of the climbing kiln (登窯 *noborigama*) or sloping kiln (窯窯, *anagama*), an example of which is shown in Figure 21.

This was the first kiln of any kind to be utilised in Japan, and came in three varieties, above ground, half submerged and submerged. All follow the basic premise of a combustion area at the front and a long, narrow, single chamber with a floor set at a 20-30 degree angle.

Stoneware originated in East Asia, in China during the Shang Dynasty (2000-1027BC). In what is now southern China, the 'dragon' kiln became the definitive type of kiln used during the Bronze Age, with concentrations in the southwestern coastal regions (Needham 2004: 347). These kilns were constructed on slopes into the sides of hills and produced high temperatures allowing for a more effective firing process, in very similar forms to the first Japanese kilns of the early 5th century AD. The slope allowed control over the flow of

oxygen and could be managed. This enabled ceramics to be reduction fired, producing a grey/black finish, such as that displayed on *sueki*. The kiln technology from Bronze Age China formed the basis of technologies that would later be adopted in Korea and later still in Japan.

There is some difficulty surrounding the transition and adoption of *sueki* on the Korean peninsula as there is a significant gap of some 1,500 years between the development of stoneware technology in China and its use in Korea. The earliest stoneware in Korea dates between the late 3rd and early 4th centuries AD (Barnes 2001: 104), approximately a hundred years before it appears in Japan. The climbing kilns which appeared in Korea at this time are similar in character to those of the Shang period and are believed to have been introduced via relations with the Chinese, likely from the Han commandery of Lelang in the north of the peninsula. In the south, Barnes believes the sloping kiln technology was transmitted to southwest Korea over the sea from southern China (Barnes 2001). This is

Climbing kiln *Noborigama* 登窯

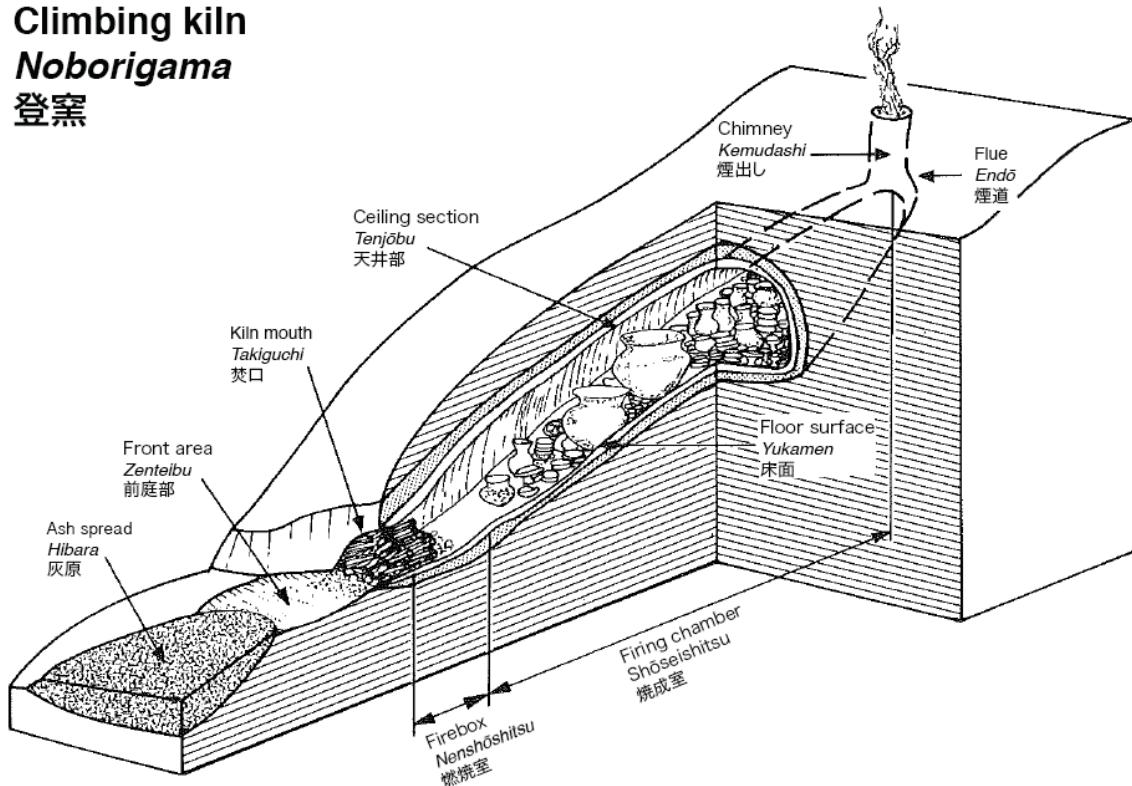


Figure 21. Diagram of a *noborigama* climbing kiln (Redrawn from Excavation Committee of the Izumi Hill Site 1992: 23)

based on the observation that 3rd century *wajil*¹⁸ jars are very similar in form to southern Chinese stoneware of the 2nd-3rd centuries AD (Portal 2000: 41).

The earliest known *sueki* in Japan, dated to the late 4th century, was discovered at Kumedamochi-no-ki kofun in southern Osaka, near the site of Suemura. As the character of Korean and early *sueki* is so similar, opinions are divided as to whether it was made in Japan or brought from Korea (Hishida 2007: 53). At the same time, early *sue* kilns also appeared across northern Kyushu, along the coast of the Seto Inland Sea, and in the Osaka Bay area. There are also possible production sites along the San'in coast and in the area of Ise Bay, although this is based on the distinct stylistic appearance of the vessels in this area; but there is yet to be a production site found there (Hishida 2007).

In the earliest stages of stoneware adoption in Japan, production was small scale and shows relatively little organisation (Osaka Prefectural Board of Education 1995: 146). An example of this stage in the adoption into Japan is the site of Ichizuka No.2, in Kana, which is believed to be among the earliest kilns in Japan (Hatai 2006: 45).

The oldest *sueki* in Kyushu was excavated from the Okuma kiln, Yasu-cho, Fukuoka prefecture. Both *hajiki* and Korean stonewares had been used in the Fukuoka tombs from the late 4th to early 5th centuries, and in fact, Kyushu tombs often display foreign characteristics earlier than the rest of Japan. This is most likely because they are geographically closer to Korea and the opening of the trade route to the Seto Inland Sea. The *sueki* made here is believed to show a developmental stage in the introduction of stoneware to Japan and the first evidence of an interest in producing stoneware in the archipelago. Sherds found from the Okuma kiln are believed to display a *haji-sue* mix,

¹⁸ Korean paddle-made grey ceramics had previously fallen under the umbrella term of *Kimhae*. This term was later replaced with *yonjil* (earthen ware), *wajil* (tile-ware, a high fired earthen ware) and *kyonjil* (stoneware) (Kim Woode 2014 pers.comm.).

sometimes referred to as pre-*sueki* (Kidder 1990: 41), representative of this early transmission.

Gowland's investigation of Korean kilns

Studies regarding a link between Japan and Korea during the Kofun period had already been well established by native scholars at least one hundred years before Gowland's visit. In his book, *Shokohatsu*, written in 1791, Tō Teikan (1731-1798) believed the style of dress of Late Kofun period *haniwa*, and several other artefacts common to both Japan and Korea, was distinctly Korean in character. This led him to postulate that the Japanese Imperial family were the descendants of Korean nobles (Tanabe 1981: 4-5; Bleed 1986: 61). Gowland was not the first to discuss the connection between early Japanese and Korean stoneware, but he was the first to test these ideas and make an ethnographical study of a contemporary Korean kiln in 1884 that he used to identify stoneware kilns in Japan.

In the early 20th century, large and small *sueki* vessels were divided into two groups based on the way in which they were constructed. Small *sueki* vessels that were coil built and finished on a *tournette*, were known as *saishiki* (祭食) or ceremonial feasting wares.

Large vessels, made by coiling followed by the paddle and anvil technique, were referred to as *chosendoki*, (朝鮮土器) (Tanabe 1981: 8), meaning Korean pottery. The concentric pattern visible on the inside of the larger *sueki* is left by the impression of the wooden anvil tool during its construction, with the paddle and anvil technique. This pattern has been referred to in the late 19th century as *Chosenguruma* (朝鮮車), what Gowland referred to as "Korean wheel". As this form of ceramic production had persisted in Korea into the 19th century, early Japanese antiquarians named the marks visible on ancient Japanese ceramics after the contemporary Korean examples, originally believing all large

forms of *sueki* ceramics to have been made in this manner and imported from Korea. It was not until the kiln sites began to be studied in the 20th century that small and large vessels were confirmed to have been produced at the same sites, despite having differing production methods (Tanabe 1981: 8).

In 1884 Gowland went to Korea, travelling between Seoul and Busan. There is relatively little information about what he did in Korea, other than a description in his 1895 paper on the trip (Gowland 1895). He describes only finding two “dolmens” having been reported on, and a third which he was escorted to by William Aston, as during this time Aston was working as the first British Consul-General to Korea (Gowland 1895: 318).

Although a description in one of Gowland’s obituaries offers a little more background information “...he carried out exploration in Korea on behalf of the Japanese Government, which was by no means free from danger to himself and his party” (C.H.C.H 1922: 2908). Exactly why he was sent to Korea by the Japanese government, why this would require exploring (if it was connected to his work at the Osaka Mint), and why this would be dangerous¹⁹ is not yet clear. What we can say is that, while in Korea, Gowland made attempts to visit ancient sites, collected artefacts²⁰ and met with the American collector Perrie L. Jouy²¹ (1856-1894). According to Gowland, Jouy’s collection included over one hundred examples of Korean stoneware. Gowland describes how he talked at length with Jouy concerning the Korean and Japanese stoneware, but the only details given in his notes and his 1895 paper are that Jouy told him he had never seen *ategukon* on Korean

¹⁹ The danger mentioned maybe in reference to the political instability in Korea at the time, perhaps specifically the Kapsin (or Gaspin) coup of 1884, however this event occurred on the 4th of December. The only known dates that Gowland was in Korea during that year are in October towards the end of his stay, it seems likely Gowland was not still in Korea when the coup took place. But the coup did lead to the Japanese legation building in Seoul being burnt down, causing the deaths of forty Japanese nationals (Duus 1995: 215).

²⁰ The objects Gowland acquired in Korea, now held in the British Museum are believed to be of dubious authenticity by the current survey team. And in fact Gowland complains in his paper on Korea that those who sold him the objects would tend not to tell him where they were from (Gowland 1895).

²¹ Jouy was an American who at the time was working at the Chinese custom service, but had been collecting archaeological, zoological and ethnological materials on behalf of the Smithsonian Institute across Eastern Asia (<http://vertebrates.si.edu>).

examples of stoneware. This led Gowland to believe that *ategukon* had originated in Japan and was only adopted by Korea later (BOX 3-1-2 Appendix 2) (Gowland 1897: 494). This was, in fact, correct (Hishida Tetsuo pers.comm. 2016), as although as discussed above, *sueki* had been adopted from Korea, the practice of carving concentric circles into the anvil to create the effect of *ategukon* had originated in Japan. Earlier Korean examples show only large smooth pits where a flat faced anvil was used. It was only later adopted in Korea, where the practice had survived long after it had died out in Japan. Cheaply produced stonewares were used as water storage jars in 19th century Korea displayed similar patterns to *sueki* storage jars (such as the example Gowland sketches in BOX 3-1-6 Appendix 2). Although it is not clear if his talks with Jouy occurred before or after the next event, Gowland's interest in the term Korean wheel marks led him to visit and make a study of a 19th century Korean ceramic workshop. This allowed him to later identify the structure of the climbing kiln sites in Japan.

On the 11th of October of 1884, Gowland made a visit to a village that produced stoneware of a very similar form to *sueki*, to observe how it was made. This led to the most detailed account in Gowland's time of such a workshop in Korea but was not published. This took place at a village “*about 3 miles south of Seonsan on the east bank of the Fusang river [Nakdong river]*”. Gowland recorded the process in minute detail, transcribed in BOX 3-1-1 to 3-1-7 (Appendix 2). He produced a simple plan of one of the kilns employed shown in Figure 22 (BOX 3-1-4 Appendix 2) and collected the wooden potter's tools used which made the marks see Figures 23 and 24. He also gave a very detail account of how the potters worked, in working the clay and firing the kilns (BOX 3-1-5 Appendix 2). By 1884 Aston and Gowland were planning on working on a study of Japanese ceramics as part of their joint publication on Japanese archaeology which was never completed. In a letter to Edward Burnett Tylor in April 1884, Aston wrote:

"I am at present engaged along with Mr. Gowland. Technical Advisor to the Japanese Mint, on a work on the tumuli of Japan, and we hope in connection with it to throw a little light on the subject of Ancient Japanese pottery." (<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk>).

It was only some years after this in 1886 at the earliest that Gowland would discover a kiln site in Japan near the Buddhist temple Hō-onji in Sakuraidani, Toyonaka city, northern Osaka prefecture. Gowland made a donation to Hō-onji temple in 1887 and then records in his notes that he visited again in 1888 when he went to the temple and spoke with the head priest Sakurai Giomon and bought the ceramic coffin (Hishida 2015: 9). As discussed in Chapter 2, Gowland bought the majority of his collection in late 1887 and 1888. The exploration of Senriyama and acquisition of the stoneware coffin occurred between his first visit to Shibayama and the excavation that December. The events are listed chronologically below:

- 1884 Sakurai removes stoneware coffin from a tomb at Taikozuka kofun cluster.
- 11th Oct 1884. Gowland visits Korean potters village, "3 miles east of Seonsan".
- 1886 or 1887. Hitchcock visits Sakuraidani and photographs coffin.
- 26th Oct 1887 Gowland explores Taikozuka kofun cluster and 3 kilns.

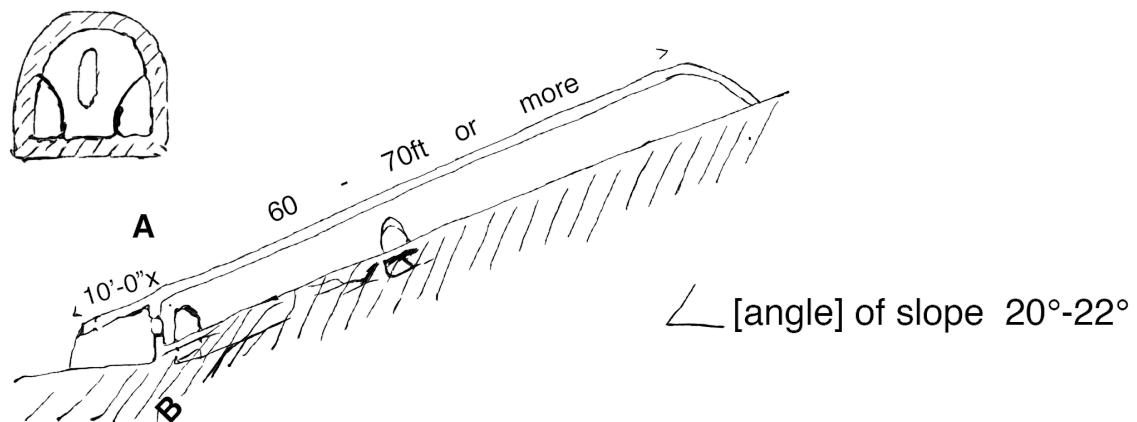


Figure 22. Gowland's sketch of a contemporary Korean sloping kiln from a potter's village near Seonsan, South Korea in 1884. (BOX 3-1-4).

- Post 26th Oct 1887 Gowland explores Sakurazuka kofun cluster and 5 kilns.
- 14th Nov 1887 Gowland donates a new entrance gate for Hō-onji temple.
- Post 14th Nov 1887 Gowland purchases the stoneware coffin.

(BOX 3-3-1; BOX 5-1-3-8; BOX 5-1-11-4; BOX 5-3-1-6; Unknown No.1 Appendix 2).

Gowland's investigation of Sakuraidani, Osaka

Gowland mentions that there was a belief that Kofun ceramics were fired in pit fires (BOX 5-1-3-8 Appendix 2), but Sakurai was already aware of the ancient kilns near his temple and Gowland records that he had removed some specimens of *sueki* previously (BOX 5-11-1 Appendix 2). Gowland's descriptions of the kilns themselves are quite limited, although it is perhaps possible that there could still be more



Figure 23. (Museum number: 1889,0501.11) A potter's wooden anvil collected in 1884 from a village 3 miles south of Seonsan by William Gowland. A very similar kind of tool to that which was used in the Kofun period, employed in the paddle and anvil technique. The carving of the flat side of this tool was used to apply the concentric circular anvil marks to the inside of large *sueki*. The label is marked with an 'L' to indicate that it was held with the left hand (britishmusuem.org). © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 24. (Museum number: 1889,0501.10) A potter's wooden paddle, also collected in 1884. During the Kofun period fabric was often applied to the face of the paddle to add texture to the surface of the ceramic. The label is marked with an 'R' to indicate it was held in the right hand (britishmusuem.org). © Trustees of the British Museum.

notes pertaining to this investigation. But currently, it would appear that his field technique had not developed to the point where he would have been able to record an open trench. Gowland may have first became aware of the coffin from the photographs of Royce Hitchcock, who appears to have introduced Gowland to photography. There is no indication from the archive that Hitchcock went with Gowland back to Sakuraidani, and although Hitchcock makes a reference to having taken the photograph, he believed it to be a different coffin than the one Gowland had purchased (Hitchcock 1893: 524). Gowland would return to Sakuraidani several times late in his stay in Japan. The earliest visit we know of was on October 26th, 1887 (BOX 5-11-1 Appendix 2), and it was only then he seems to have made an investigation of the kofun site that the coffin had come from Taikozuka kofun cluster. Following the description of Sakurai, Gowland set about to



investigate the site, yet whilst there he also investigated the remains of ceramic production. After this Gowland made an investigation of the Sakurazuka kofun cluster a few miles south of the temple. It was there he discovered more ruined kilns of the Shimbara kiln cluster. Although we do not have a firm date for the second site in his notes when he describes the event he was already aware of the ceramic coffins. On November 14th, 1887, Gowland donated money for a new entrance gate for the temple, shown in Figure 25, which would appear to have been done in order to secure the coffin (BOX 5-1-3-6).

"In the same hills there are remains of ancient pottery where giyogi yaki was manufactured. And the ground near[by] is strewn with full of frag[ments] of imperfect & broken vessels . v[&] agglom[erated] measures of semifused clay +[&] charcoal". (BOX 5-11-1 Appendix 2).

The Taikozuka kofun cluster initially consisted of approximately 30 kofun (Maeda 2012) many of which were destroyed in 1884, which Gowland records, but likely only from a description given by Sakurai, and it may well have been that Gowland was in Korea when this event occurred. Although Gowland was unaware of this at the time, the same group would later be found to contain an additional ten stoneware coffins, showing an unusually high concentration of coffins within the tomb cluster compared with anywhere else in Japan. He, in fact, made a note that there were other sherds of coffins found, some of which may be those recently identified in the collection by Maeda Toshio of the current survey team. However, Gowland also describes remains of coffins at two other sites (BOX 4-16-2 Appendix 2).

As can be seen in Figure 26, the Taikozuka (太鼓塚) kofun cluster is situated within the area of the Sakuraidani kiln cluster and is the same approximate distance from Hō-onji temple which Gowland describes in his notes. This narrows down the area of his study. It

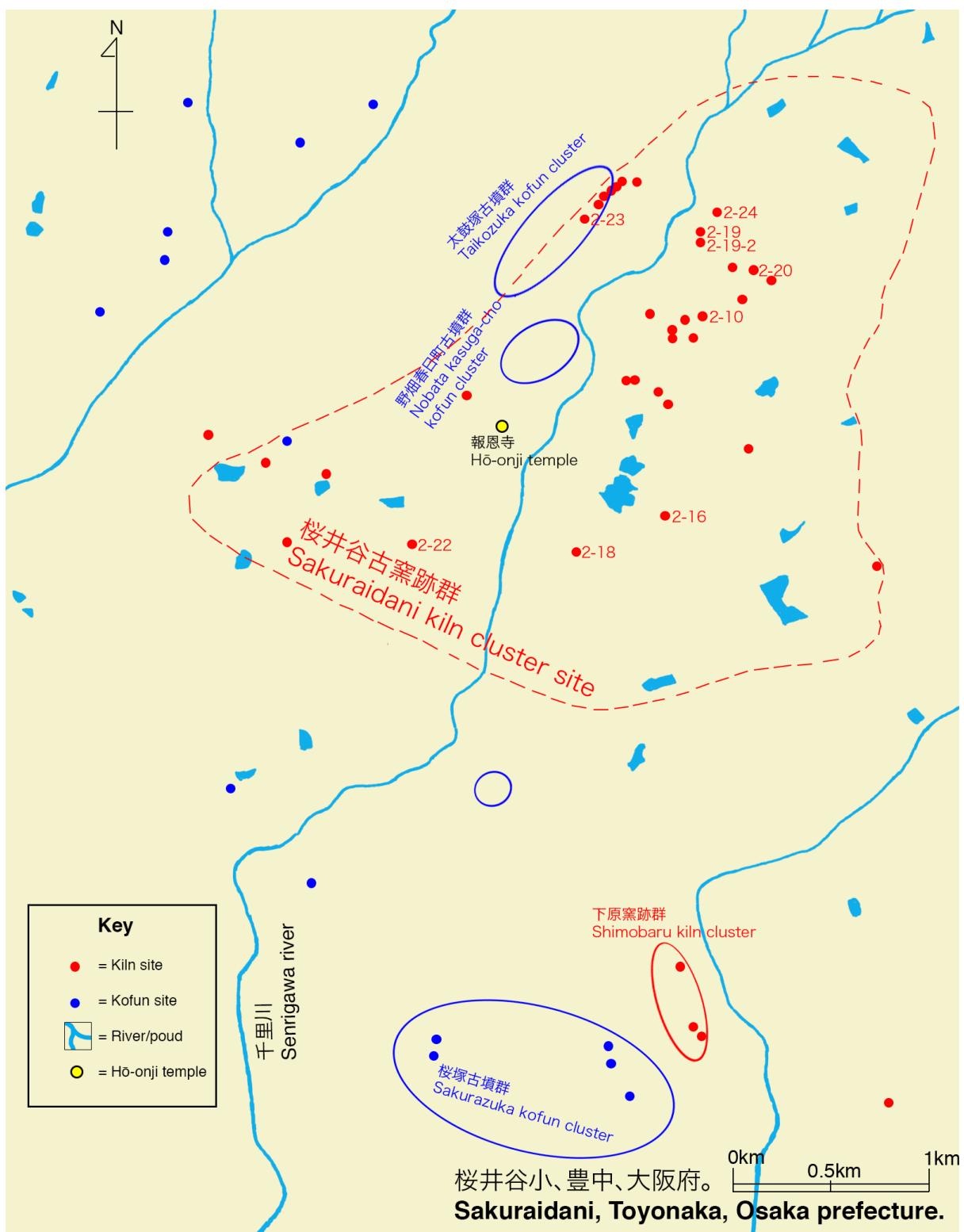


Figure 26. Map of Sakuraidani, showing kofun and kilns sites within the area. (Redrawn from: Toyonaka Municipal Board of Education 1982: 1; 1991: 2).

is also notable that there are several known kilns in that area.

Taikozuka kofun cluster is situated on the lower slopes of the Senriyama mountain range (BOX 4-16-1; BOX 5-1-11-1; BOX 5-1-11-3 Appendix 2). Although many of these tombs had been destroyed before he arrived, the hills

opposite them showed the remains of three “potteries”, (the term Gowland used to refer to kilns) where “sepulchral pottery” (*sueki*) was manufactured. Gowland appears to have identified these sites based on the spread of broken waste ceramics and ash in the area, known as the *hibara*. This was the result of potters cleaning out the kiln in between firings, creating a large spread of waste material down the slope the kiln was built into, see Figure 27. There are currently seven kilns located in the area of the Taikozuka kofun gun, the most well explored in the immediate area being Sakuraidani 2-23 (桜井谷 2-23), which is contemporary with MT 15 and TK 10 at Suemura, dating it to the early 6th century (Excavation Committee of the Shoji Kiln Site 1991). However, this site is one of the largest *sueki* kilns in Japan at 13 meters long. The kiln was found with the floor preserved where the ceiling had collapsed in on it, making it unlikely that this was the site Gowland observed. There were six other known sites within the same area, which are perhaps more likely to have been those which Gowland describes.

Although overall ceramic coffins are a feature of western Japan over half have been found in Okayama alone, followed by the Kinki region, where they are predominantly found in Osaka (Maeda 2012). Among these, there are considerably more examples of earthenware coffins than *sueki*. The stoneware coffins are quite rare; only thirty have been



Figure 27. A specimen of fused *sueki* fragments OA+15723, likely from one of the Sakuraidani kilns, identified by Hishida Tetsuo (Hishida 2015: 9).

found complete (Pearson 2016: 43), but many more cases of fragmentary remains are known.

These coffins are important to understand *sueki* production (Maeda 2012; 2015; Pearson 2016: 43). As the date from the ceramics at the Sakuraidani kilns are relatively dated from the mid 5th century and the coffins to the Late 5th to Early 6th century, it is likely that the kilns were still in use while the tombs were being built nearby. It has been proposed from sites interpreted as large storehouses, such as Hoenzaka, Osaka and Narutaki, Wakayama prefecture sites, located near rivers, and images of boats depicted in *haniwa*, that rivers were used to transport craft goods for trade. Specifically, the *be* tribute system described in the *Nihon shoki* (Tsude 2006: 33), discussed in more detail below. At Sakuradani, the nearby river Senrigawa is a tributary of the Kawasaki River that drains out into Osaka Bay, the centre of power for much of the Kofun period. Therefore, it maybe that those buried in these tombs were connected to that production, interred in coffins made of the same materials and their tombs positioned nearby production locations over which they held authority. In fact, although likely not the kiln Gowland described, the kiln of Sakuraidani 2-23 is one of the largest known *sueki* kilns in Japan²², and located within the Taikozuka kofun cluster, which as stated above, had a high concentration of *sueki* coffins found



Figure 28. Other examples of *sueki* coffins from Nakaiyama 1, 2 and 3, Takozuka kofun cluster (Maeda 2012).

²² The kilns come in a variety of sizes, and can be up to 10m in length, although they are more commonly between 5m and 9m. Due to the limitations of the roof's structural integrity they could not be built more than 3m in width without being in danger of collapsing (Hatai 2006:44).

within, see Figure 28.

In BOX 5-1-3-8 (Appendix 2) Gowland records he found the site of five kilns. This would not appear to refer to the Sakuraidani kilns, as he describes them as “*...situated not far from the Sakura dzuka group of mounds on the N[orth] E[ast] slope...*” which would appear to refer to the Shimobaru kiln cluster, see Figure 26. It is also interesting to note that there are only three kiln sites known in that cluster at present. It is here that he refers to the actual structure of a kiln:

“*Nothing remained of the upper parts of the chamber or chambers in which the pottery had been burnt but upon careful examin[ation] part of the floor was uncovered*”. (BOX 5-1-3-8 Appendix 2).

In dating the coffins, Gowland gave what is a much more accurate date than he gave to *sueki*: “*I have not formed any very definite opinion about the age of these sarcophagi but I think we may safely state that they date from before the 6th century of our era [500AD]. How much earlier they maybe it is impossible to conjecture from the present available data*” (BOX 4-16-2 Appendix 2). Giving the approximate date of before 500AD, the current belief is that *sueki* coffins date to the Late kofun period, which began in 475AD and Gowland’s dates are approximate but correct. However, it is not yet clear how he decided upon this date. He seems unsure; it may only be that he considered them to be a relatively late invention, but predating Prince Shotoku’s edicts in 604AD which restricted monumental tombs for only the highest cap ranks and members of the imperial family (Gowland 1897: 506).

Gowland correctly related the kilns and tombs he observed in the landscape of Sakuraidani to be evident of elite control over ceramic production, but he could not have been aware of the even larger production landscape that this was situated in.

Historical understanding of Kofun period stoneware production.

Gowland made several important observations regarding *sueki*. He certainly agreed on similarities between stoneware made in Korea and Japan. He noted that these similarities were strongest between southern Korea and northern Kyushu, and he considered examples from these two regions to be so similar in form that they were contemporary (Gowland 1985: 324). Initially giving them the incorrect date of the 7th century, different from his later dates. In his unpublished notes (BOX 5 2-1-1 Appendix 2) he strongly disagrees with the historical dating of the introduction of the potter's wheel to the late 7th century, suggesting (correctly) that it appeared much earlier in the Kofun period. These show more in common with the dates in his later papers on Japan, suggesting BOX 5 2-1-1 postdates his paper on Korea. He stated that *sueki* showing the paddle and anvil marks all originated in the Kofun period. However, he does not explicitly suggest that *sueki*, the potter's wheel or sloping kilns seen in Japan had originated from Korea. Gowland had not witnessed any ancient kiln sites in Korea and did not have the dating evidence required to show that the Korean ceramics were earlier than the Japanese examples. Gowland used the general dates for tomb usage, covering the entire Kofun period, to date the ceramics he observed. This may suggest that Gowland had much less experience with the earlier forms of mounded tomb, those that predated the use of 'dolmens' or stone chambers, before 475AD, when the grave was dug into the top of the mound. Therefore, he was not able to observe the sudden appearance of *sueki* in chambered tombs or their continued use. Explaining his confusion at the *hajiki* ceramics from Yasui rock tomb, discussed in Chapter 3.

From Gowland's investigations above he had identified that there were ceramic workshops within the vicinity of kofun, but his discussion ends there. Although his exploration of a *sueki* kiln is perhaps one of the first attempts to record the physical

remains of a *sueki* production site, there was some indication in the early histories that specialist ceramic production organised by what were known as “*be*” was taking place during the Kofun period.

Gina Barnes described the *be* as “*administrative units of production and service groups*” (1987: 101) and suggested that the term had previously been thought to imply a clan-like relationship, and it was not until the 1970s and 1980s that the modern definition became known (Barnes 1987: 89). However, Aston uses a similar definition in a footnote of his translation of the *Nihon shoki* (Aston 1896: 43). He stated that there was not believed to have necessarily been any blood relation between the members of the *be* and they were bound together by profession more than anything else. Aston translates the term as “hereditary corporations” and describes it thus:

“*Perhaps if we imagine a staff of one of our dockyards in which the director and officials should be drawn from the governing class, the artisans being serfs, and the whole having a more or less hereditary character, we shall have a tolerable idea of a Be*” (Aston 1896: 43).

From this, we can see that the ‘*be*’ is a difficult term to translate, with still no apparent English equivalent, as such I have used the Japanese term throughout the rest of this chapter. And we will also focus on the *be* as it pertains to ceramic production in the Kofun period. The way the early histories discuss the *be* is problematic. Terms such as the hereditary titles *Mabito*, *Ason*, *Sukune*, *Imiki*, *Michi no shi*, *Omi*, *Muraji* and *Inaki* are used which indicate an individual’s rank in the system. But, these were not used until designated by Temmu in 684AD (Aston 1896: 364-365). The early histories use them retrospectively to describe the ranks in a previously existing production system. However, the overwhelming archaeological evidence strongly suggests that such systems of production had indeed existed in Japan from the beginning of the Middle Kofun period at

the turn of the 5th century, but exactly how similar this was to the late 7th century system is difficult to reconstruct.

During the reign of Yūryaku (456-479AD) recorded in the *Nihon shoki* there is a section which describes many regional elites giving taxes of production goods including rice wine and silk, as well as a description of ceramics specially made for the emperor's meals:

"17th year [of the Emperor's reign (473AD)], Spring 3rd month, 2nd day. The Hanishi no Muraji²³ [headsman of a potter's be] were made to present pure vessels suitable for serving the Emperor's morning and evening meals [sueki]. Hereupon Ake, the ancestor of the Hanishi no Muraji, presented to the Emperor a Be of his private subjects of the village of Kusasa in the province of Settsu, of the villages of Fuji-kata in the province of Ise, and also from Tamba, Tajima and Inabe, and named them the Nihe no Hanishi Be." (Aston 1896: 365).

Hanishi no Muraji and elsewhere the *Hashi no Muraji* are mentioned in several places throughout the early histories. The origin of the *Hashi no Muraji* is also given in an earlier part of the *Nihon shoki*, as the result of the invention of *haniwa* during the chapter devoted to Emperor Suinin (29BC-70AD):

"And a name was given to these clay objects. They were called Hani-wa [Haniwa]... Then a decree was issued saying:- "henceforth these clay figures must be set up at tumuli [kofun]: let not men be harmed²⁴ ." The Emperor bountifully rewarded Nomi no Sukune for

²³ Hereditary title for a headman of a village.

²⁴ This section of Suinin's chapter of the *Nihon shoki* describes how human sacrifice had originally taken place in Japan, but the practice was replaced with the use of *haniwa* as symbolic representations so that no human sacrifice had to take place (Aston 1896: 178-181). At the time of writing, there is no evidence for human sacrifice in Japan during the Kofun period. Furthermore, the earliest *haniwa* in the 3rd century AD took the form of simple cylinders *ento haniwa* rather than of men and horses as the histories suggest, these forms only appearing later in the Middle and Late Kofun periods. However, as Aston points out, human sacrifice was also supported by the description of Himiko's burial in the Chinese chronicles, which is dated to the 3rd century AD.

this service, and also bestowed upon him a kneading place, and appointed him the official charge of the clay-worker's Be... This was how it came to pass that the Hashi no Muraij superintended the burials of the Emperors." (Aston 1896: 181).

The dates and actual events cannot be taken literally, and this still gives us little explanation of the true nature of the *be*, or how exactly this particular one superintended elite burials. However, what we can see that in the 8th century AD (when the early histories were written) ceramics and their production were historically known to have been important to the burials of emperors. Although they initially seemed to have been in charge of *haniwa* production, which were only produced for the decoration of elite tombs and served no other purpose, the tombs of the Middle Kofun period could be covered with many hundreds of *haniwa*, and thus would have been a large scale production project. A later description implies they also produced *sueki* which was paid as tribute to the emperor specifically for use as a feasting ware as it was regarded as sufficiently "pure". Furthermore, the basic nature of the *be* was known to historians before archaeological investigations of production sites began, although Gowland himself makes no reference to this.

However, one last mention of the *Hashi no Muraij* gives us some small clue to their involvement in elite burial. In Empress Suiko's chapter of the *Nihon shoki*, a much later chapter within the more reliable section, only one hundred years before the book was finished, they are described as superintending the *mogari*, a period of temporary enshrinement before burial which for emperors could last for years:

"11th year [of the empress' reign [603AD], Spring, 2nd month, 4th day. The imperial Prince Kume died in Tsukushi.... So he was temporally interred at Saba in the province of Suwo [Suō²⁵], and Wite, Hashi no Muraji, was sent to superintend the temporary burial [mogari].

²⁵ Now part of modern Yamaguchi prefecture.

Therefore the decedents of Wite no Muraji were called Sabe no Muraji. This was the reason of it" (Aston 1896: 126-127).

As this is from the more reliable sections of the early histories, it suggests that ceramic production *be* were also involved in the organisation of the *mogari*²⁶ as well as elite burial for much of the Kofun period. The date is also important to take into account, as 600AD is often seen as the cut-off point for keyhole shaped kofun and decoration of mounds with *haniwa* in the west of Japan. This perhaps suggests that the production of vessels was part of the *be*'s involvement in these events.

Between Aston and Gowland's work, there was the potential for them to have made important observations about the nature of 5th century production and how this was controlled by the Kofun period elite. However, they never combined their work in such a way that they were able to comment on this system. Now, in order to place their work in the context of modern scholarship, we will briefly discuss an outline of the modern interpretations of late 4th and early 5th century changes in elite material culture. And how the materials of what Gowland saw as "a race of warriors" (see Chapter 3) was, in fact, the result of relationships with the Korean kingdoms which also brought about the production he observed.

Japan-Korea relations in the late 4th to early 5th centuries: elite material culture

From the observations Japanese antiquarians and westerners writing about Kofun period ceramics in the 19th century made, it is clear there was believed that there were very

²⁶ A period of mourning after death recorded in the earliest histories. The law reform known as the *hakusorei* in 645AD made *mogari* for anyone but the emperor forbidden (Aston 1896: 217-133). From these records, the imperial *mogari* is believed to have been a structure built on the site of the dead emperor's palace which housed the body. The wife and imperial consorts stayed within the structure for the duration of its interment. It was also guarded, and few people other than the women who knew the emperor intimately in life were allowed inside. The offering of food in *sueki* vessels, although starting in the 5th century, becomes a popular feature of Late Kofun period burial, *sueki* ceramic were often left in the entrances of tombs. Gowland makes no mention of the *mogari* specifically although is aware that food offerings in ceramic vessels were left in tombs.

distinct similarities in the material culture of Kofun period Japan and Three Kingdoms period Korea. And it was believed that 5th century Yamato considered Korean craftsmanship to be more advanced than their own (Kidder 1990: 41) as the early histories include many descriptions of how workmen and practices were imported into Japan.

"At an early date, Korea appears as the instructor of Japan in Chinese learning and in the arts of civilisation." (Aston 1878: 227).

It was the material evidence of this relationship which created the early terminology for *sueki* and caused Gowland to research 19th century Korean ceramics, discussed above. Thus, here we will give a short explanation of the modern understanding of the relationship between Korea and Japan at the turn of the 5th century. To put the observations Gowland was making into context.

In western Honshu, in the early 5th century there was a shift in power within the Kinai region from the Yamato capital in the Nara basin to the Osaka plains. It is believed this move was intended to establish better communication with the Korean peninsula (Barnes 1988: 257) as it offered greater access to the Seto Inland Sea, which acted as a trade link between the rest of western Japan and the Korean peninsula (Hishida 2007; Woo 2011).

Described in the early histories, there was a mutually beneficial relationship between Yamato and the southern Korean kingdoms, to the point where Yamato troops were involved with battles between Paekche (18BC-660AD), Silla and Koguryeo during a prolonged break in the official contact between China and Japan.

Several conflicts occurred in Korea in the 4th century between Yamato's allies, Paekche, Silla and Kaya in the south and Koguryo in the north. The early Japanese histories, the Kwanggaet'o stele and the Isonokami seven-branched sword all reference the Yamato

being involved in military action on the Korean peninsula. Although these early historical references are not without their problems, they do, along with the shift in grave goods occurring in the late 4th century, suggest that diplomatic relationships with Korea were a reality and very important to the Yamato elite. Indeed, the relationship can be said to have defined elite Yamato material culture into the next century, irrevocably changing the material culture of tomb assemblages and elite customs.

A likely reason for Yamato's involvement in these conflicts was the need to defend trade links with the continent (Piggott 1997). As open sea routes were perilous, trade was established by hopping between the islands of northern Kyushu and the coast of southern Korea. This can be seen in the objects left at ritual sites such as Okinoshima, Kyushu and Chungmakdong, near Busan in South Korea (Woo 2011); offerings that are understood to have been made as part of rituals requesting safe sea-travel. Although iron smelting was introduced as a package with bronze smelting during the Yayoi period (300BC-250AD), the importation of complete iron objects into Japan from Korea is believed to have continued until the late 5th or early 6th century, based on findings from the site of Enjo, Tamba (Piggott 1997: 51). To ensure a steady stream of iron and other imported artefacts, the elite of Yamato needed to maintain close relationships with the southern Korean kingdoms and Kaya.

The 5th century showed an increase in centralisation and a growing elite network within Japan, which required a shared elite material culture to operate. Production sites moved closer to the capital and materials began to be imported, allowing the ruling elite much greater control over production (Hishida 2007: 52). The desire for elite objects, in turn, created an unprecedented increase in large-scale production in salt, iron and ceramics. This production was overseen by the ruling Yamato elite, who managed relationships with clans across the Kinai region (Barnes 1988; Hishida 2007: 57) using a precursor to the later *be* system discussed above. The rearing of horses appeared in Japan at this time

and is thought to have been overseen by a clan called Kawachi-umakai (Literally 'Kawachi horse-rearers'). Similarly, the Mononobe clan are believed to have overseen iron production at the site of Furu, Nara. It is not certain who was responsible for the *sueki* production at Suemura, but the Otomo clan who were linked to the Izumi area, are strong candidates (Hishida 2007: 59). Again the *be* system is very important to the study of the early state in Japan, but is still not entirely understood at its beginning, and continues to be an important area of research in Japanese archaeology.

Even with the somewhat difficult evidence surrounding the notion of Yamato presence in Kaya (see Chapter 3), we can at least with a significant degree of certainty say that the Yamato were involved in military actions with the southern Korean Kingdoms against Koguryo. It has been suggested that the influx of immigrants from the southern Korean kingdoms was the product of these military actions, displacing peoples to the Japanese islands. Production centres occurred as a byproduct of this displacement of people; they were then monopolised by the Yamato elite at a later stage.

Large numbers of stoneware ceramics in funerary assemblages occur in Korean elite tomb assemblages during the 4th century. But they first occur in Japan after the end of the 4th century, with the introduction of stoneware technology. Before the late 4th century ceramics had not been included in funerary assemblages after this time stoneware began to be imported and produced, and also began to be one of the most numerous grave goods during the Middle and Late Kofun periods. This would indicate it was not just the material culture but also ritual practices which were influenced and changed by contact with the Korean kingdoms. We could perhaps suggest that elite status individuals from Yamato were involved with the negotiations and organisation of troops crossing the Sea of Japan, particularly as no organised professional military existed at the time. It is also quite likely that these elite individuals would have been included in the high-status feasting practices that occurred in the elite society of the southern Korean kingdoms. Gowland was

aware of the connection between *sueki* and elite material culture, as it was well known to be associated with elite tombs. However, the appearance of these ceramics also created a need for the kind of production Gowland had witnessed at Sakuraidani.

Itinerant potters

We will now refocus our discussion of the importation of workmen from Korea, focusing on potters, such as those believed to have been the first generation of workmen and women at Suemura. A passage of the *Nihon shoki* records that during the reign of Sujin (587-592AD), potters were brought from Paekche. Along with Buddhist priests, sculptors and other valuable workmen, 'men learned in pottery' including named individuals Mana Puno, Yang Kwi-mun, Neung Kwi-mun and Syok-ma Tye-mi, were brought as part of an envoy in 588AD (Aston 1896: 117). This event occurred near the end of the 6th century, much later than the adoption of Korean ceramic technology. But if anything can be taken from this passage, it is that at least from an early 8th century perspective, ceramics were considered one of the superior craft technologies produced first in Korea and imported into Japan.

Where technologies are transferred between cultures, it is often considered to represent an immigration of workmen from areas where these technologies were already present (Cunliffe 1991: 133). The skills to produce *sueki* were very different to those needed to produce the indigenous ceramics. Therefore it is likely immigrant workmen would have been involved in the first stages of the introduction of this technology (Hishida 2007: 57).

From the multiple materials and historical examples provided there, it is clear that Japan's stoneware technology originated from contact with southern Korea during the Three Kingdoms period. From a purely functionalist point of view, the new technology could have been adopted as soon as the Japanese came in contact with it. But the Korean kingdoms

and Kaya had contact with Japan for approximately one hundred years, between the late 3rd and late 4th centuries, when the potter's wheel was used in Korea, and Japan was not importing ceramics. Why, then, was there a gap in the adoption of the potter's wheel if it was technologically superior to Japan's pre-existing ceramic technology?

Although these Korean technologies were known to the Japanese before the late 4th century, they did not fit within the complex web of religious, social and political factors which prescribed what ceramics or other tools fitted which activities within their society (Hill 2002: 152). Therefore, it was not until the elite required there to be a new form of prestige goods, that *sueki* and other continental technologies were imported. It is further likely that greater centralisation was also required to allow new specialist workshop communities, such as Suemura and Sakuraidani, to devote their time to the specialisation of ceramic production.

When iron working and ceramic technology was implemented is possible that the Yamato elite were utilising an already present immigrant workforce. The importation of *sueki* to Japan was not an isolated phenomenon but was part of a larger process of importing elite, continental, material culture in the late 4th or early 5th centuries. It could perhaps be said that the short period in which imported Korean goods become popular in the late 4th century, because of the Japanese elite's relationships with the elites of the Korean kingdoms, could have presented itself as an opportunity for the establishment of a monopoly over their production in Japan. Again the appearance of workshops attributed to different clans (Barnes 1988; Hishida 2007) would appear to have been devised by the ruling elite. In both these examples it could be said that importing continental feasting wares was used to create an elite identity based on the importance of relations with outside powers, clearly defined by high status activities and their required material trappings.

Sueki ceramics in kofun and the remains of their production are the material remanence of ritualised, elite feasting, which required access to very particular forms of elite material culture and likely ritualised behaviours, thereby placing social restrictions on those of lower status for whom these objects and behaviours were unobtainable. This had a secondary effect on the way in which those who did belong to the elite group were treated in death, and what material trappings were necessary to renegotiate elite relationships in the death during a liminal period in society.

A desire for new material culture

The importation of exotic goods through long distance trade has been seen as a characteristic of a developing complex society, believed to have been represented during the Kofun period with elite burial goods (Barnes 2007; Mizoguchi 2013). In Japan, this appears first during the Yayoi period as the basis of an elite prestige system when Japan had been exposed to the tribute system of the Chinese Han dynasty. During which time Chinese bronze mirrors were an important aspect.

The exchange of prestige goods, which often took the form of foreign imports, can be seen from the change of bronze mirrors occurring in the Final Yayoi period and continues into the Early Kofun period (Barnes 2007: 63). As the exchange relationships between Chinese kingdoms and Yamato were lost in the 4th century, Yamato had begun to produce its own bronze mirrors to meet this demand. At the end of the 4th century, due to increasing diplomatic relations with the Korean kingdoms and polities, there was a short period of the importation of Korean goods. This was followed relatively quickly with workshops being set up with immigrant workers producing new forms of elite goods based on south Korean designs and technologies. *Sueki*, in particular, was employed as a feasting ware, which was also given as a grave good, often confining food, and earlier stonewares in southern Korean kingdoms had been used in similar ways. In Kaya, in

particular, the vessels were then incorporated into the burial of the deceased individuals. The ceramics were designed to be stacked on top of one another because so many were buried (Portal 2000). Ritualised feasting is used in many cultures as an expression of identity and status, and offers opportunities for self-identification (Dietler, and Hayden 2001: 4). Due to the use of *sueki* as a serving and storage ware, and its sudden appearance at a time, it would appear there was a large social change occurring in Japan, which now marks the start of the Middle Kofun period.

Gowland mentioned his belief that stoneware ceramics were used ritually during the Kofun period and contained food when deposited. He even commented in his 1897 paper that there were recorded instances where bird and fish bones were found inside some small pedestal bowls (Gowland 1897:30). Gowland made a further note that *sueki* had been used to give food offerings to the dead in his 1897 paper. Wherein he believed *tsuki* (杯), shallow dishes with lids, *takatsuki* (高杯), shallow dishes with pedestals and *tsubo* (壺), globular jars, in particular, to have held food offerings:

"They were used for offerings of food, and were placed on the floor of the dolmen chamber on one side of the body, or the sarcophagus." (Gowland 1897: 495).

Gowland also refers to *sagebe* (提瓶), flask shaped vessels, *yokobe* (横瓶), barrel shaped vessels with a spout, and *haso*,(はそ) a small serving vessel with a spout, used of wine or offering vessels for liquids. And these were likely their intended purpose. Former Japanese antiquarians informed Gowland's understanding of these vessels, but exactly where this information came from is still an area of research.

The change in material culture that occurs in the late 4th century is often attributed to a movement of immigrants into Japan from the south of Korea. Gina Barnes, applying a

peer polity interaction model to the Kofun period, defined two stages, firstly between the 1st and early 4th centuries, between polities within Japan, and then from the late 4th to early 7th centuries between the polities of the Japanese and the Korean kingdoms (Barnes 1988). In Barnes' later book she used more stages stretching back into the Yayoi period, but still defines a stage occurring between the mid 4th century and the 6th century "when craft technologies were revolutionised by Paekche and Kaya immigrants" (Barnes 2007: 36). A very similar position is held by Mizoguchi Koji, who attributes the introduction of new technologies in the Middle Kofun period to a large number of Korean immigrants from Kaya and Paekche (Mizoguchi 2013: 243). But he considers it to be a natural progression of the previous trade in prestige goods which had occurred in earlier periods. As stated, the Yamato had been part of the Han tribute system, which arguably continued to effect relations between China and surrounding countries into much later history (Vershauer 2006: 2). Hishida Tetsuo applies considerably more intentionality to the Yamato elite in this process. Hishida believes the Yamato elite very quickly organised large immigrant technician workshops for several industries at roughly the same time, showing that the central Yamato power had significant control and authority over the surrounding areas (Hishida 2007: 56-57). But this raises the intriguing question of why the central elite would want to do this? It is possible that conflict on the Korean peninsular may have created a displacement of people to the Japanese archipelago. But it could also be possible that these immigrants could have been deliberately imported to fulfil this role, as there are several mentions of immigrant workmen being received by foreign envoys in the early histories, discussed above.

As Hishida suggests, it is very possible that the Yamato deliberately monopolised foreign craft technologies and created an elite identity in which high status individuals in outlaying areas were prescribed into a system of what Gina Barnes called prestige goods (Barnes 2007). The distribution of which the central elites in Yamato had created a carefully orchestrated control over. As Mizoguchi says, "...new manufacturing technologies would

have transformed the lives of both elite and the commoners by generating new desires, identities and opportunities for competition,..." (Mizoguchi 2013: 243). The importation and production of stoneware among other technologies at the turn of the 4th century created a new elite identity, one which peripheral elite groups would be required to conform to maintain and renegotiate their place in society and resulting in greater centralisation. However, it was not until there was a desire for new technologies that this could take place (Hill 2002: 152) and it was this that was perhaps created by the relationship with the Korean kingdoms in the late 4th century.

Conclusion

Gowland's research into ceramics shows an interesting example of an ethnographic study of similar technologies used in a contemporary setting, which sought to clear up the confusion regarding the origins of Kofun period ceramics. This was successful to an extent, as he was perhaps the first person to realise that *sueki* made with the paddle and anvil technique were produced in Japan. Whether he still believed the technology to have originated in Korea is not clear, neither is it clear if he believed both forms of *sueki*, those made on a *tournette* were produced in the same locations. However, he was aware they were found in tombs together.

The full excavation of an open trench to record a kiln was perhaps beyond Gowland's ability to excavate at the time, the inside of a tomb being a considerably more manageable prospect. He may have even decided not to excavate the kilns due to concerns that he would not be able to record them properly, which is a problem that he raises in his later work, see Chapter 7. Furthermore perhaps if Aston and Gowland had coauthored a publication together as they had originally intended, their combined understanding of the historical and archaeological materials could have allowed them to be able to give a more complete discussion of the *be*.

Gowland made some important observations on the presence of clusters of kilns which produced the ceramics found inside kofun. However, he was not able to give any further discussion on the subject other than a very brief description in his 1897 paper. Aston did have an understanding of the *be*, but the two scholars could not put the material evidence discovered at Sakuraidani together with the historical description of the *be*.

Gowland suggests a large scale production at the Sakuraidani kilns but makes little reference to the histories in that regard, and certainly never mentioned the *be*, despite Aston seeming to be well aware of them. Although it had many flaws, the strength of Gowland's work lay in his careful observation of production. The study of the kilns in Korea was likely similar to the studies he made on the metalworking processes employed by the Japanese on his arrival at the Mint (see Chapter 2) and when on to be highly informative to his later work.

Chapter 5: Reconstructing the excavation of Shibayama kofun

Introduction

The British Museum holds the majority, if not the entirety, of the objects from William Gowland's 1887 excavation of Shibayama kofun. The objects from the tomb number over two hundred entries¹, including items such as fragments of rusted iron, wood and human remains. It is the largest and most complete collection from a single site in the Gowland Collection. In addition to the material aspects of the collection, the Society of Antiquaries was gifted Gowland's archives shortly after his death in 1922. This archive contains a significant amount of information regarding the excavation that has so far gone unpublished. The documents containing information on Shibayama are quite extensive; 52 pages across 12 separate documents and 3 plans, all held within BOX 4 of the archive. This is the primary data for the excavation of the tomb, and thus it is vitally important that they be carefully studied to produce further studies of this site. As of yet, the majority of the tomb's objects have not been properly recorded in the British Museum's database, and in

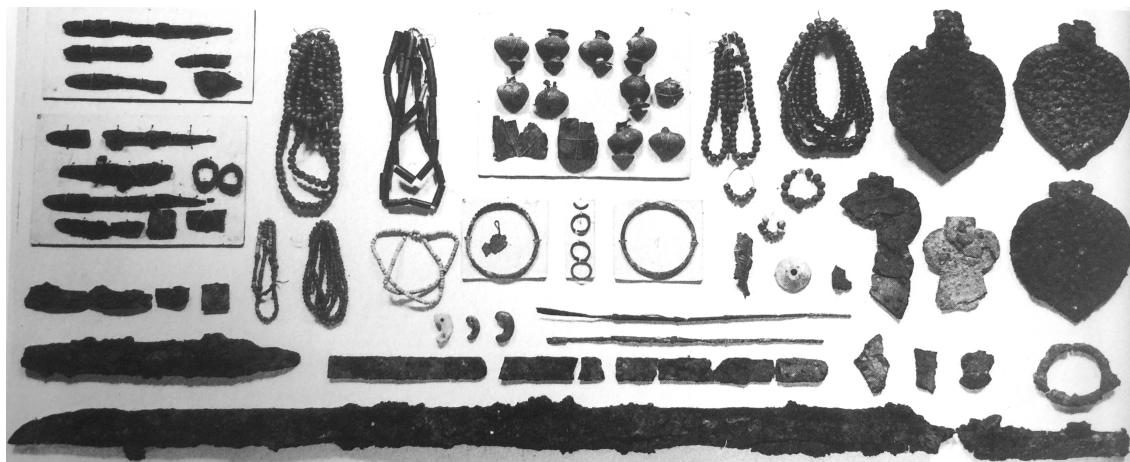


Figure 29. A photograph of many of the objects from Shibayama kofun likely taken by William Gowland. (Harris 2003: 82), possibly displaying how some of the objects were originally displayed and/or stored. © Trustees of the British Museum.

¹ A much greater number of individual objects.

fact, many of the objects have no modern record other than being part of the Gowland Collection. Others had records but were not connected to the collection until the current Gowland survey began (see Chapter 1).

Of the 406 tombs in Japan that Gowland visited and the 140 he measured² (Gowland 1897: 442), Shibayama is the most complete. A collection of objects from the tomb is shown in Figure 29. Although this excavation was mentioned in his 1897 paper *The dolmens and burial mounds of Japan* (Gowland 1897), the full extent of his excavation had not begun to come to light until the publication of *William Gowland: Father of Japanese Archaeology* (Harris and Gotō 2003) which showed his plans for the first time. Since then, the Gowland survey team, which began between 2010, has sought to utilise the collection and archive fully. As such, there has been an attempt to reconstruct this excavation so that the objects might be accurately recorded. Most notably is the work by Tomiyama Naoto who just before the start of the survey sought to reconstruct the layout of the tomb based on Gowland's plans and objects lists (2009) and to identify some of the ceramics (2015). These include Tsuchiya Takafumi's work on the quiver fittings (2015), Kim Woode's work on the sword fittings (2015) and Takemura Katsuhito's MA dissertation containing some information on several of the ceramics from Shibayama (2015). However, these studies have not fully exploited the information held in the archive, generally being focused on the objects themselves, or very small sections of the notes. This is in part because of the nature of the archive, in the majority of cases, the notes are handwritten, full of Gowland's unusual personal abbreviations and messy corrections making it difficult to use and inaccessible, especially for researchers for whom English is not their primary language. Therefore this chapter attempts to reconstruct a more comprehensive study of that excavation through a careful examination of these papers and the archive, which helps to complete the history of the investigation of this tomb and identifies many objects

² Gowland's 1897 paper only lists 130 tombs in his list of measurements, missing out 10, including Konda kofun even though this site is discussed in the papers and shown on his map. There is no explanation as to why those 10 were not included.

in the collection. To achieve this, this chapter works in tandem with Appendix 3, which encompasses a complete step-by-step explanation and transcription of the archive materials regarding Shibayama kofun. Throughout this chapter, there will be references to sections of this text based on the 'BOX' numbers given there, so that the original text can be viewed by the reader in its original context as they progress through the chapter. Therefore, due to the large number of references to Appendix 3 throughout this chapter, where a BOX number appears the reader should presume this refers to Appendix 3 unless otherwise stated.

Shibayama kofun itself no longer exists, having been destroyed during in the early 1960s after undergoing rescue archaeology. It is quite likely that had Gowland not excavated the site, the contents would have been removed in the intervening 73 years before this rescue excavation could take place. Therefore his excavation effectively saved the record of this site. In reality, the tomb had already been open for at least a decade before Gowland arrived. He bought a number of objects, which had already been removed from the tomb by a local man, and also attempted to create a record of what remained buried inside. Therefore, it is fortunate that Gowland attempted to approach the excavation of this tomb in such a scientific manner, especially given the general lack of methodical archaeological excavation anywhere at the time. The excavation was the culmination of what Gowland learned during his years spent in Japan, and a product of early Japanese archaeology and late Victorian scientific practice in England discussed in Chapters 2 and 6. This chapter shows first hand how Gowland conducted an early scientific excavation and attempts to reconstruct the site report for a historically and archaeologically valuable collection in the British Museum. This discussion will be built on in Chapter 6 to show that the excavation holds a special place in the history of British archaeology, particularly in the way it went on to inform Gowland's excavation of Stonehenge.

The study of the Shibayama kofun site report

Shibayama is a kofun with a stone chamber known as a *yokoanashiki sekishitsu* (横穴式石室, horizontal style stone chamber), which I have translated as passage tomb. It is dated on the relative basis of object typology to the early part of the Late Kofun period (475-645AD), from the late 5th to early 6th centuries; more specifically to around 500AD based on the *sueki* found resembling TK47 or MT15 (see Chapter 4 and the current chapter below). Passage tombs had become the standard form of tomb construction from approximately 475AD, taking over from the pit-style tombs of the Early and Middle Kofun periods, where a chamber was dug into the top of the mound. As passage tombs were easier to reopen, multiple successive burials could be placed inside a tomb. This was common practice throughout the Late Kofun period (475-600AD). This practice eventually ended during the Asuka period after the *Hakusorei*, a series of laws, were passed by Prince Regent Shotoku in 646AD. These laws placed restrictions on tomb construction (Aston 1896: 217-226) and were influenced by the arrival of Buddhism in 552AD and its official adoption by the imperial family in 593AD. However, as a consequence of Late period tombs being able to be reopened, this resulted in many chambers being robbed in later periods. As such few retained their contents into the modern day, making the record of these sites particularly valuable.

Much of the following material is drawn from Gowland's notes on the excavation of Shibayama kofun, which has been transcribed in Appendix 3. The 'BOX' numbers were given to each document in the archive during the recent survey of the Gowland Collection by Kutsuna Keizo and are referenced in the following text so that the reader may find the transcriptions in Appendix 3. In addition, if any future researcher attempts to view the originals, they will be able to identify them easily. Any identified objects from the collection will include an 'OA+' number or 'Franks' number. These are used by the British Museum as object numbers and can be used to view information on the objects through the

Museum's website Collections Online. The way in which Gowland recorded his findings includes some mistakes, with some objects being missed out in the notes and only identifiable from marks on the objects themselves. Other objects had no markings and were only identifiable by comparing them to measurements that Gowland recorded, or sketches that he made in his notes. Physically viewing all the objects in the collection was not always possible, identifying all the objects in this manner remains a point to complete with further research, which will be made significantly easier with a full list of what Gowland claims to have found.

Some of these notes were incorporated into Gowland's 1897 paper and used in Victor Harris' short explanation of the excavation in 2003 (Harris 2003: 22-23). However, this interpretation was limited and included some conflicting information based on a slightly confused chronology. Tomiyama (2009) sought to reconstruct the objects of the site, but his work was primarily based on Gowland's plans, which include some original mistakes and inaccuracies when compared with the list of objects Gowland gives between BOX 4-17-13, BOX 4-17-34 and other documents.

The objects Gowland collected had been given 'Div' numbers. These related to one of twenty divisions that Gowland had separated the tomb into as it was excavated. Gowland then went on to interpret the contents of the tomb based on the locations of the objects he had gathered. Gowland also used an alphabetical code to refer to the ceramics. This code will be used throughout this section, for example, "Pot A" refers to the large *kidai* (Franks. 2234.b) in the collection (BOX4-17-30). This code occurs in Gowland's notes wherever he refers to ceramics; the reference letters are also painted onto the surface of the ceramics for recording purposes. These letters are also used to locate some of them on Gowland's plans, as can be seen in (BOX 4-2-1 and BOX 4-3-1) and the ledger³. The ledger is now

³ The ledger is numbered BOX 4-1-62. However this was not transcribed as it already appeared in Takemura 2015a.

held in the archive and lists many of the ceramics, but not all, and includes those from other sites, not just Shibayama. All the objects discussed are now held in the British Museum, and the following information has been used to reconstruct a more complete site report for Shibayama kofun.

Past issues with the study of the site

Victor Harris and Goto Kazou's 2003 book is an excellent volume exploring a previously neglected aspect of the Japanese collection at the British Museum, including a nearly complete survey of Gowland's photographic archive. There is, however, one particular mistake within it that must be rectified so that it is not repeated elsewhere. Harris suggests that this excavation took place over the 29th and 30th of December 1878 (Harris 2003: 22) and claims that this was one of Gowland's earliest archaeological endeavours (Harris 2003: 13). I found, during my own archive survey of Gowland's notes stating exploration of the tomb took place between the 29th and 30th of December 1887 (BOX 4-1-1; BOX 4-17-39). The mix-up in dates appears to have been caused by some confusion among Gowland's published description of the excavation. Gowland does not give a date for the excavation in his 1897 paper, which is the first published account, or in the later 1899 paper, which makes fewer references to the site (Gowland 1899). In the first paper, he described having seen footprints left by government officials who had entered the tomb *"shortly before"* him (Gowland 1897: 476). In reality, Gowland doesn't mention seeing any footprints in his notes, and he describes the government officials from Sakai as having entered the tomb over a decade earlier in 1874 (BOX 4-17-1), another note, gives a less clear date of between 1874 and 1875 (BOX 4-26-1).

"The dolmen had undergone a superficial exam[inaton] by some gov[ernmen]t officials in 1874 who took away one or two pieces of pottery" (BOX 4-17-1).

“...the chamber was entered in the 7th or 8th year of Meiji [1874 or 1875] by some officials from the Sakai kencho who examined it v[&] took away some pottery. It was thought of little importance by them v[&] the owner was told he might do what he liked with it.” (BOX 4-26-1).

This has an impact on the way we view Gowland's excavation. Firstly the date of 1878 would mean that the methodology Gowland had used was incredibly early, and would be rivalling Pitt-Rivers for the position as the supposed *father* of scientific archaeological field practice. Gowland's methodology in 1887 is still impressively early, occurring at roughly the same time Flinders Petrie was developing his celebrated methodology in Egypt. It is unlikely the 1878 date is correct as Gowland seems to have become interested in archaeology during his visits around Lake Biwa in Omi with William Aston, and these visits took place in late 1881 (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, Shibayama is by far the best recorded of any of Gowland's investigations. If it had been his earliest endeavour, it would appear that afterwards he quickly lost enthusiasm for detailed recording with all his later site visits in Japan and only rekindled his interest in careful recording when he excavated Stonehenge in 1901 (see Chapter 7). We can now see that the excavation of Shibayama was a combination and a result of Gowland's archaeological exploration in Japan, leading up to the last years of his residence in the country, and explains why this site is the best recorded of any which Gowland visited while living in the country.

Curiously, however, despite making an impressive number of photographic records of many of the tombs he visited, Gowland made no such record of his excavation at Shibayama. The reason for this is likely as many of the photographs were taken with Roymn Hitchcock, and the excavation took place after he had left Japan. Furthermore, Gowland never published any significant amount of information about his excavation at Shibayama, other than a relatively short description of his methodology and interpretation in his 1897 paper (Gowland 1897). Although, from the several attempts to write up the

excavation seen in Appendix 3, it would appear that at some point Gowland had planned to produce a comprehensive report similar to the 1880s publications of Morse, Satow or Tsuboi, but never did.

Working with the archive, there was also some confusion over the name of this tomb. In his notes, Gowland names the tomb Shibamura (芝村). The modern name used by Japanese archaeologists, despite the site no longer existing, is Shibayama (芝山) kofun, a name Gowland never used. Shibamura, meaning Shiba village, was a name which Gowland gave the site seemingly as the tomb was near the village of Shiba, rather than that being the official name. “Shiba dolmen” or the “Dolmen of Shibamura” seems to simply be Gowland’s translation for the purposes of presenting his paper to an English speaking audience. Gowland also misuses the term dolmen, being a specific term for stone lined graves (often without an extant earthen mound) in Europe. In his paper, Gowland states that he uses it as a generic term for stone chamber tombs (Gowland 1897: 442). This was due to influence from John Lubbock (1865) via Morse (1880). For the sake of accuracy when transcribing or quoting Gowland, the names that appear on the original documents will be used for Shibayama. It is important to note that they are one and the same and the name used in the discussion of this chapter and throughout the rest of my discussion is Shibayama kofun or simply Shibayama.

Much of this chapter attempts to give a clearer understanding of the site’s investigation so that the collection can be properly represented and future researchers will be able to use the information to apply the site to Japanese Kofun period archaeology. As this chapter is based on the careful examination of the records for the site, throughout which there are some confusing contradictions, a basic chronology of the notes is necessary. Unfortunately, Gowland lists only the date of events, not the date of his note taking. Therefore I have made an approximation of the dates based on the information given in those entries (see Appendix 3); my chronology of the documents is shown below:

During the first visit to the site or shortly afterwards (post July 10th 1887).

BOX 4-26-1 (Notes on Gowland's first visit and purchasing of some of the objects).

Before the excavation (July to December 1887).

BOX 4-17-37 (Gowland makes a note of the name and address of the local governor).

BOX 4-17-38 (Gowland makes a note of the names of the two landowners).

During or soon after the excavation (post December 29th 1887).

BOX 4-17-39 (First description of excavation methodology and list of tools taken).

BOX 4-17-6 (Brief notes on the construction of the inside of the chamber).

BOX 4-1-1 (Elevation and basic floor plan of the site).

BOX 4-17-13 (List of objects by division).

After a study of the objects (1888 - early 1889).

BOX 4-3-1 (Plan giving a list of objects by division).

BOX 4-2-1 (Pictorial plan showing approximate location of objects).

BOX 4-17-8 (Post excavation description of the site).

BOX 4-35-2 (Chemical composition of a silver bead).

BOX 4-17-30 (Notes based on study of the ceramics).

BOX 4-17-41 (Notes based on a study of the beads).

BOX 4-17-36 (Table based of study of the arrow heads).

After Gowland leaves Japan and sell the collection (post early 1889).

BOX 4-17-1 (Explanation of the excavation which informs Gowland's 1897 paper).

Physical characteristics and location of Shibayama kofun

Location

Shibayama kofun was a Late Kofun period passage tomb, more specifically a *ryosode-shik*⁴ built on the slopes of Matsuyama of the Ikoma toge range in Kawachi prefecture, modern Higashi-Osaka City, Osaka prefecture. When Gowland visited the site, it was about one mile from the local village Shibamura, which sat at the base of a range of hills (BOX 4-26-1). Currently, the area is entirely built over, having been engulfed by the urban

⁴ A horizontal corridor which opens into a single chamber.

sprawl of Osaka and so there is no longer any trace of the tomb. A map of the tomb's original location is shown in Figure 30 (Konda 1992: 665).

The earthen mound

According to Gowland's measurements, at the time of his visit, the mound of the kofun was approximately 94ft in length, its entrance facing 10° southwest, as seen in Figure 31 (BOX 4-1-1). The tomb had come under cultivation with the boundary of two fields running down the middle of the earthen mound. This had led to the shape of one third of the tomb having been altered, and some of the roof stones being exposed, where the tomb was entered.

"About one third of the mound has been dug away to form a ...terrace for cultivation[.] On the inner side of which a few of the stones of the side of the roof of the chamber are en faced. These were removed v[&] the chamber was entered" (BOX 4-26-1).

Exactly what form the outside earthen mound of the kofun took is difficult to know with any accuracy. In Gowland's 1897 paper it is described as one of his Class III mounds, that is to say, a conical or simple mound (Gowland 1897: 451). However, in Gowland's notes, he seems more unsure of the original shape and seems to think it may be a keyhole shaped mound, what he calls a double mound, stating:

"...if the mound is a double one but this is very doubtful [because] the gallery runs towards its square end" (BOX 4-17-10).

This would appear to be based on an understanding of very large keyhole tombs, such as Konabe kofun, see Chapter 2. These tombs have the entrances to their stone chambers towards the rear, circular section of the tomb. In reality, this is not always the case with smaller keyhole shaped tombs. Perhaps the reason Gowland brings this subject up in his



Figure 30. The original location of Shibayama kofun displayed on top of a modern map. Matsuyama, Kawachi prefecture, modern Higashi-Osaka City, Osaka prefecture. The tomb is represented in red. (Redrawn from Konda 1992: 665)

notes is because Shibayama kofun appears to be keyhole shaped in profile. He also suggests that it appeared to have a square end. Therefore, it seems that Gowland had misunderstood the nature of smaller keyhole tombs and it was this misunderstanding that led him to this conclusion. The modern consensus is that Shibayama is a keyhole shaped tomb (Konda 1992: 255). Gowland's plan in Figure 31 appears unchanged when reproduced in his 1897 paper (Gowland 1897: 452) and shows the tomb as keyhole shaped in profile.

Gowland found fragments of *haniwa*⁵ around the outside of the tomb, but none in situ (BOX 4-26-8) which would indicate, as one would expect from a tomb of this period, that it had been decorated with *haniwa*. He did find two connected sherds of a *haniwa* inside the tomb, which are listed in Div. 13 (BOX 4-17-22; BOX 4-17-36, Pot X) and which he

⁵ 増輪, *haniwa*, earthenware cylindrical sculptures of various shapes, used to decorate the exterior mound.

at
 Dolmen of Shiba mura Kawachi
 explored 29 & 30 Dec 1887.
 [scale] 1/8" = one foot [Reconstruction not to this scale]

WGowland

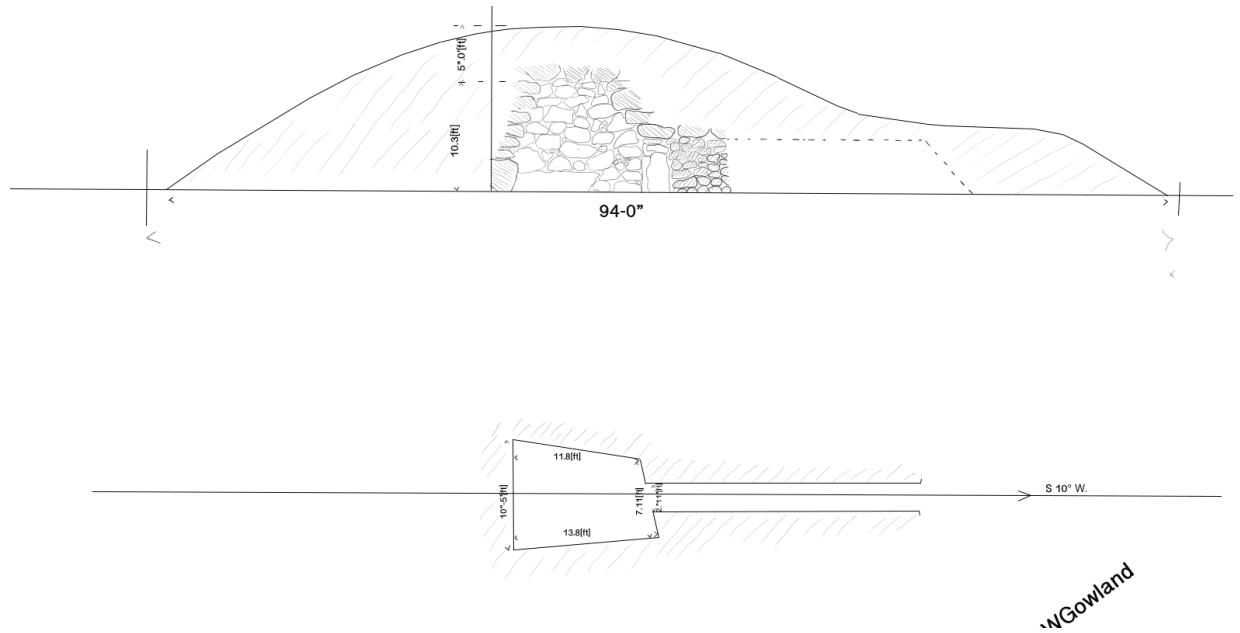


Figure 31. Redrawn version of Gowland's original plan of Shibayama kofun, dated to the excavation 29th and 30 of December 1887 (BOX 4-1-1 Appendix 3).

appears to have first seen on his original visit. These do not appear in either of the floor plans that show the location of the objects (BOX 4-1-1; BOX 4-2-1), perhaps indicating that he knew that they should not occur in the interior of the tomb and they were out of context.

Interior of the chamber

The earthen mound rose approximately 5ft above the roof of the chamber. The interior of the chamber was 10ft 3" at its tallest point (BOX 4-1-1). The sides of the chamber ceiling tapered inwards towards the middle, making the lower points of the ceiling between 5ft and 3ft in height (BOX 4-26-7). The layout of the floor was an irregular rectangle of 13ft 8" at its longest side and 11ft 8" at its shortest from north to south, and 10ft 5" at its longest and 7ft 11" at its shortest from east to west, as shown in Figure 32.

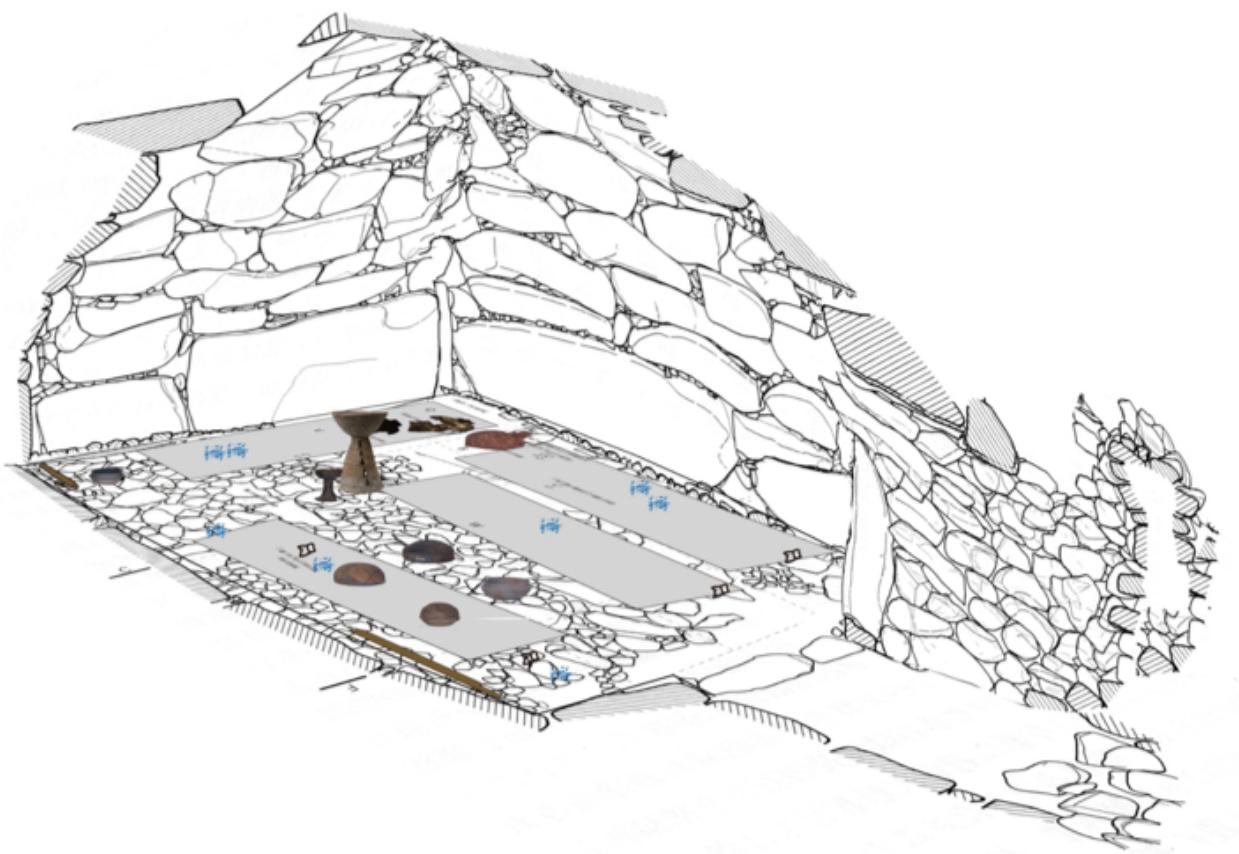


Figure 32. This image is taken from (Tomiyama 2015). It shows the positioning of what Tomiyama believes to be the location of ceramics, horse trappings and weapons based on Gowland's plans (BOX 4-2-1 and 4-3-1), and the location of what he believes to have been the location of the bodies shown by grey rectangles. I show this image in order to display the shape of the interior chamber and do not necessarily agree with these placements, which will be discussed below. The objects depicted are not shown to scale.

The main chamber originally had a corridor leading to it, acting as the entrance. The connecting area between the entrance corridor and the main chamber was 5ft 1" tall and 2ft 11" across (BOX 4-1-1). Gowland did not investigate the entrance corridor of the tomb. On the occasion of the excavation, the chamber was entered down through the top of the west wall, beneath the roof stone, with the use of a ladder (BOX 4-17-8). This was also the means by which the tomb had been entered by previous interlopers. The original entrance of the chamber had been blocked up with stones up to a thickness of 5ft at the event of the last burial. Upon completing the excavation of the main chamber, Gowland attempted to have the stones removed, intending to explore the corridor, but this caused parts of the south wall of the chamber to begin to collapse, so the work was halted (BOX 4-17-19). The original outside entrance was still buried under the mound. As Gowland only

had two days to work on the site it is likely he did not have the time to dig out the other side of the passageway, so the passage is represented as blank and outlined with a dotted line in the plan (BOX 4-1-1).

The construction of the tomb comprised relatively small stones, few of which showed much sign of having been worked. The stone chamber was made by dry stone construction (BOX 4-17-7), as is true for all kofun, but the chamber is poorly made in comparison to many other examples in the country. The stones fit together awkwardly, and smaller stones had been wedged into the gaps between the larger ones with gaps that Gowland remarks could be a foot wide (BOX 4-17-10). The largest of the stones used to build the chamber was built into the bottom section of the back walls, which is quite common in stone chamber construction in Japan. Made of granite, the visible face of the largest stone measured 7ft long by 3ft high (BOX 4-17-6). Three large stones of approximately 3ft long were also used to construct the roof and another two either side of the entrance between the main chamber and the passageway. These were 3ft 9" and 3ft tall respectively (BOX 4-17-6). The floor of the tomb had also been paved with irregular, flat faced stones, with large gaps of unmade floors, which Gowland suspected may have been dug up by grave robbers.

Gowland records the inside of the tomb as being of rather rough construction. Many of the stones appeared to be of local origin, picked up from the side of the mountain and showing no evidence of having been worked. However, the relatively poor construction of the tomb was to the benefit of the archaeology; what had been left in the interior of the chamber had been largely preserved under the soil that had fallen in from gaps within the three large roof stones. This created a layer of 8-10 inches in depth in the centre of the mound to as little as 3 inches around the edges (BOX 4-17-1; BOX 4-17-8). This layer of soil protected many of the smaller objects from being removed, but the site had still been opened several times before Gowland arrived.

"its chief contents being protected by a layer of earth (from 6" to 10" in the interior which had penetrated through the crevices [in the ceiling]) were left[,] altho[ugh] they [the objects] had been much damaged." (BOX 4-17-1).

"On descending by a ladder into the chamber the floor was seen to be covered with earth, the layer being about three inches in thickness at the sides but in the middle where there had been a slight fall of debris from the roof[,] it was about 8"-10" [deep]". (BOX 4-17-8).

Gowland gives some indication of the spread of earth inside the tomb, with the greatest amount in the centre. However, he did not take any accurate levels and gives only vague descriptions of the layer. If he considered the soil at the sides to have been a different event from that in the middle is not clear, although it is possible that removing the stones under the roof to enter the tomb caused some earth to fall inside. This might explain the location of the *haniwa* fragments (Pot X) in Div 13, not far from the Northeast corner where the tomb was entered. Furthermore, any objects, which were on top of the soil layer when Gowland entered the tomb, did not have their locations recorded, as Gowland believed them to be out of situ.

History of investigation

Chronology

- Uncertain date, farmer Shinsuke opens the tomb and removes objects.
- 1874 or 1875, official investigation by the Sakai city *kencho*.
- June, 1887, local landowner opens the tomb.
- 10th July, 1887, William Gowland's first visit, enters the chamber, and buys objects.
- 29-30th December 1887, Gowland excavates the tomb.
- 1959 Mori Kochi conducts a rescue excavation before the site is destroyed.

Exactly when Shinsuke, a farmer who Gowland names in his notes, opened the tomb is unclear. I have placed it as the first instance as it is often the case these tombs were investigated after locals had opened them and found objects, such as the sites of Mae-Futagoyama and Rokuya discussed in Chapter 2. However, it is also possible that in the first instance he opened the tomb but only removed objects after the Sakai *kencho* investigation discussed below. In two notes (BOX 4-17-1 and BOX 4-26-1) Gowland writes that the tomb had been opened in June of 1887 by the owner:

“...the farmer on whose ground it was inlaid had also taken out some things which I [was] allowed [to] purchase from him,..” (BOX 4-17-1).

“The chamber was entered again in June 1887 by the owner of the land on which it is situated.” (BOX 4-26-1).

Upon first reading through the notes, one could be forgiven for thinking it was the farmer Shinsuke who owned the tomb in June 1887 and from whom Gowland described having bought objects from, as Harris does⁶. However, Gowland states in (BOX 4-17-40) that two other farmers from Shibamura were the owners, as the tomb was on the boundary between their fields. They were named as Yamaguchi and Kodera (BOX 4-17-37), leaving some confusion as to who the owner was and from whom he had purchased the objects. In BOX 4-17-11 Gowland states that he had not recovered any complete ceramics and all those that were compete were purchased from Shinsuke, which would appear to be the objects listed having been purchased from “the owner”.

⁶ Due to the issues concerning the date, discussed above, Harris places the event of Shinsuke removing objects after Gowland excavated the tomb.

"The dolmen is situated partly in the ground of Yamaguchi v[&] partly in that of Yodera (Kodera) both of this village. Some of the articles were taken out of it several years ago by a farmer named Shinsuke, v[&] these I brought back with me to Osaka." (BOX 4-17-40).

"No entire vessel was seen there[,] having been recovered by the farmer Shinsuke from whom I afterwards purchased them." (BOX 4-17-11).

The documents BOX 4-26-1 to BOX 4-26-9 can help us to solve this problem, as they can be dated to Gowland's first visit in July 1887. Part of these documents (BOX 4-26-6) describe how no *magatama*⁷ or bones were found in the tomb. *"There was no trace of bones...No mirrors or magatama were seen"*. Yet, during the excavation three *magatama*⁸ and numerous small fragments of human remains were recovered. Thus we can conclude that Gowland wrote this prior to his excavation. Another part of these documents gives a list of all the objects Gowland purchased and names Shinsuke specifically as the person from whom they were bought, which correlates with the statement from BOX 4-17-11 and BOX 4-17-40. This would also indicate that Shinsuke had not opened the tomb in June 1887, but much earlier. Although, he had been the one the objects were bought from during Gowland's first visit, before the excavation.

BOX 4-17-40 is also clearly dated to 29th of December 1887 and gives a description of the tools taken and the events of the morning before the excavation, the notes seemingly having been written during the events. Therefore the statements, shown above, would appear to be accurate as they correlate with a note BOX 4-17-37 which names Kodera and Yamaguchi as the owners. Therefore, Gowland's later description in BOX 4-17-1 appears to have been slightly inaccurate and may have been an attempt to simplify the explanation while he was writing up notes which were used in his 1897 paper.

⁷ 勾玉, *magatama*. Comma-shaped beads.

⁸ Museum numbers: OA+.1214. OA+.1216. And OA+.1213.

Taking this into account, one of the owners did open the tomb in June of 1887 and Shinsuke had opened the tomb several years before that, it is most likely that Gowland was prompted to visit the tomb from hearing that the landowner had opened it in June. On visiting the tomb, he believed Shinsuke to have been the owner and purchased the objects that had been removed by him several years before. After which, gaining permission to excavate the tomb, between July and December, he discovered that it was Yamaguchi and Kodera who were the owners of Shibayama kofun, and it had been one of these men who had opened it in June.

It is also possible that Shinsuke had owned the tomb in the years in which the Sakai *kencho* had visited the site and when he removed the objects, after which, the land on which the tomb was located was sold to Yamaguchi and Kodera. This cannot yet be clarified further, but it does ultimately little to change our narrative. What is important is that Shinsuke had removed these objects and Gowland, who was prompted to visit the site after the tomb was opened again in 1887, had purchased them from Shinsuke several years after the objects had originally been removed.

1874 or 1875, Official investigation by the Saki *kencho*

Perhaps due to Shinsuke's original finds, officials visited the site at some point between 1874 and 1875 from the Sakai city *kencho*, who according to Gowland "...*took away one or two pieces of pottery*" (BOX 4-26-1; BOX 4-17-1). We know relatively little about this investigation other than what Gowland records, but he was not there at the time and was only describing his understanding of the event, likely informed by Shinsuke; however, there may be further records in the Sakai city's archives which could provide more information on this event. The tomb was likely explored by officials in response to Machida's 1872 guidelines (see Chapter 2), but it's unlikely that it was believed to be an imperial tomb. A number of objects were removed by the officials, who afterwards informed the owner that the tomb was of little importance and he could do as he liked with

it (BOX 4-26-1). Exactly what these officials took is still unknown and is an area for further research as there could potentially be objects and records related to those in the British Museum's collections still within Japanese archives.

June, 1887, The landowner reopens the tomb

Over ten years later, in June 1887, the tomb was in the ownership of Yamaguchi and Kodera (BOX 4-17-37; BOX 4-17-40). Gowland does not state which, but one of these men apparently opened the tomb in June of 1887 and discovered that it had not been completely cleared out. This news spread to the surrounding area, we can assume via word of mouth, but no more objects are recorded as having been taken out at this time, as Gowland only states that he purchased objects from Shinsuke, not either of the owners. It was this event that acted as the catalyst for Gowland first visiting the tomb, as word spread about the site to one of Gowland's servants (BOX 4-17-1), whose name we do not know, but who was originally from one of the surrounding villages, possibly Suemura itself.

10th July 1887, William Gowland's first visit, entering the chamber and buying objects

Having heard about the tomb through his servant, and that it contained "...many broken pots & pieces of iron rust in its interior." (BOX 4-17-1). Gowland set out to visit the tomb on July 10th, 1887. During this visit, he bought the objects originally removed from the tomb by Shinsuke, recorded between (BOX 4-26-1 and BOX 4-26-3). These are listed below (See Table 5 for 'Pot' numbers):

- 4 or 5⁹ Bronze sword ornaments, *miwadama* (part of OA+2144).
- 1 Heart-shaped horse pendant, *shinyōgatagyōyō*, complete. (OA+.1250.2).
- Fragments of sword's point-shaped horse pendant, *kenbishigatagyōyō* (number not given. Possibly parts of OA+.3038).

⁹ Gowland gives the number as four or five in (BOX 4-26-3) however, as there are ten objects in the collection and five listed in Gowland's notes of the excavation, we can assume that five were bought from Shinsuke.

- Several *kudatama*, (number not given. Likely parts of OA+.1141. 2968 and/or 1224).
- Fragments of iron swords, (number not given, possibly OA+.1245.1 and OA+.1245.2).
- [Pot A] Ceramic pedestal, *kidai*, other fragments found by Gowland.
- [Pot D] Covered dish, *takatsuki*, complete.
- [Pot F] Covered dish, *takatsuki*, complete.
- [Pot G] Lid of covered dish, *futa*, other fragments found by Gowland.
- [Pot H] Lid of covered dish, *futa*, other fragments found by Gowland.
- [Pot I & L] Covered dish, *futatsuki*, complete.
- [Pot J] Covered dish, *futatsuki*, bottom only.
- [Pot K] Uncertain, ceramic pedestal, *kidai* or *daitsukitsubo*, possibly part of Pot B but this has yet to be verified, other fragments found by Gowland.
- [Pot M] Covered dish, *futatsuki*, bottom only, complete.
- [Pot N & O] Covered dish, *futatsuki*, bottom and lid, complete.
- [Pot P] Lid of covered dish, *futa*, other fragments found by Gowland.
- [Pot Q] Covered dish, *futatsuki*, bottom only.
- [Pot R] Lid of covered lid, *futa*, other fragments found by Gowland.
- [Pot S] Covered dish, *futatsuki*, bottom only.

(Information from BOX 4-17-30 to BOX 4-17-35 and BOX 4-26-3).

On his first visit, Gowland records that he had entered the tomb, but only made a superficial investigation and noted that the tomb had already been disturbed, decided that he should leave it so that he may be able to excavate it carefully later. This shows he was already displaying a concern for systematic recording:

"I explored the chamber superficially only on 10th July 1887 - as I did not wish to disturb the contents more [(]They had already been disturbed[)]. hoping at some future time to be able to examine +[&] securing them systematically ... " (BOX 4-26-3).

Gowland does mention observing objects in the tomb before the excavation and identifies several:

“...there was a considerably quantity of frag[ment]s of decayed conifer wood¹⁰. ...on turning over slightly these frag[ment]s seven or eight Kuda tama c[with] adherent vermillion, several small tama [beads], part of a futa mono coloured c[with] vermillion [Pot I], many iron arrow heads, v[&] several small portions of cooper gilt ornaments were seen. Also a frag[ment] of terra cotta resembling haniwa [Pot X]. And near the N[orth] end of the wood frag[ment]s a portion of copper gilt iron halberd horse ornament” (BOX 4-26-5).

Therefore, it would appear that Gowland had made at least a small examination of the back wall, near where the tomb could be entered, at this date. In the collection at the British Museum there exists an envelope containing iron oxide (see Figure 33) that reads:

“Powder obt[aine]d by scraping flag stones which paved the floor near back wall of dolmen of Shibamura July 10/[18]87.”

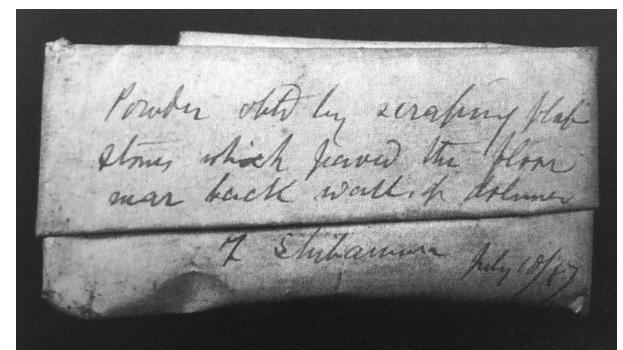


Figure 33. Paper packet containing iron oxide from Shibayama kofun, dated 10th July 1887. (Harris 2003: 93). © Trustees of the British Museum.

This object has yet to be found within the Museum's collection, but it was photographed for Victor Harris' investigation in the 1990s and is dated. Upon examination of the Asia Department's holdings, I was able to discover the remains of several similar packages that originally held parts of the collection, discussed in Chapter 1. These included objects which can be identified as having been taken from Shibayama kofun, some of which were

¹⁰ Gowland later concludes that this is pine wood.

wrapped in a newspaper dating to the 25th of June 1887, which are listed as I found them, in Table 4.

The majority of the packaging shown in the tables seem to have held objects found during the December excavation, as they have Div. numbers. Only a few, such as OA+.3006 the packaging for an arrowhead, are clearly from Gowland's first visit. It is possible there are other artefacts relating to this visit within in the Museum collections. But, what we can say is that the Gowland papers suggest he made a preliminary investigation of the chamber at this time and removed some sample objects. However, on seeing the preserved floor of the tomb, Gowland decided to abandon a full investigation to record the site systematically at a later date (BOX 4-26-3). Gowland methodically planned out how he would excavate the tomb and how he would collect and record everything he found. Importantly, he gained permission from the local authorities to excavate the tomb. A more detailed analysis of Gowland's excavation methods and influences can be seen in Chapter 6.

Although undateable, there is a note in the archive that gives us an unusually candid view of how Gowland saw the collection of Kofun period objects in Japan: “*[of] The artefacts which have been found in dolmen or barrows[,] There are no satisfactory records of the systematic opening of any. All have been rifled, more especially the dolmen. In all the layers +[&] many of the smaller barrows have been dug into their summits... as they were opened for plunder by farmers v[&] woodsmen[,] it is impossible to ascertain how they occurred in the m[ound] v[&] whether they were occur with human remains or not..... Shortly after [any] large barrow [had] been dug into v[&] some ornaments found [when] one of us had visited the place, but in all cases the diggings [were] stopped by the local gov[ernmen]t [whilst] incomplete...*” (BOX 4-20-5-4 Appendix 1).

There is no accurate way of dating this note, as it is loose within the archive and does not give much indication as to when it was written. It may well have been written shortly

before the excavation of Shibayama, as it does discuss the relative lack of records and the occurrence of vermillion within tombs, both of which are topics that Gowland would have related to Shibayama. Where Gowland refers to "us" he is possibly referring to himself and other foreign antiquarians residing in Japan. But this frustration at the lack of evidence appears to have been a catalyst for the methodology which Gowland planned in advance for his excavation. The reasons behind the local governments in Japan stopping excavations are discussed in Chapter 2. We can perhaps also assume this was prior to becoming aware of the excavations of Tsuboi, as the human remains were recorded at the Ashikaga kofun cluster (Tsuboi 1887). Also because Gowland would later speak very highly of Tsuboi's excavation (Gowland 1897) and as we will discuss in Chapter 6, this likely had some influence on the way in which he had decided to approach the excavation of Stonehenge.

29th-30th December 1887, Gowland's excavation

The date of the excavation itself is also slightly problematic, even disregarding the issues with the date discussed above. For example, in one note (BOX 4-17-8) Gowland claims that the excavation took place on December 29th and 30th, 1888. Contrary to this, he states elsewhere the date of the investigation was December 29th, 1887 (BOX 4-17-40). The elevation plan that he drew of the tomb is also dated to 29th and 30th December 1887 (BOX 4-1-1). We also know he was staying in Tokyo with Basil Hall Chamberlain at the end of 1888 (See Chapter 1). Thus, the 1887 date is correct. Therefore, Gowland's excavation took place only five months after his original visit. Presumably, the five month wait was necessary to gain permission to excavate the tomb. By this time Gowland had become known as an antiquarian, if not by the Japanese academic community, certainly by the local law enforcement in Osaka. As discussed in Chapter 2, Gowland had been stopped from digging during the last years of his residence in Japan, and whenever he visited kofun sites after that point policemen would be stationed near or around them, which appears in the Shibayama documents (BOX 4-17-1). Shibayama had already been

Table 4 Notes from old packaging of the Gowland Collection

Label on plastic bag	Description of packaging	Related object.	Other information	Photograph (personal photographs) © Trustees of the British Museum.
OA+. 3006	1x piece of thick folded paper with "Arrow head removed from the tomb on 10/87" written on it, along with OA+. (2845 crossed out) 3006. Several pieces of newspaper dated June 25th 1887. Small paper tag with string reading "Div. 18. Head of nail". Another larger tag in Japanese giving the description of a <i>bagu</i> .	Unknown, definitely an arrow head OA+. 3006 and a nail head, possibly a <i>bagu</i> .	July 1887, was Gowland's first visit to Shibayama kofun, before the excavation the following December.	
Papers for wrappin g for OA+ 3077 misc iron frags [ments]	1x sheet of <i>washi</i> . 1x shred of newspaper. 1x thick piece of paper with "No.11" written on it.	Unknown, presumably small iron objects based on the description written on the bag.	Div.11	
OA+. 2979	2x sheets of <i>washi</i> . 1x piece of thick paper with "from sweepings" written on it, along with OA+. 2979. 1x short piece of red/pink ribbon.	Unknown.	Object from sweeping of Shibayama. In his notes Gowland refers to anything found ontop of the soil layer before his excavation as 'sweepings'.	
OA+. 2983	2x sheets of <i>washi</i> . 2x rolled up piece of paper, one with very faint writing "16 bronze stem[?]" . 1x piece of thick paper reads No.9. 2983. (OA+.2828 crossed out).	Unknown.	Div.9?	
OA+. 2980	2x sheets of <i>washi</i> . 1x small piece of thick paper, smudged with Div.15 written on its surface.	Unknown.	Div.15	

Table 4.continued

OA+.2977 (OA+.2816 crossed)	2x sheets of <i>washi</i> . Several scraps of newspaper dated June 25, 1887. 1x small square card reading "No.16". OA+. (2816 crossed out) 2977. Irrelevant notes on coins struck during a particular month.	Unknown. Small objects, earring or beads? Staining on <i>washi</i> may indicate that iron was present.	Div.16	
OA+.2981 - Wrapping	2x sheets of <i>washi</i> . 1x small piece of card, small amounts of residual glue used to adhere small objects to it, with Div.12 written in the corner. 1x scrunched piece of paper with Div.12 written on its edge and centre along with OA+.2981 (2820 crossed out)	OA+.2981,4? Iron fitting from Shibayama.	Div.12	
3015 (OA+2854 crossed out) 10 written faintly on the lid. and again on underside.	Round wooden box	Unknown. Small objects, earring, bone or beads?	Div.10?	
Div.11 written on the lid and again on the underside, inside of a square.	Round card box	Unknown. Small objects, copper foil or beads?	Div.11	

Table 4.continued

? div.13 written on lid and again on underside. "Acid Tannic 9 daily" also written on lid.	Round wooden box	Unknown. Small objects, beads? Writing on the lid indicates that these were medical pill boxes which were reused as storage for objects.	Div.13	
Div. 14 written on lid and again on underside	Round card box	Unknown. Small objects, bone, earrings or beads?	Div.14	
? Div.19 written on lid and underside. 13 also written on lid and underside but crossed out.	Round card box	Unknown. Small objects, earrings or beads?	Div.19 (Div.13 crossed out)	
3015 (OA+2854 crossed out). VH 13/3/96 written finely in pencil on lid.20 written on underside.	Round wooden box	Unknown. Small objects, beads?	Div.20	

disregarded by officials (BOX 4-17-1; BOX 4-26-9). Luckily Shinsuke's collecting was rather superficial, only taking the most complete ceramics and other objects that would have for the most part stood out from the soil layer. But, as he had removed all the complete ceramics and parts of others, this made the act of locating their original position rather difficult, discussed below.

By the time Gowland excavated Shibayama, he had become acquainted with the local governor of the area (BOX 4-17-1; BOX 4-17-38), Nakagawa Shoji, the Shibamura *Kuchō*. Whether this was a strategy purely acted out to attain permission to excavate the tomb we cannot know. According to Gowland, he and Nakagawa had become close friends (BOX 4-17-1) and when he enquired about excavating Shibayama. Nakagawa had said that he did not have the authority to allow Gowland to excavate the tomb, but deemed it a matter of urgency and would put him in charge of his officials (BOX 4-17-1). In reality, Nakagawa appears to have accompanied Gowland to the excavation (BOX 4-17-40).

Gowland was accompanied to the local temple Dairuji by Nakagawa, and someone named Maida, of whom we know nothing more. After this they proceeded on to Shibayama kofun, where they met an officer from the *Yao-gun yak sho*, the local district office, this is either a third person or the identity of Maida, and one unnamed workman. Gowland had clearly gained official permission to excavate the tomb, but we can perhaps still suggest that the two day timeframe and the choice of excavating during the middle of winter, December 29th and 30th, was chosen so that less attention would be drawn to the event. This is likely on account of the difficult situation surrounding kofun monuments discussed in Chapter 2. On several occasions, Gowland and others were stopped from excavating tombs, which he refers to in the note discussed above (BOX 4-20-5-4 Appendix 1). He was once stopped from taking an *ento haniwa* from Konabe kofun even after receiving permission, although on that occasion it was due to the site having become an imperial tomb. This would all suggest that Gowland knew that the activity might be a

contentious one, even with official permission, and wished to avoid any further complications by scheduling his excavation at a time of the year when there would be very little activity in the surrounding fields.

The tomb was entered by removing two stones under the roof of the northern end of the west wall (BOX 4-17-8). The same method had been used on previous occasions the tomb had been entered as the original entrance remained sealed. Upon entering the tomb, Gowland first collected any fragments on the top layer of the soil, not recording their location, believing them to have been strewn about by those who had entered previously (BOX 4-17-8) and thus out of context, referring to them as "sweepings". After this, he set up a rudimentary grid system, through which he would excavate each division of the tomb systematically. This grid is shown in Figure 34.

Gowland's methodology

Although the influence, which informed this excavation, will be discussed in Chapter 6, to place it in the development of British archaeology as a whole, here we will briefly discuss the methodology Gowland employed at Shibayama kofun.

Not long after Gowland started his excavation, he found that the soil had been disturbed, due to the distribution of some beads, bone fragments and teeth (BOX 4-17-2; BOX 4-17-3). In some parts of the tomb the stones that had made up the floor had been displaced (BOX 4-17-12), which Gowland attributed to an ancient plundering. However, he deemed the disturbance not widespread or severe enough to stop him from obtaining the original locations of the objects (Gowland 1897: 477). This may have been caused when the tomb was entered in the past, but it is also possible that it was the result of a natural event such as an earthquake, which could have caused some part of the disturbance without human intervention. No doubt there were several events of disturbances in the tomb's history before Gowland arrived, but part of what he saw as displacement may have

been caused by his misconception that there would be only one body buried within the tomb, which will be discussed below.

In an attempt to record what had been left *in situ*, Gowland incorporated a very unusual method of excavation when recording the interior of the tomb, intending to record everything within it; a practice that was not routine even in Britain at the time. He does state that the grid of rectangles he used were equal, and this may have been his original intention. To create the grid, Gowland measured each wall; he divided the north-south wall into five segments, and the east to west into four and then set up a frame of bamboo poles creating four divisions that was moved as the excavation took place. But as can be seen from Figure 34, this did not produce an equal grid. Gowland appears to have begun his grid in the northwest corner at Div.20, as this is the only division with almost perfect right angles. And this division does appear to have been originally Div.1 before being changed to Div.20, as a sketch in the corner of BOX 4-17-40, perhaps made during the excavation, would suggest that he had reversed the numbers so that the low numbers were near the original entrance of the tomb. The frame that created the grid consisted of one 8ft length to bamboo with three 2ft lengths tied to it at intervals of approximately 2.5ft (BOX 4-17-40). This frame was moved across the floor to measured points as the excavation took place (BOX 4-17-11). Despite this, due to the irregular shape of the tomb's interior, a grid with equally sized rectangles was not achieved. Gowland placed plans of the tomb in BOX 4-2-1 and BOX 4-3-1, the former has drawn particular attention as it sets out the objects within a floor plan (Tomiyama 2009). However, BOX 4-3-1 is the original, the floor plan of the tomb and the grid were traced from BOX 4-3-1 to create BOX 4-2-1 making it less likely that Gowland was drawing the objects in by eye as he worked. Therefore, this only provides an approximate location of the objects within the tomb.

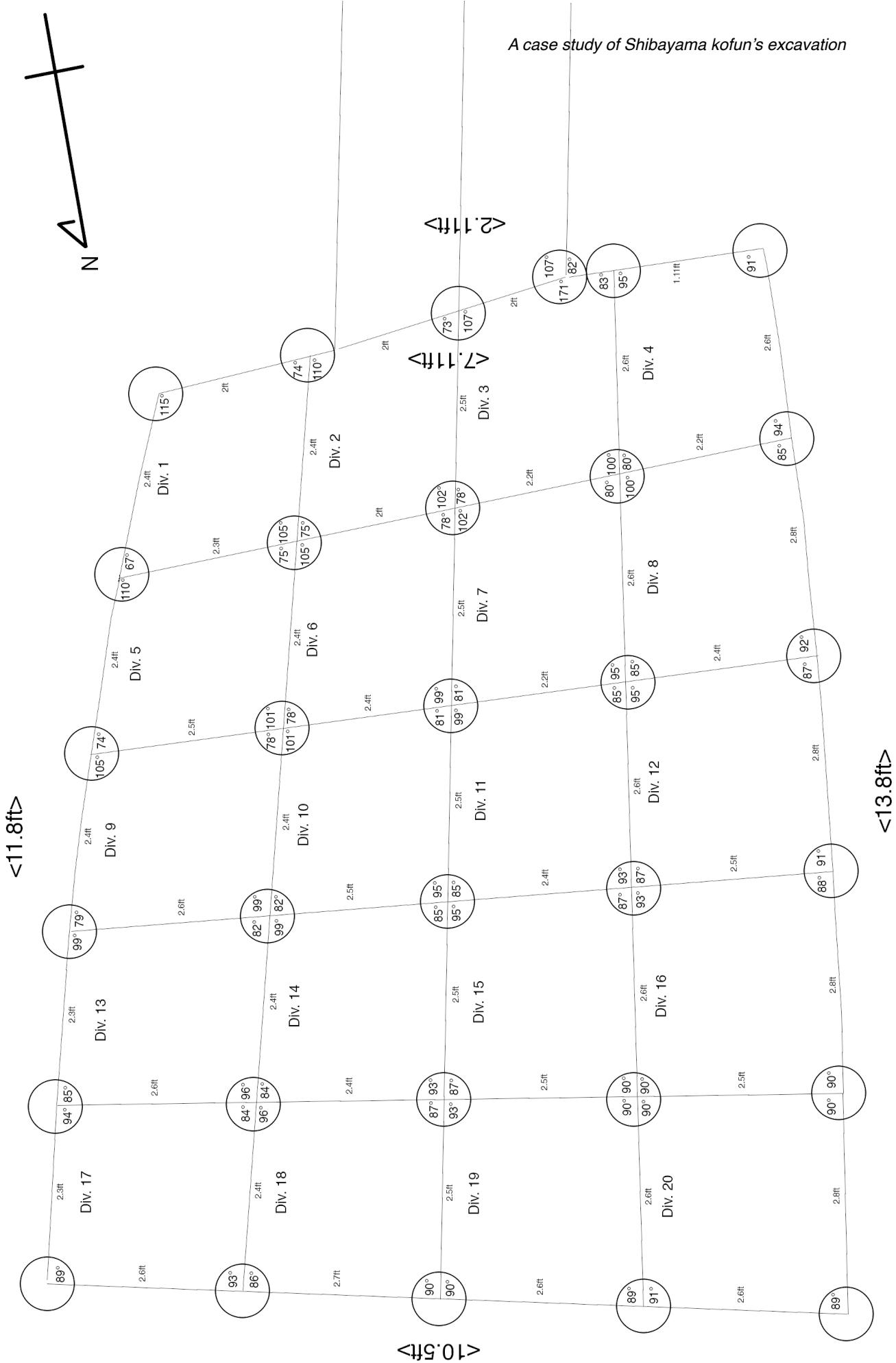


Figure 34. A diagram of the measurements of Gowland's floor plan of Shibayama and the divisions. As the angles do not add up to 360° , this shows that the divisions are not equal rectangles. From the measurements of the sides, it can be seen that they were also not of equal size.

Objects removed from the interior

BOX 4-17-13 to BOX 4-17-29 gives a list of the divisions, Div.1 to Div.20, which refer to the 5x4 grid running west to east from the southeast corner at Div.1 to the northeast corner at Div.20. This includes a description of the objects found in each division allowing for identification. Below I discuss the objects that have been split into general categories.

Ceramics

All ceramics from the tomb were *sueki*, with the exception of two sherds of earthenware, which Gowland correctly identified as *haniwa* fragments (Pot X, OA+.790A). Each of these fragments was given a letter, from A to X, which were used throughout his notes. Gowland took no complete vessels from Shibayama. Those that are marked as having been purchased were bought from Shinsuke in July of 1887. After Gowland's excavation, he discovered that many of the sherds he uncovered were fragments of the same vessels he had bought from Shinsuke, so many are reconstructed. The locations of pots as they appear in Gowland's plan (BOX 4-2-1) only show a representation of what he believed to be the original location based on the largest number of sherds found. We can see from the description of the large *kidai* (Pot A, Franks.2234.b) that sherds were found spread diagonally across the entire floor of the tomb from Div.3 to Div.19, a distance of approximately 10ft, from what must have been quite a destructive event.

Gowland lists the numbers of sherds of each vessel that were found in each division of the tomb using his Div numbers. He also lists those that were bought (see Table 5), but he does not always clearly indicate which parts of them were purchased and neither does he number the sherds which were found within the sweepings on the top of the soil layer. Smaller sherds that were not identifiable, Gowland lists in the Div. notes (BOX 4-17-13) but not in the ceramic notes (BOX 4-17-30), shown in Table 6. Of the twenty-one ceramic vessels listed as found by Gowland, twelve were at least partly purchased from Shinsuke,

A case study of Shibayama kofun's excavation

Table 5 Ceramics from Shibayama kofun

Photographs (British museum .co.uk) © Trustees of the British Museum	Letter code	Museum number	J.Numb er	Form of vessels	Location on Plan 3	Gowland's description of objects. Notes taken from BOX 4-17-30 unless otherwise stated.	Find locations of fragments.
	A.	Franks. 2234.b	J.100	<i>Kidai</i>	On the line between Div. 14 and 15	A large tazza . Total hight 20.3/4". hight of pedestal 14". Diameter of dish 15.1/2".	Fragments of the stand and parts of the bowl found. 1 fragment from Div.3, 1 from Div.6, 5 from Div.9, 2 from Div.11, 5 from Div.14 and 4 from Div.15. Other fragments purchased. An additional 5 from Div 19 Only recorded in BOX 4-17-29.
	B.	Franks. 2234.a	J.99	<i>Daisukit subo?</i>	Div. 13	Irregular, unsymmetrical globular vessel with narrow mouth, which is placed eccentrically. Hard burnt , with fired enamel like coating in striates in several places caused by the fusion & running of some material (ash) from the intense heat. This glaze doubtless accidental.	Unnumbered fragments found on surface debris. 7 fragments from Div.3, 7 from Div.13, 4 from Div.14 and 1 from Div.18.
	C.	Franks. 2234.h	J.133	<i>Haso</i>	None	Wide mouth vase with globular bottom & round aperture in the side of the globular body. Neck ornamented with waved parallel lines, body with a band formed by a series of perpendicular board lines made up of a series of short lines. 139 mm high. 122mm board at mouth. Globular body 328mm circumference. Aperture in side 16 mm diameter.	Location and fragments not mentioned in notes. However, there is a reference made to the vessel in BOX 4-26-3, which would indicate that it was entirely purchased.
	D.	Franks. 2234.	J.130	<i>Takatsuki</i>	None	Tazza unbroken	Entirely purchased
	E.	Franks. 2234.d	J.131	<i>Takatsuki</i>	Div. 15	Tazza. Hight 112mm. Breadth 83mm. Ornament around bottom of dish interior formed of incised lines made up of short dashes. Stem pierced with three long narrow, almost rectangular slits .	Unnumbered fragments found on surface debris. 2 fragments from Div.15
	F.	OA+.791	J.132	<i>Takatsuki</i>	None	Tazza. Bottom imperfect. Purchased from farmer. 114 mm high. Ornamentation & diameter resembling E (Franks.2234.d).	Entirely purchased
	G.	OA+.795	Unknown , not included in ledger. Or painted on ceramic.	<i>Futatsuki</i>	On the line between Div. 13 and 17	Covered pot Futamono. Cover only. 149mm Diameter. 40mm high.	2 fragments from Div.13 and 2 from Div. 17.
	H.	Franks. 2234.c3	J.141	<i>Futatsuki</i>	Div. 11	Futamono. Cover only. imperfect. Size about same as G(40mm high)	1 fragments found in Div.13 and 2 from Div.11.
	I. and L.	Franks. 2234.c	J.134	<i>Futatsuki</i>	Div. 8	I: Futamono. Coated with vermillion. 53mm high. 126mm inner diameter. L:Cover of I.. 53mm high and 152mm diameter.	Pot I: 3 fragments from Div.8. Other parts purchased. Pot L: entirely purchased.
	J.	Franks. 2234.g	J.135	<i>Tsuki</i>	None	Futamono. Bottom. Perfect. 113 - 123mm diameter interior. 54mm high. (Described as perfect in BOX 4-17-33, however BOX 4-17-17 mentions a fragment of Pot J found in Div.7.)	1 Fragment from Div.7. Otherwise purchased.
	K.	OA+.788(2 sherds) OA+.793 (1 sherd) and 7 unnumb ered. (10 sherds total).	Unknown , not included in ledger.	<i>Kidai? or Daisukit subo</i>	Div. 20	Fragments of a large tazza very incomplete	Unnumbered fragments from surface debris. 1 fragment from Div.12, 2 from Div.16, 1 from Div.17, 2 from Div.18 and 5 from Div.20. Other fragments purchased.
	M.	Franks. 2234.c1	J.138	<i>Tsuki</i>	None	Futamono. bottom. Perfect. Purchased from farmer. 44mm high 95 diameter.	Entirely purchased

Table 5.continued

Photographs (British museum.co.uk) © Trustees of the British Museum	Letter code	Museum number	J.Number	Form of vessels	Location on Plan 3	Gowland's description of objects. Notes taken from BOX 4-17-30 unless otherwise stated.	Find locations of fragments.
	N. and O.	Franks. 2234.c2	J.139	Tsuki	None	Futamono complete. Purchased from Farmer. Bottom 128 mm interior diameter 62 mm high. Top 155mm exterior diameter 64mm high.	Entirely purchased
	P.	OA+.792	Not included in ledger. J.142 written on object,	Futatsu ki	None	Futamono. in fragments. Cover only.	Unnumbered fragments found on surface debris. Other parts purchased
	Q.	Part of OA+.785.	Unknown, not included in ledger.	Tsuki	None	Futamono. Half bottom only. Diameter interior 135mm approximately.	Entirely purchased
	R.	Franks. 2234.c4	J.140	Futa	Div.12	Futamono. Cover in Fragments.	Unnumbered fragments found on surface debris. 3 fragments from Div.12.
	S.	Franks. 2234.e	J.137	Tsuki	None	Futamono. Bottom only. Diameter 116 - 122mm. 45mm deep.	Entirely purchased
	T.	Franks. 2234.f	J.136	Tsuki	Div.20	Small futamono . Bottom only . Broken. Found upside down, slightly buried in the debris against Western wall,	1 large fragment found in Div.20. Described as broken, a second fragment seems to have been found with it, which has since been repaired.
	U.	Part of OA+.785	Unknown, not included in ledger.	Tsuki	None	Small fragment of bottom of futa mono	1 fragment from Div.13.
	V.	OA+.794	Unknown, not included in ledger.	Tsubo?	Div.18	Small fragment of korean wheel pottery.	1 fragment found in Div 18.
	W.	Part of OA+.785	Unknown, not included in ledger.	Tsuki	None	Small fragment of bottom of futa mono.	2 fragments from Div.10. (According to BOX 4-17-19. Only 1 according to BOX 4-17-35)
	X.	OA+.790A	Unknown, not included in ledger.	Haniwa.	None	Two pieces red haniwa.	2 fragments from Div.13.

Table 6 Unlisted ceramics from Shibayama kofun

Photographs (personal) © Trustees of the British Museum.	Letter code	Museum number	J.Number	Form of vessels	Gowland's description of objects	Find location
	None. Not included in ceramics list.	Unknown. May refer to a sherd of <i>sueki</i> with 1 or 1 painted on it, which is currently part of OA+.785. a collection of sherds which includes Pot Q, W and U. But, this has not been verified.	None.	1 fragment	[Div.1] 1 Frag[ment] soft pottery	Div.1
	None. Not included in ceramics list.	Unknown	None	4 fragments	[BOX 4-17-22, Div. 12] 4 frag[ments] of unknown vessel	Div.12
	None. Not included in ceramics list.	OA+.760	None	9 fragments	[On lid of box] Pottery frag[ment]s 13 div shiba mura. [BOX 4-17-22. Div. 13] many small frag[ment]s of pottery 7 of B. 2 of G, 1 of H, 8 unknown.	Not listed with other ceramics but approximately fits the description of Div. 13 where 8 unknown fragments are listed in the division notes.
	None. Not included in ceramics list.	Unknown	None.	3 fragments, Gowland describes a <i>futa</i> , but only large vessels would have "Korean wheel marks"	[BOX 4-17-23, Div. 14] Sundry pieces 3 of cov[ered]? pot unknown one c[with] Kor[en] wheel [marks].	Div.14
	None. Not included in ceramics list.	Unknown	None.	1 fragment <i>takatsuki</i>	[BOX 4-17-28. Div. 19] 1 "[piece of] stand [of a] small Tazza."	Div.19
	None. Not included in ceramics list.	Unknown	None	Unknown	[BOX 4-17-29, Div. 20] Pottery various[,] unimportant	Div.20

seven of which were entirely purchased, and five were reconstructed with the use of other fragments which Gowland later found within the tomb. Only eight ceramics appear on Gowland's plan, located within the tomb based on the distribution of sherds he recovered himself. 'Pot P' was the only ceramic depicted in the plan that was part purchased and part found as fragments, which Gowland was unable to relocate, as the sherds he uncovered were found on the surface of the soil layer and not in situ. The majority of vessels located on the plan were done so based on the location of the largest amount of sherds found under the soil layer. Such as the *kidai*, Pot A, which was scattered over a number of divisions, and had some sherds removed by Shinsuke, yet was able to be located by the remains of the base of the vessel found in Div.15. However, this excludes 'Pot X', fragments of a *haniwa*, and the non-diagnostic ceramics in Table 6.

Unfortunately, this does mean that we are unable to locate the majority of the ceramics held within the tomb, despite having a more or less complete record, excluding whatever had been taken out by the Sakai *kencho*. The only lettered ceramic which Gowland does not accurately describe the origin of is Pot C (Franks.2234.h), which receives very little description in the ceramic notes, but from a description given in (BOX 4-26-3) we can identify it as having been included in the objects purchased from Shinsuke in July 1887. Furthermore, Pot B, which was very fragmentary was located in Div.13, Gowland identifies it as a globular vessel. However, it would appear that this ceramic was originally a *daitukitsubo*, meaning it originally has a pedestal. Pot K on the other hand, is shown as a *kidai* in his original plan, yet consists of only a pedestal. I have suggested, it is possible that 'Pot K' is, in fact, the pedestal of 'Pot B' and they are the same object, but this has yet to be verified.

Overall, from the above, we can see that the locations of the ceramics in Gowland's pictorial plan (BOX 4-2-1) are approximate locations based on the largest number of sherds that Gowland had found. Furthermore, the grid system that Gowland employed

consisted of unequal rectangles, with sides of approximately between 1.5 and 3ft, which cannot be said to be particularly accurate, meaning it is very likely they are not in the *exact* location that they were originally placed. However, the location Gowland believed them to be, based on his excavation is still important information, and necessary to our understanding of the tomb.

Beads

Large quantities of beads of several different materials appeared in the tomb. Both men and women throughout the Kofun period wore beads; we know this from depictions of both genders of human shaped *haniwa*, which are wearing beads around their necks or wrists. Gowland's notes include several attempts to record the beads throughout the documents, given in the Tables 7 and 8 below.

According to Gowland, there were 1078 beads comprising eight varying types, amber glass double beads (OA+.1228), green glass (OA+.2969. 23 identified), hollow silver (OA+.1244, 3037, 16055, 16052. 16053 and 3002), clay (OA+.2966.1-9. 91 identified), steatite *kudatama* (OA+.1225), jasper (OA+.1141. 2968 and 1224. 39 identified) and blue glass beads. More research is required to accurately decide which came from this tomb and what happened to the objects that currently appear to be missing. There were also the three *magatama* mentioned above. Gowland divided the floor of the tomb into five general areas when discussing the beads, based on the idea that the beads would have been worn by the deceased individual. He highlighted what he believed to be the main groups of beads in his plan (BOX 4-2-1) by drawing around them in blue pencil, which also underlines the numbers given in BOX 4-17-44 where he gives a table of the beads. “*Coffin space south half*” refers to Div. 5, 6, 9 and 10. “*Coffin space north half*” refers to Div. 13 and 14. “*South end outside coffin*” refers to Div. 1 and 2. “*Back wall*” refers to Div. 17, 18, 19 and 20. And “*Space between coffin and west wall*” refers to Div. 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15 and 16.

Table 7. Beads from Shibayama kofun, by division.

Table 7
Key:

Green text:
Omitted elsewhere
Red text:
Incorrect entry.

Div.	Division list. BOX 4-17-13 to 4-17-30	Plan 2. BOX 4-2-1	Plan 3. BOX 4-3-1	Bead notes. BOX 4-17-41 to 4-17-43
1	12 <i>Kudatama</i> 3 Amber glass 3 Amber glass 3 Green glass	12 <i>Kudatama</i> . 3 Amber glass	12 <i>Kudatama</i> . 3 Amber glass	[Assumed to be 12 <i>kudatama</i> and 3 amber from totals given on table]
2	1 <i>Kudatama</i> . 1 Amber glass.	1 <i>Kudatama</i> .	1 <i>Kudatama</i> . 1 Amber glass.	[Assumed to be 1 <i>kudatama</i> from total given on table]
3	None	None	None	None
4	2 Magatama 41 Blue glass (37 dark 4 light)	2 Magatama 41 Blue glass (37 dark 4 light)	2 Magatama 41 Blue glass (37 dark 4 light)	41 Blue glass
5	53 Blue glass	53 Blue glass	53 Blue glass	53 Blue glass
6	14 Blue glass	14 Blue glass	14 Blue glass	14 Blue glass 3 <i>Kudatama</i> .
7	3 Blue glass	3 Blue glass	3 Blue glass	3 Blue glass
8	1 Blue glass 14 Steatite	1 Blue glass	1 Blue glass 14 Steatite	1 Blue glass 14 Steatite
9	47 Blue glass 1 <i>Kudatama</i>			
10	11 Kudatama 1 Silver 33 Blue glass	10 Kudatama 1 Silver 33 Blue glass 33 Blue glass	10 Kudatama 1 Silver 33 Blue glass	15 Kudatama 1 Silver 33 Blue glass 5 Green glass
11	1 Silver. 1 <i>Kudatama</i> 4 Steatite 2 Blue glass	1 Silver 1 <i>Kudatama</i>	1 Silver 1 <i>Kudatama</i> 4 Steatite	1 Silver 1 <i>Kudatama</i> 4 Steatite 2 Blue glass
12	25 Green glass 114 Steatite 9 <i>Kudatama</i> 7 Blue glass 2 Burnt clay	25 Green glass 114 Steatite 9 <i>Kudatama</i> 6 Blue glass 2 Burnt clay	25 Green glass 114 Steatite 9 <i>Kudatama</i> 7 Blue glass 2 Burnt clay	25 Green glass 114 Steatite 9 <i>Kudatama</i> 7 Blue glass 2 Burnt clay
13	6 Blue glass 1 Silver 2 Burnt clay	6 Blue glass 1 Silver	6 Blue glass 1 Silver 2 Burnt clay	6 Blue glass 2 Burnt clay
14	3 Burnt clay 7 Blue glass		3 Burnt clay 7 Blue glass	3 Burnt clay 7 Blue glass
15	1 Silver 1 Blue glass	1 Silver.	1 Silver. 1 Blue glass	1 Silver 1 Blue glass
16	1 Steatite 4 Blue glass. 116 Burnt clay (15 in fragments)	2 Steatite 4 Blue glass 116 Burnt clay	2 Steatite 4 Blue glass 116 Burnt clay	1 Steatite 4 Blue glass 116 Burnt clay
17	3 Silver	3 Silver	3 Silver	3 Silver
18	3 Silver 5 Blue glass	3 Silver	3 Silver 5 Blue glass	3 Silver 5 Blue glass
19	507 Blue glass(325 small, 182 large) 8 Silver.	507 Blue glass(325 small, 182 large) 8 Silver	507 Blue glass (325 small, 182 large) 8 Silver.	507 Blue glass (325 small, 182 large) 8 Silver.
20	1 Magatama	1 Magatama	1 Magatama	

Table 8. Beads of Shibayama kofun, by type.

Table 8

Key:

Green text:

Omitted elsewhere

Red text:

Incorrect entry.

Total by type:	Division list. BOX 4-17-13 to 4-17-30	Plan 2. BOX 4-2-1	Plan 3. BOX 4-3-1	Bead notes. BOX 4-17-41 to 4-17-43	Total given on table. BOX 4-17-44	Actual total No. recorded
Blue glass:	731	749	729	731	731	731
Green glass:	27	25	25	30	30*	33
Amber glass:	4	3	4	0	3**	4 (3 and one half)
Steatite:	133	116	134	133	133	134
Silver:	18	18	18	17	17***	18
Burnt clay:	123	118	123	123	123	123 (15 of which are fragmentary)
Magatama:	3	3	3	[Not included]	[Not included]	3
Kudatama:	35	34	34	29	41****	42

*The notes and table include 5 from Div. 10 which appear nowhere else, but the division list includes another 3 in Div. 1 which appear nowhere else. This could potentially mean there is a total of 33.

**There are three double beads and one half of a double bead within the collection, the half bead appears to have been left out of the table.

***It is likely that the bead missing from the bead notes and the table was subject to chemical testing. Most likely the single silver bead found in Div.13, leaving 17 total silver beads.

****This would appear to be based on the 29 given in bead notes with an additional 12 from Div. 1, but excludes 1 from Div. 2 for a total of 41. And a potential actual total of 42

As it stands, although beads fitting these descriptions exist in the Gowland Collection, not all have been found. This is especially visible with the blue beads of which currently only 361 are known, whereas Gowland records 731. Further studies of the Museum collection are likely to locate the missing objects eventually. As the table that appears in BOX 4-17-44 is the most complete and appears to be the last record made of the beads, we can perhaps presume it to be the most accurate, with a few notable exceptions, which are highlighted below in Table 8.

Of particular interest are the silver beads, of which Gowland initially records 18, but in his later documents only records 17, this would suggest that the missing bead, that of Div. 13 is the bead which was used in Gowland chemicals tests recorded in BOX 4-35-2. This is made slightly more problematic as there are currently 18 objects records as silver beads from Shibayama, which would suggest Gowland was testing a bead from a different tomb¹¹ or the bead had not been fully destroyed. This is further complicated by the modern record of OA+.16054 which claims the bead was found in Div.20 despite no bead having been recorded by Gowland in that division.

Spindle whorls

Two objects which caused Gowland particular confusion are two spindle whorls (OA+.1202 and OA+.2674), essentially circular weights used in spinning yarn for weaving. The occurrence of spindle whorls, which Gowland believed to be a primarily feminine object, deposited with of grave goods he assumed to be primarily masculine objects, such as swords, he found confusing and thus postulated that the tomb could be that of warrior's wife. Gowland does, however, admit his confusion and comments that this was not a sufficient explanation. From a modern perspective, this kind of thinking could be accused of being gender polarised and biologically essentialist (Bem 1993; Nelson 1997). As a late

¹¹ As BOX 4-35-2 is the only document were Gowland refers to the site as "Kawachi dolmen" rather than some variation of Suemura.

Victorian scholar we can perhaps forgive Gowland for having these viewpoints, but it does raise some interesting questions. Is this just an old fashioned opinion or is there some reasoning behind it?

The appearance of spindle whorls in elite tombs would suggest that spinning was an activity undertaken by the elite, or had some form of status attached to it. We cannot sex the skeletal remains or assume that this object proves there is a woman buried here. Gowland may have been aware that elite women did practice spinning and weaving during the Kofun period from references in the *Nihon shoki*. And the appearance of those spinning tools being deposited in their graves would appear to match up with the historical descriptions.

In the early chapters of the *Nihon shoki*, the Sun goddess and Imperial ancestor Amaterasu is described sitting in her “*sacred spinning hall*”, making garments for the other gods, presumably part of her godly duties (Aston 1896: 41). When the August grandchild (Amaterasu’s grandchild) descends to earth, he comes upon a palace where he finds several princesses, one of which he has a child with. But, upon first seeing her and her sisters, he inquires “...*And the maidens who have built an eight-fathom palace on the highest crest of waves and tend the loom with jingling wrist jewels, whose daughters are they?*” (Aston 1896: 90). These are all mythological stories from the early chapters of the text, and as such cannot be seen as historically accurate. But, what we can say is that at least in the eyes of early 8th century writers, young, idealised, high status female characters were often depicted as weaving. The desirable traits of this activity extended to goddesses and imperial princesses, so would likely not be unsuitable for elite females in the late 5th and early 6th centuries.

However, by the start of the 5th century, spinning and weaving had become part of the surge of production discussed in Chapter 4. There is very little material evidence for

weaving production that is believed to have appeared in the 5th century. It is quite likely that the lack of archaeological evidence for craft centres specialising in textile production is due to poor preservation of textiles, making them difficult to locate (Hishida 2007: 37). It is believed there was an increase in production at the same time as other advances appeared in iron, horse rearing and ceramics. There is also other evidence of grave goods in elite tombs linked to production. Iron ingots and tools associated with crafts do occasionally appear in tombs. There are also references in the *Nihon shoki* to craft specialisation in textiles, and more general descriptions of lower status weavers who are not explicitly sexed (Aston 1896: 183, 350).

In these tombs, human remains rarely survive well and are very difficult to sex accurately. But in relation to the early texts, men do not appear to have been involved with spinning. Along with the descriptions of elite women spinning seen above, there is a description in Ojin's chapter of the *Nihon shoki* of an envoy travelling abroad to procure seamstresses, who are explicitly described as female (Aston 1896: 269-270). Whereas there are no descriptions of men being explicitly involved with textile production at all, although they no doubt were in charge of the *be* which oversaw their production, see Chapter 4, which would suggest that the actual practice of weaving was primarily considered the domain of women.

Contrary to these traditional views, spindle whorls are not necessarily 'feminine objects'. They can be used to weave fishing nets for example, not that I intend to claim that nets are exclusively 'male' objects either, merely that they do not necessarily reflect the sex or gender of the deceased they are buried with. During the Middle Kofun period, spindle whorls did appear in lower status round and square tombs. By the Late Kofun period they do appear in keyhole shaped tombs, such as Shibayama (Kutsuna Keizo 2015 and Hishida Tetsuo 2016 pers.comm.), and thus may be representative of connections to production rather than indicating that the deceased practised spinning themselves.

Therefore, Japanese archaeologists interpret them as symbolic objects which were not necessarily used by the buried elite. Thus, they do not necessarily reflect female burials.

Both of the whorls in the Gowland Collection are steatite examples, one found in Div.15 was plain (OA+.2674) and the other from Div.12 had an incised design (OA+.1202). Putting aside the problematic nature of Gowland's interpretation of objects, prescribing notions of gender within an ancient society to be similar to his own, tombs from the Late Kofun could hold multiple burials. A fact that Gowland was unaware of, and will be discussed below in the relevant section.

Horse ornaments

Bagu (馬具) or horse fittings appear in grave assemblages after the 5th century AD. Horse riding became a status symbol from the start of the 5th century onwards when the animals were imported into Japan and bred. The most obvious items of horse equipment in Shibayama were horse pendants (杏葉, *gyōyō*). These iron objects, often gilded with bronze, were hung from silk covered leather reins. Being made of metal, they only served to make the reins considerably heavier, but the application of bronze to the iron base means they were reflective and would have glinted as they flapped with the movement of the horse. As such, horse ornaments are entirely used for the purpose of displaying status. Gowland collected only three sword-point shaped pendants (剣菱形杏葉, *kenbishigatagyōyō*); all were fragmentary. One of the pendants was found in Div.18, one in Div.19 and one purchased. There are three of these objects from Shibayama within the collection. Some fragments were purchased and others found by Gowland. OA+.1963.1, OA+.2963.2 and OA+.3008¹² can be identified as the object from Div.17 as it is the only one of the three to display gilt bronze. The other two cannot yet be accurately identified; one is known to be OA+.3038, which is reconstructed from several parts and may have

¹² This is based on the information currently on the British Museum website and needs to be verified.

included those both found and purchased. The other has yet to be identified but appears in Gowland's photograph of objects from the tomb.

There are three heart-shaped horse pendants (心葉形杏葉, *shinyōgatagyōyō*). One (OA+.1250.1) located by Gowland in Div. 13, and a second (OA+.1250.2) which Gowland appears to have purchased from Shinsuke (BOX 4-26-3)¹³. The third OA+3011 can be identified as it is the only fragmentary object of the three and is described as such in Div. 11. (see Table 9).

It can be seen from the plans of Mae-Futagoyama (see Chapters 2 and 7) that horse pendants could be arranged carefully and separately within the tomb, and as such, they seem to have been valued as individual objects. However, it is perhaps possible that a complete set of horse fittings were present within Shibayama but were later removed, either by the Sakai Kucho or in a previous event. Gowland seems to find an odd number of pendants and other fragmentary evidence of incomplete horse trappings. He found a fragmented section of a horse bit in Div.15 (OA+. 3015.72), and a second fragment in Div 14, which he identifies as part of a horse bit (possibly OA+.3015.69, not verified). Some of the pendants have silk from the straps attached, indicating that they were originally connected to a more complete collection of horse's reins. Additionally, there are small fragments of what is believed to be a saddle and other harness pieces; this continues to be an area for further research.

There have also been a series of misconceptions leading to several objects identified as horse fittings becoming associated with Shibayama kofun, yet they do not appear in Gowland's notes at any point, and there is no clear indication as to why this came to be the case. The most prominent of these is the horse bit in a collection of iron horse fittings

¹³ One of Gowland's photographs Figure 29 (visible in Harris 2003: 88) appears to show the objects from Shibayama were originally displayed in the Museum. However this shows 3 heart-shaped horse ornaments, OA+.1250.1, 1250.2 and 3011. Where this third ornament came from is not clear from Gowland's notes.

Table 9. Identified bagu from Shibayama kofun

Original locations	Photographs (Britishmuseum.org) © Trustees of the British Museum.	Gowland's descriptions from the division list.	Museum numbers	Additional information
Purchased from Shinsuke July 1887.		An iron ornament (from horse) as sketch with studs around border as Tamba forms also covering then whole surface but no trace of Cu, Au or Ag.	Likely OA+.1250.2. based on visual similarity that which appears on BOX 4-26-3. It also shows no trace of copper, gold or silver as the description suggests.	
Div.11		1 Fragment of horse orn[amen]t iron c[with] studs. 36 x 21[mm].	Likely part of OA+.3011, the most fragmentary of the heart shaped horse pendants, repaired from three pieces. The other two were whole.	
Div.12		Large iron fragment of horse orn[emen]t c[with] iron hook attached	OA+.3077.1, identifiable from sketch in BOX 4-17-21.	
Div.13		Heart shaped check piece of horse bit ? iron . 112x118mm] perhaps for ornament for horse trappings as fragment of woven fabric adherent to under surfaces .	OA+.1250.1	
Div.15		parts of horse bit ?	OA+.3015.72, identifiable from sketch in BOX 4-2-1.	
Div.17		1 Fragment. Halberd shaped orn[amen]t iron copper, gilt. 140mm. long Portion of another.	OA+.2963.1, OA+.2963.2 and OA+.3008 identifiable as the other does not still display any gilt bronze. Portion of another may refer to part of OA+.3038 or the yet unidentified object.	Gowland depicts this objects as complete in his plan (BOX 4-2-1). However, it is now more complete than it was in Gowland's photograph of the objects from Shibayama.
Div.17		1 iron object	OA+.2970.1, identifiable from sketch which appears in BOX 4-17-26.	
Div. 18 or Purchased from Shinsuke July 1887.		Fragments of horse ornament halberd shaped.	OA+.3038	This object is the only horse pendant not to be photographed in Gowland's image of many of the objects from Shibayama kofun.
Div. 18 or Purchased from Shinsuke July 1887.		small pieces of halberd shaped orn[amen]t.	Viewed by survey team, but not yet identifiable by number with current records.	Although described as small pieces there appear to have been enough for Gowland to suggest this as the location of the complete object in Div.18 on his plan (BOX 4-2-1).

OA+.1256.2 (originally part of OA+.3044). The attribution of the horse bit to the Shibayama kofun appears to have originated in the 2003 publication of the 1990s survey. Despite stating in a section on the *bagu* that the excavation site of this collection cannot be known (Harris and Goto 2003: 117), it later shows an image of their original Museum storage draw suggesting they were excavated from Shibayama kofun (Harris and Goto 2003: 172). This notion was then perpetuated by Tomiyama as he identified one of those objects as the horse bit drawn on Div.15 of his plan (BOX 4-2-1) and believed this and its associated objects to have originated from the site. However, Gowland explicitly states that only one part of one horse bit was found, and even then only suggests this as its identity: “*parts of horse bit?*” (BOX 4-17-24). Furthermore, on both occasions where he sketched the object, in his plan and the division notes, he draws the link between the object’s two marks as equal in size, yet OA+.3044 consist of one loop being considerably bigger than the other and is very clearly a horse bit. Therefore I suggest OA+.3015.72 is the actual object described and that there is no reason to believe the bit held in OA+.3044 and its associated objects originated from Shibayama kofun.

Weaponry

Among the weaponry, at Shibayama there are a number of military objects. The elite had depicted themselves as warriors through their burial goods since the turn of the 4th century, as discussed in Chapter 3. From Gowland’s records, we can see that there were a large number of arrows contained within at least one if not two quivers, one sword blade, several sword ornaments, two spearheads and a small knife. The horse ornaments, discussed above would also be the equipment of a warrior. However, no armour was recovered from the tomb.

Gowland also found a number of other objects which he did not initially recognise, but when he went back to his notes later, he wrote “pommel” next to them in pencil. Pommel is the accurate term for the butt of a sword handle, but in this case, Gowland used it to

indicate that these objects are sword fittings, see Figure 35. However, he did misidentify the *mojiriwa* twisted metal, half looped objects found in the tomb which are sword fittings but where they appeared in his notes he had written “horse” next to them, indicating that they are *bagu*. They were also shown positioned together to make a loop in the photograph of the objects (see Figure 29).

Gowland believed these four objects to be twisted iron rings and categorised them together as single objects. They were, in fact, the pommel rings of decorative sword handles. These twisted ring pommels appeared in Japan between the 5th and 6th centuries (Kim 2015: 11).

Thirty-one of the iron fragments Gowland collected, which he had believed to be part of the decorative rings of horse equipment, have been found to be parts of two quivers, which would have housed the 40 or so arrows found in the tomb. Figure 36 shows a reconstruction based on similar finds of quivers from the Japanese archipelago. Only the metal fittings remain, but there are still some remnants of a small amount of textile under the iron brackets. During the recent surveys, Tsuchiya Takahumi has been able to reconstruct these objects to a certain degree of accuracy based on 26 similar finds from the late 5th to early 6th centuries (Tsuchiya 2015: 10). These kinds of quiver were introduced from Korea at the start of the 5th century, see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the change in material culture at this time. The variety of hanging brackets displayed in these finds is very similar to others found in the late 5th and early 6th century in Japan and finds from the Korean kingdom of Paekche and the independent

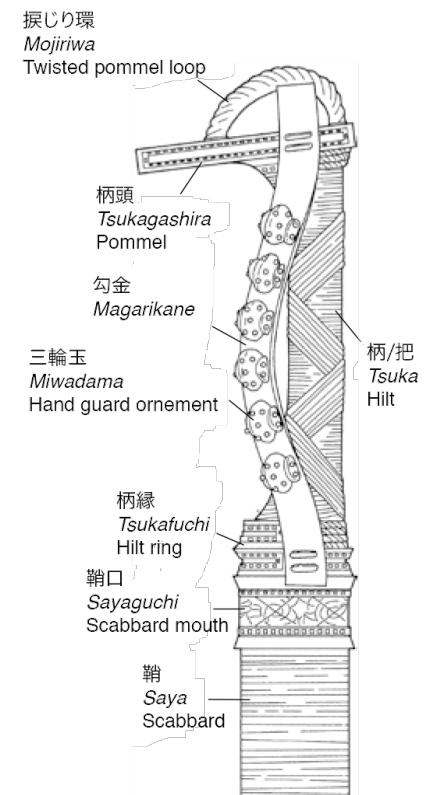


Figure 35. Anatomy of a sword handle and hilt ornaments (Redrawn from Kim 2015: 11).

polities of Kaya (Tsuchiya 2015: 10).

Many of the fragments' locations were not recorded by Gowland but appeared in the collection during the survey. This was probably because they appeared on the surface of the soil within the tomb or were included under statements such as "various iron fragments" which appeared in some of the descriptions of Gowland's divisions. Identifying the numerous iron objects from Shibayama kofun remains one of the largest tasks associated with reconstructing the tomb, and is an area for future research.

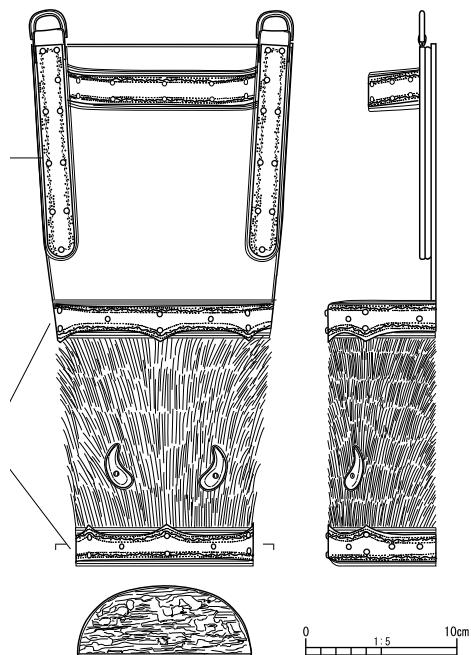


Figure 36. An example of reconstruction of the quiver or quivers from Shibayama kofun. (Tsuchiya 2015: 10).

Human remains

The human remains from Shibayama were not well preserved and were very fragmentary in nature. As Gowland explains in his 1897 paper:

"Even the bony parts of the teeth I have found to be entirely destroyed, the enamel of the crowns alone being preserved as thin hollow shells." (Gowland 1897: 474).

Although the remains have not yet been found in the collection, it will likely be impossible to suggest whether they were male or female. But Gowland did find a number of teeth and bone fragments at Shibayama¹⁴. The best we can suggest at the present moment from the remains is the general location and an estimate of how many bodies remained.

¹⁴ There may also have been bone collected from Yasui rock tomb (BOX 4-10-2-1 Appendix 2).

Location	Gowland's description
Div.5	2x Decayed pine 45mm thick.
Div.6	1x Decayed pine 65mm
Div.7	?x Decayed pine.
Div.9	1x Decayed wood 60mm thick.
Div.13	2x Decayed wood
Div.16	?x Decayed wood 60mm thick.

Table 10. Locations of the remains of the coffin within Shibayama kofun.

The location of pine fragments (see Table 10), iron nails and what Gowland called iron staples were used to give the general location of a coffin. However, on Gowland's plan, the estimated area of the coffin is very large, approximately 6ft by 3ft. This size would be in keeping with the large stone coffins which Gowland had seen in the tombs of Izumo, but are much bigger than the wooden coffin is likely to have been. Tomiyama suggests this may indicate there were two coffins, however, it is also possible Gowland was simply marking out the general area of the coffin based on the spread of wood, as is indicated by mentions of "much wood" in his plans (BOX 4-2-1).

Gowland mistakenly believed that there would only be one body in this tomb. This was perhaps exacerbated by the fact that only one of the burials appears to have had a coffin of any kind. Little of the human remains from the interior of the tomb survived, but Gowland did find multiple fragments of bone and teeth in the soil layer (see Table 11). He did record the locations of these but did not use them as evidence for more than one body. Gowland does not discuss the locations of bone in his interpretation, seeming to believe there would not have been multiple bodies. Therefore it would not be an option. Gowland made records of the locations of the teeth spread across the tomb, despite this not fitting his interpretation, and in fact made the subject more confusing from his

perspective. Again this speaks to his conviction as a scientist and an archaeologist. The job of any archaeologist in an excavation is to record the site as accurately as possible so that future generations are able to reconstruct a site and interpret it with a greater understanding of the archaeology than was available when it was excavated. Due to Gowland's records, it is possible to try and reconstruct the general location of the bodies in the tomb.

From the fragments of pine collected from near the eastern wall, we can see that there had been a wooden coffin placed here, just as Gowland had proposed. This would have been located away from the wall, orientated north to south. From the occurrence of teeth in Div.1, Div.2 and Div.5 it could be suggested that this was the direction of the head. However, these only make up five total finds of human bone fragments in this area.

Due to the teeth occurring in the same area as the green *kudatama*¹⁵ with vermillion adhered to their surface, it could perhaps be argued that this was the location of a head, as vermillion tended to be spread around the heads of the deceased. However, Gowland only presumed this was vermillion and was not able to test it as he was not able to acquire a sample of a significant size from the *kudatama* (see below).

In Div.4, in the southwesterly corner, there were nine teeth found in the same location as a number of skull fragments. This is quite strong evidence that there was a human skull here at some point, assuming disturbance in the tomb had not been great enough to displace it. Therefore it is quite likely that a second body was laid near the west wall, opposite the first, with the top of its head also facing south. There are also teeth in Div.12, which were used as evidence for a third body by Tomiyama, but this will require closer inspection of the human remains.

¹⁵ 管棚, *kudatama*, a cylindrical bead.

Div number	Teeth	Skull fragments	Unidentified bone
Div.1	2		
Div.2	3		
Div.4	9	Unnumbered	Unnumbered
Div.5	Unnumbered		
Div.10			1
Div.12	4		

Table 11. Location of the human remains within Shibayama kofun.

It has been suggested that there could be a fourth body placed across the back wall of the tomb, laying east to west. There are however no finds of bone or teeth fragments in any of the divisions in this location. This body was identified on the basis of the presence of burial goods, as burial goods are usually placed directly around the body rather than standing apart. The lack of bone could perhaps be explained by the significantly more shallow layer of earth in this area, said to have been no more than three inches thick, and perhaps did not offer the same level of preservation.

Chemical analysis of excavated materials

The walls and floors of Shibayama were coated with a red-brown powder (BOX 4-26-7). Although not mentioned in Gowland's notes, there is a stone with "Div.1" painted on its surface, shown in Figure 37. This was likely an example of the stone which was used in the walls or floor of the tomb; it still shows traces of iron oxide on this surface. As has been seen above, Gowland had collected samples of this upon first visiting the tomb on July 10th, 1887, and during his excavation of the tomb, he was very careful to note the appearance of what maybe vermillion adhering to objects among the iron oxide. Although Gowland appears to have initially distinguished between the two with a magnet that he brought with him (BOX 4-17-40), he also makes allusions to having later conducted chemical tests.

Vermillion or cinnabar¹⁶, (Mercury sulphide, HgS) in particular held special significance in early Japan, as seen from the Jomon period, through the Yayoi and into the Kofun period (Mizoguchi 2013). Iron rust (ferric oxide, FeO₃) was used as a substitute, when the production of iron began in Japan after the 5th century, as it was more plentiful. However, vermillion continued to be used, if more sparingly, especially dusted around the heads of the deceased laid in tombs. This may indicate that it continued to have a ritual significance above that of iron rust, despite the two in their powder forms looking very similar, perhaps this was due to the more vibrant red colour of vermillion.

From the samples that Gowland had taken from the tomb, he appears to have undertaken some chemical analysis. This sort of testing was part of his everyday work at the Osaka mint, which he applied to his interest in archaeology. Gowland refers to having tested the samples of iron oxide which he had taken from the tomb, some of which he believed to be vermillion/cinnabar. *“The red powder adherent to broken futa mono [futatsuki] was found to contain small quantities of cinnabar but contained chiefly of FeO₃ [Iron oxide]”* (BOX 4-17-41). Gowland appears to have been aware of the importance of vermillion in early Japan and was careful to note any appearance of it in the tomb. As the samples he took in July 1887 are not labelled as iron oxide or vermillion, referring to it only as “red powder” it may be that he had conducted tests on the iron oxide samples from the back wall in the time between his first visit and the excavation. Finding clumps of red powder in Div.4, Gowland had believed it to be vermillion but upon testing found it to be iron oxide *“The red powder in aforementioned clumps found in div 4. but did not contain Hg [mercury]”* (BOX 4-17-41).

¹⁶ The primary difference between the two is that vermillion is a vibrant red colour, whilst cinnabar is more of a red-orange colour, both are derived from HgS.

In the lists of objects, Gowland notes several that he believed to have vermillion adhering to their surface. However, he does state that he was not able to collect samples of sufficient size to verify this with tests. “*The kuda mono [long, thin cylindrical beads] in some cases were faintly marked with red ... which appeared to be cinnabar from their colours, but suff[icient] amounts could not be collected for analysis to verify this.*” (BOX 4-17-41). This refers to the very small quantities of vermillion attached to some objects, such as the inside of one of the *takatsuki* (Franks. 2234.c) and some of the *kudatama* (OA+.1141. 2968 and 1224).



Figure 37. A stone (OA+.785) from the inside of Shibayama kofun from Div. 1. small amounts of red staining appear on its surface personal photograph. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Upon finding no vermillion among the wooden pine fragments of the coffin, Gowland assumed that there was no vermillion within it. “*There was but little vermillion among the debris of the coffin, so that there cannot have been filled with vermillion or were contained much.*” (BOX 4-26-6). There are no notes referring to Gowland’s tests themselves. However a note on a test he undertook on a metal bead from “Kawachi dolmen” shows the kind of tests he was undertaking, discussed above.

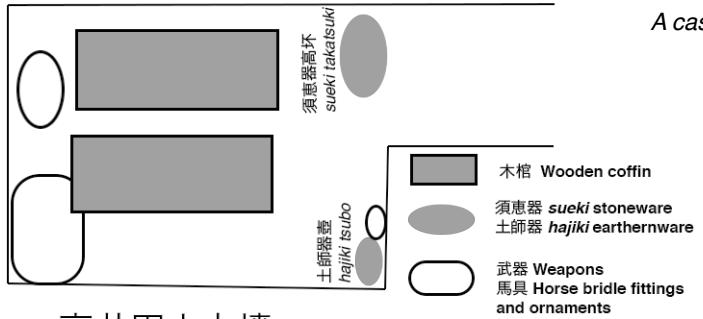
These kinds of tests are directed at identifying the base elements that the materials being tested are derived from. In the case of vermillion, Gowland was trying to display the presence of mercury. Although this was part of Gowland’s everyday work at the Osaka Mint and would seem only natural to use these processes, it is a very early example of interdisciplinary techniques occurring in archaeology. This may have also been inspired by some chemical tests on a glass bead made by Ernest Satow in his report on Mae-

Futagoyama kofun. However, these conducted made by a “Mr Aitkinson” not Satow himself. (Satow 1880: 5).

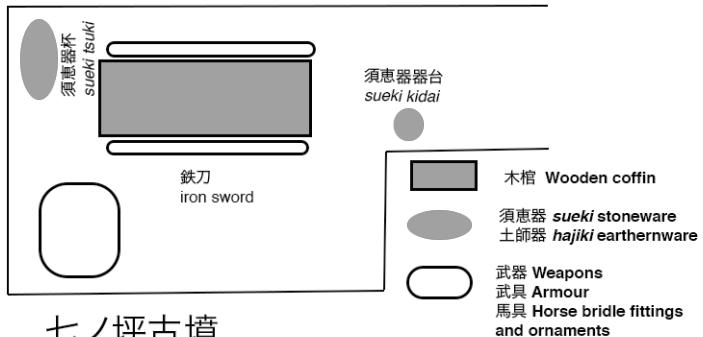
Current research on Late Kofun tomb assemblages.

Tomiyama attempts to locate the burials within the tomb based on the location of human bone and teeth (Tomiyama 2009: 43). However, the inside of the tomb had been so disturbed it could hardly be said to offer an exact location of the possible burials. Especially when one compares it to the locations of the ceramic sherds spread across the entire floor of the tomb in only a few inches of soil, which would indicate the remains had been disturbed before they were entirely buried. Perhaps on closer inspection and testing of the teeth, more information may be able to be gathered about this, but this remains a topic for future research. Prior to my own investigation on the teeth, finding photographs from 1995 and speaking to Victor Harris about them, I have identified that they were indeed still in the collection. It was previously thought they had not been collected at all, as although they were viewed in the 1990s survey, they were not recorded or mentioned in the accompanying publication. Thus after Harris left the Museum, when the collection was separated, they disappeared into the Museum’s holdings without being properly identified as part of the Gowland Collection. Currently, I believe the object numbered As2004, Q.36 to be the most likely candidate, but, I was not able to verify this.

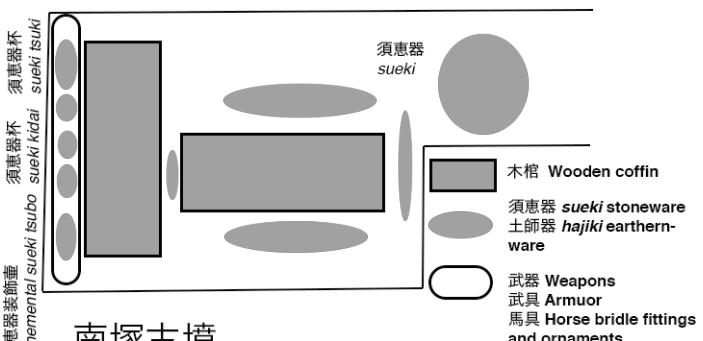
As mentioned above Gowland’s locations of the objects cannot be considered to be very accurate, as the majority of ceramics were reconstructed from several sherds and located by estimation based on the largest number of sherds found. And it may be worth inspecting those ceramics more closely to see if there is any indication as to exactly which division each sherd came from.



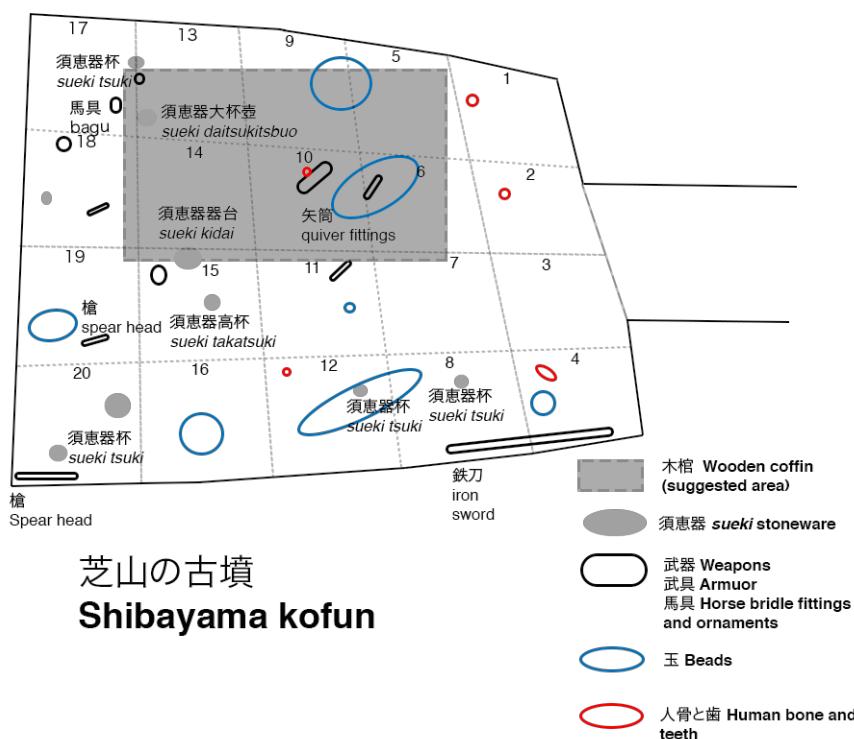
高井田山古墳
Takaidayama kofun



七ノ坪古墳
Nananotsubo kofun



南塚古墳
Minamizuka kofun



芝山の古墳
Shibayama kofun

Figure 38
A comparative table of early Late Kofun period passage tombs (Rerawn from Tomiyama 2009: 46; BOX 4-2-1).

Many passage tombs from the Late Kofun period had been robbed in antiquity. Thus the study of how objects are placed in Late period tombs at the point of burial is important, but often difficult to reconstruct. Fortunately, although the site had been disturbed on a few occasions, Gowland's records have allowed us to be able to reconstruct the interior of Shibayama to an extent. But even with what I have been able to reconstruct using Gowland's archive materials, more research must be undertaken identifying the remaining objects against the original archive materials to create a more satisfactory record of the site.

Tomiyama drew from recent scholarship and compared the assemblage from Shibayama to other kofun in Kansai Nananotsubo kofun, Takaidayama kofun and Minamizuka kofun that are of a similar form to Shibayama, shown in Figure 38. However, it should be noted that there are regional differences in tomb construction and layout, for example, the passage tombs of Kyushu at this time, are believed to hold more relative similarities to the tombs of the Korean kingdom of Paekche (Tomiyama 2009: 46). Yet, those in Kansai -as those Tomiyama discussed- are quite different. I would suggest that the excavation of Shibayama kofun is not yet complete enough to make comparison to other sites possible.

Tomiyama attempted to locate other bodies within Shibayama, predominately based on the location of bone fragments, but also in relation to the location of other objects such as weaponry and ceramics, that is suggested by Figure 38. Although, as discussed throughout this chapter the objects within the tomb have been displaced, there is still some potential to use what Gowland recorded in order to make estimates of the original locations of objects and burials in the tomb, once a full reconstruction has been completed.

From the examples of tombs shown above, there is no apparent correlation to how the body is laid out, and a more detailed study of the coffin and bone may be required before

we locate the bodies with any accuracy. Gowland made an estimation of where the wooden coffin was located, which is much larger than one would expect for a single coffin. This lead Tomiyama to suggest there were two in that area. The full amount of iron coffin nails and wood has not yet been fully studied and may give a better indication of whether there is enough material to suggest two coffins. The amount of bone in Div.1, 2 and 10 cannot be said to be accurate enough to suggest that this is where the heads of the original occupants were laid but could suggest to have originated from the body within the coffin. The remains in Div.4 have the strongest evidence for a human head having lain there at some point, and Tomiyama suggested this was also indicated by the sword laid against the west wall. However, the sword does not appear in the division notes, although it appears in both plans. The earliest point at which the sword is mention is within the list of objects purchased from Shinsuke (BOX 4-26-3). So although Gowland has drawn it in his plan (BOX 4-2-1), the location is perhaps one which was described to him by Shinsuke and explains why it does not appear elsewhere. Thus this cannot be seen as evidence for the location of a body.

There was a practice in the Late kofun period of giving a large number of *sueki* ceramics, some with food offering, which are often left at the entrance to the tomb, as can be seen in Figure 38. Assuming that none were left in front of the blocked off entranceway, as there is very little at all in Div.3 it may be possible that there were ceramics left in the entrance chamber, but as Gowland did not record that part of the tomb we are unaware of them.

Conclusion

There are several areas of this study into which I would have liked to make further inquiries. Unfortunately, I was not able to do so due to time and access limitations. Many of these could not be completed because the largest amount of iron objects from the tomb were included in the object number: 3015, which included over 140 objects, and had only been able to have been separated out and given individual numbers during mid 2015. Of

these objects, the majority, if not all, are from Shibayama kofun and identifying them is one of the main hindrances in creating a full report of this site. Keeping this in mind, I have listed the areas still to be explored below:

- Identify all iron fragments as sword fittings, horse harness, quiver fittings, arrow heads etc., and compare them as much as is possible against Gowland's notes.
- Create a distribution diagram of the arrowheads and check if there is a correlation with the locations for the quiver fittings.
- Create a distribution diagram to identify the relation between the coffin nails and wood fragments: does this align with the area for the coffin as set out by Gowland?
- Identify and locate the unidentified ceramic pieces.
- Identify and add as many object numbers as possible to Gowland's notes, so that the original record becomes as comprehensive as possible.
- Locate the human remains within the collection. Do they indicate the number of burials originally present?

We can see from Gowland's archive that he was required to gain permission to excavate Shibayama, and appears to have been aware that a foreigner excavating a tomb might be unpopular. But Gowland's reasons for doing so are very much in keeping with archaeological practice today, to record for future prosperity in a scientific manner, even if this was not entirely successful on his first attempt. This topic will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

I was able to create a reconstruction of Gowland's records of the site. However, it would appear that there is still considerably more that could be done so that this site is properly represented. After a full survey of the objects has been completed and identified against

Gowland's records, we will perhaps be able to make more concrete interpretations about the actual locations of objects. But as yet, this cannot be done with any degree of accuracy.

As for Shibayama kofun itself, from the keyhole shape of the tomb, it would be implied that there was some form of imperial connection to at least one of the individuals buried in this tomb, who may have been a local administrator. However, due to the relatively poor construction of the stone chamber, the use of a wooden coffin, or no coffin at all, and the very sparse occurrence of vermillion, we could suggest that those buried in this tomb, and those that built the tomb and conducted the funeral were not particularly wealthy individuals. But, in saying that, we cannot forget that there are a number of high status burial goods in this tomb, including silver beads, decorative horse reigns and weapons, all of which would suggest that these burials were members of the elite level of society.

The location of objects within the tomb was disturbed on several occasions that we know of, and likely on several occasions before that. The circumstance of the floor being buried gave Gowland a unique opportunity to record the remaining objects to the best of his ability. Without his intervention, information would no doubt have been lost. Furthermore, Gowland's collecting and sampling techniques showed a level of care that was almost unparalleled at the time. It would have been a credit to British archaeology if Gowland had been more outspoken about his approach to archaeology. Unfortunately, Gowland published very little information about the tomb, only ten years after the event and in English. The result was that his excavation went almost entirely unnoticed in Japan until the last few years. Although Gowland's excavation technique did go on to have an effect on British archaeology after his return to England, and his excavation of Shibayama kofun directly influenced this.

Chapter 6: The excavations of William Gowland: from Shibayama to Stonehenge

Introduction

In this chapter, we will focus specifically both on the development of archaeology and the historical background that influenced William Gowland's excavation after his return to England at the end of the 19th century. In doing so, we will touch upon many influential early scholars across several disciplines, to ascertain what the influences on Gowland were and from where they came. We will then explore how this method developed between his excavation of Shibayama kofun in 1887 and Stonehenge in 1901.

Gowland is often eclipsed by larger contemporary figures in the history of British archaeology, such as Pitt-Rivers¹ (1827-1900) and Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853-1942). However, in England Gowland is still a notable figure for having conducted the first true archaeological excavation at Stonehenge between 18th August and 25th September 1901, which is still considered to be an excellent example of early excavation and recording. He is only known to have produced one site report, that of Stonehenge, which is often seen as his only achievement in archaeology. His work at Stonehenge, however, is often almost entirely overlooked, such as in Parker Pearson's recent article (2013). Within British archaeology, the fact that Gowland had visited Japan was often only a footnote in the history of investigation at Stonehenge, if mentioned at all. In Christopher Chippindale's *Stonehenge Complete* he claims that Gowland's excavation at Stonehenge was his first attempt at excavation (Chippindale 1983a: 167). It was not until Victor Harris and Gotō's Kazuo volume *William Gowland: Father of Japanese Archaeology* (Harris and

¹ Formerly known as Lt. General Augustus Henry Lane-Fox.

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Gotō 2003) that light began to be shed on Gowland's work in Japan and its place in the history of archaeology, but even here Stonehenge receives little mention.

From Harris' work and the recent surveys of Gowland's archive materials, we now know that he had in fact already undertaken a careful excavation of an archaeological site, that of Shibayama Kofun, Osaka, thirteen years before the excavation of Stonehenge. The excavation of Shibayama was featured in Gowland's 1897 paper (Gowland 1897: 451-453; 474-482), but that was the full extent of what he published on the site, and made little use of his plans only including the elevation plan (BOX 4-1-1 Appendix 3).

As described in greater detail in Chapter 6, Shibayama Kofun was excavated over 29th and 30th December 1887 and was among one of Gowland's last actions of an archaeological nature in Japan before his return to England in early 1889. The investigation of this tomb was by far his best recorded. Gowland gained permission before his excavations and used impressively careful methods of collecting and recording, which were unusual for the time. He sold the collection, including all the objects from Shibayama, to Augustus Franks at the British Museum, on April 15th, 1889; these then entered the Museum's collection where they reside to this day.

The case study of Gowland's excavation method is particularly interesting as it took place during the late 1880s. By the middle of the 19th century, there had been a general trend emerging towards scientific archaeology (Lucas 2001). Within British archaeology, Pitt-Rivers and Petrie were both developing their own methodologies, which are regarded as hugely influential to later archaeologists. However, Gowland was in Japan at this time, almost completely removed from these events. Although he no doubt became exposed to these ideas on his return, the excavation of Shibayama occurred at a time when only the first volume of Pitt River's Cranborne Chase report had been published, and Petrie had only

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produced three reports, the first two of which were predominately measured surveys of structures.

The story of Gowland and his involvement in the excavation at Stonehenge in 1901 is particularly important to the history of British archaeology, setting a new benchmark for excavation in England at the end of the Victorian era. His story also revealed an interesting case study of early public archaeology, as it was the first time in the history of the site that Stonehenge had been fenced off, an event which would heavily affect how the excavation would be carried out. Furthermore, in this chapter, we will be exploring the excavation of Stonehenge and comparing it to that of Shibayama. As Victor Harris suggests (Harris 2003: 24), and as I intend to show, it would seem that the techniques Gowland had practised in Japan would strongly influence the better-known excavation of Stonehenge.

Stonehenge at the turn of the 20th century

Stonehenge is an iconic archaeological site and has attracted a large amount of interest from antiquarians across the world for centuries. Several notable antiquarians, including Stamford Wallis (1730), William Stukeley (1740), James Douglas in 1793, William Cunnington between 1802 and 1810, and Richard Colt Hoare (1829) had all worked on Stonehenge. Even Charles Darwin made a research visit to the site in 1877, although his primary interest lay in its earthworms (Darwin 1881; Chippindale 1983a: 136; Parker Pearson 2012: 35). In these early investigations, the majority of what had been recovered was lost, and little had been properly recorded. The excavation supervised by Gowland in 1901 is considered to be the first true scientific archaeological excavation to take place at the site. Barry Cunliffe and Colin Renfrew have remarked that although Gowland's excavation was limited in its scale, the amount of information that it produced relating to the construction and chronology of the site was dramatic at the time (1997: 1). And the project is still widely considered to have been an exemplary example of early archaeological

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excavation (Chippindale 1983a: 167; Cunliffe and Renfrew 1997: 1; Kaner 2007: 276; Parker Pearson 2012: 35). However, little has been said as to why this belief is held, so in this chapter, we will discuss the method Gowland used, what their outcomes were and just how dramatic they were considered to be at the time.

Before the events of 1901, in 1869, the British Association had put together a committee to undertake an excavation of Stonehenge. Pitt-Rivers had been a prominent member, having conducted some field walking in preparation (Pitt-Rivers 1870: 1-5). However, this excavation never took place due to Sir Edmund Antrobus (1818-1899), the private landowner at the time, who would not allow it (Chippindale 1983a: 61; Bowden 1991: 75). This was perhaps for the best, as Pitt-Rivers' plan for the 1869 investigation was to lift the turf off across the entire site and find dating evidence based on his method of "series dating" (Thompson 1977: 50). This was essentially typological dating based on the association of the objects collected to each other. Flinders Petrie first visited Stonehenge in 1874, surveying the site and attempting to improve previous plans (Parker Pearson 2012: 33). He produced the first accurate plan of Stonehenge in 1877, published in 1880 in which he had made several comments about the site's preservation (Petrie 1880: 33).

Some of the site's stones had been known historically to have fallen in 1620 and 1797. Worries about the preservation of the site had been exacerbated, due to a military camp built in the area and the effect of growing tourism caused by new train lines. This had put increasing pressure on Antrobus to either sell the monument to the nation or put it under government protection (Chippindale 1983a: 162). Petrie's comments seem to have brought attention to the state of Stonehenge (Petrie 1880: 33), and the following year, on May 17th, 1881, a committee was put together by the Society of Antiquaries of London, to produce a report on Stonehenge. They, however, had voted for the inaction of repairs (Evans 1956: 370).

Pitt-Rivers passed away in 1900, shortly before the events that prompted the 1901 excavation occurred. But according to Hugh Blackiston, secretary of the National Trust at the time, Pitt-Rivers had been in correspondence with the National Trust in 1895, suggesting that engineering works should take place at the site to secure the leaning stones (Blackiston 9/1/1901: 8). He had likely been motivated by the comments made by Petrie on the preservation of the site, published in 1880 (Petrie 1880: 33). Edmund Antrobus (3rd Baronet of Antrobus) died in 1899, having left the monument in the ownership of his son Edmund Antrobus (4th Baronet of Antrobus) (1848-1915), who was responsible for the protection of the site during the following events.

On December 31st, 1900, on the last evening of the 19th century, one of the uprights of the sarsen circle No.22 at Stonehenge became unstable and fell over, causing its lintel stone, No.122, to fall to the ground and break in two. The date of the event seems ominous at first, but perhaps a New Year celebration gone awry is a more likely explanation, supported by the actions that were undertaken in response. In the first instance, Antrobus restricted public access to the monument. This was first done by employing a police officer to keep sightseers in order, as the former guardian had been unwell at the time (Chippindale 1983a: 164). Shortly afterwards, a barbed wire fence was erected around the site. To finance this increase in security, starting from the 15th of May 1901 an admission price of one shilling was charged (*Nottingham Evening Post* 18/5/1901: 2). Normal by today's standards, this was a particularly contentious issue at the time, as it was thought to potentially obstruct a public walkway and restrict access to a nationally important heritage site which had been free for the public to access since time immemorial. In fact, this issue would eventually go to court.

The project that ensued in response to the stones falling in 1901 did not re-erect No.22 and No.122 but instead focused on stabilising the perilously leaning No.56², one of the uprights of the sarsen trilithons within the sarsen circle. The megalith had been known to have been leaning for some time; Petrie commented on it in 1880 (Petrie 1880: 33), writing that, according to several historical measurements, the supporting stone had inclined by 15.5° between 1660 and 1870.

Antrobus (3rd Baronet) had put a stop to Pitt-Rivers' plans to excavate the site in 1869, but Pitt-Rivers would continue to push the issue until the last years of his life. It was not until the megaliths fell and prompted a public outcry that Antrobus' (4th Baronet) hand was forced to act to safeguard his rights as the site's owner. Antrobus (4th Baronet) would then go on to protect the site more earnestly to keep control of it, but this would come at the unwelcome cost of an admission fee.

Flinders Petrie's letter to *The Times*

On January 4th, 1901, just days after the event, the first reports of the fallen stones appeared in *The Times* newspaper, sparking several comments over the following weeks. In fact, throughout 1901 barely a fortnight went by without mention of Stonehenge in newspapers. Flinders Petrie, whose plan of Stonehenge had kick-started his career in archaeology, had become a well-known and pioneering archaeologist and Egyptologist; his early success at Stonehenge started a mission to survey the ancient monuments of southern England (Drower 1985: 22). As such, he had a strong personal interest in the site and had been a prominent figure in the discussions surrounding it in early 1901. In February 1901, as Petrie was excavating at Arabah in Upper Egypt when word eventually reached him about Stonehenge. He contacted *The Times* to address several of his concerns, shown in Figure

² In modern site reports, the hole in which the stone known as No.56 was placed in is referred to as C64, and the 6 other cuts from Gowland's excavation are numbered C70 to C75 (Walker 1995: 9).

39 (Flinders Petrie 18/2/1901a: 8). Firstly, he stated his firm belief that the aesthetic effect of Stonehenge should not be ruined with the erection of a fence. Secondly, in referencing his suggestions from 1880 (Flinders Petrie 1880: 33), Petrie states that the conservation of the stones, as well as the re-erection of those that had fallen since plans had been made, was more appropriate than the complete reconstruction of the entire site. He stressed that immediate attention should be paid to largest of the leading stones which should be excavated around whilst held up in a wooden frame and then set in concrete. Thirdly, Petrie gave several suggestions on how an excavation should take place at the site:

1. The presence of a good archaeological supervisor on site to oversee all work taking place.
2. The employment of trained workmen, who would not take souvenirs.
3. On the requirement of a good archaeological record he asks for: *"A perfect record of every scrap, even of pottery, must be kept and the ground cut away in such measured slices that the place of every object is known to an inch"* (Flinders Petrie 18/2/1901a: 8).
4. And finally, the public should be kept out of the working area.

STONEHENGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—As probably I have spent more time than any one else in accurate work at Stonehenge, I should be glad to state some considerations regarding its future.

1. **Artistically.**—To do anything to break the marvellous effect of the lonely plain and great masses of stone would be cruel. The sight is the most impressive in England, and on no account should it be destroyed by a hideous iron railing, such as now defaces Kits Coty house. If a fence were necessary, a sunk ha-ha would be the only form permissible. But no rapid injury can be done by visitors, and a fence is needless if there is a guardian.

We have to thank the successive owners for guarding the monument so far; but the public might surely provide a guard to live near by, in a cottage hidden by earth-banks, so as not to spoil the surroundings. This would be far the best course for the future.

2. **For Conservation.**—To trim up the place, by re-erecting every stone that has fallen, would be no benefit either to its appearance or to archaeology. A few stones that have fallen since accurate plans have been made might be fairly replaced within two or three inches. But the real effort should be to save those now gradually yielding over, especially the largest stone of all. When leaning stones have been pushed up into place, then all the unstable ones should have a concrete bed filled in, below the turf level, as I proposed 20 years ago. The whole soil under a stone might be removed while the block was clamped in a timber frame.

3. **For History.**—While needful repairs are being made a most important chance of historical research would be open to us, and possibly a thorough exploration might be made at the time. There are some rules essential to success in such a work. (1) Not a handful of soil must be moved except under the instant inspection of a good archaeologist, who must live in a shed at the site. There must be no fooling about driving up each day from an hotel at Salisbury, to find that the workmen have wiped out historical evidences before breakfast. (2) The workmen must be trained hands, and full local value must be paid to them for everything they find; there must be no chance tales a year or two later about so-and-so having got prizes from the excavations. (3) A perfect record of every scrap, even of pottery, must be kept, and the ground cut away in such measured slices that the place of every object is known to an inch. (4) The public must be kept out from all interference from the portion being worked, and no festive luncheons and notabilities must be allowed to distract the recorder for a moment.

We have here the chance (thanks to the conservation by the owners) of reaping a fine harvest of historical facts and clearing up our early civilization better than anywhere else. Every item is of irreplaceable value and no carelessness or clumsiness over such work can be tolerated. Being at a distance, I am not aware if any specific person or scheme for the work has yet been brought forward; and these remarks must be taken as purely dictated by the seriousness of the subject, and not as reflecting on any arrangements in view. Perhaps during the summer I may be able from University College to co-operate in some plan. For the present I am in the midst of restoring the beginnings of an older civilization, of the first and second dynasties of Egypt.

Yours obediently,
W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE,
Arabah, Ballana, Upper Egypt, Feb. 7.

Figure 39. Flinders Petrie's letter printed in the Times. 18th of February 1901.

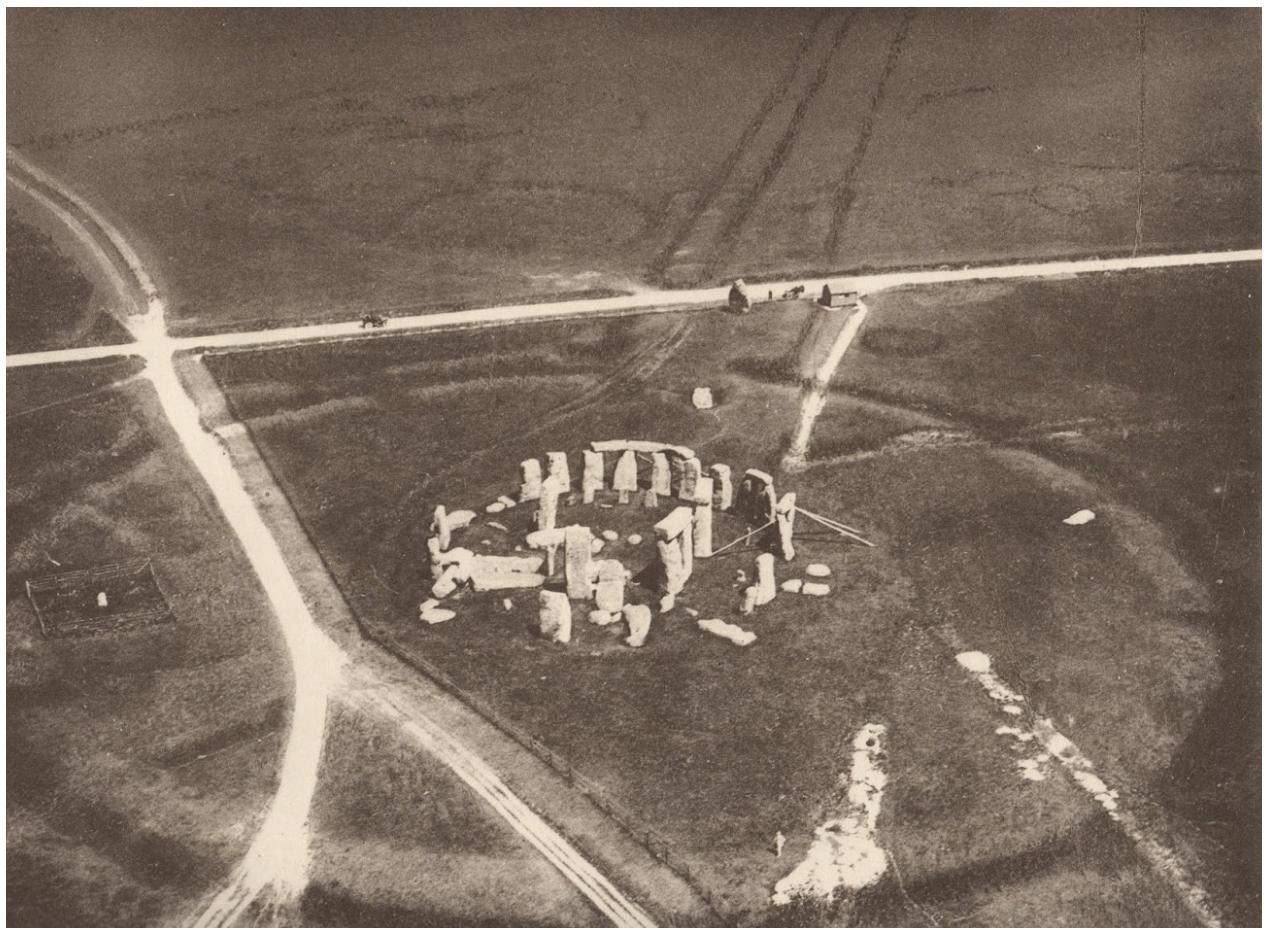


Figure 40. The first known aerial photograph of Stonehenge. Taken by Lt. P. Sharpe from a hot air balloon four years after the fence had been erected (visible as a faint line) and excavation had finished. The trackway cut through the earthwork, and the damage to the site is clear to see. Also, note that the site is considerably more damaged on the side closest to the road. Two of the stones can be seen still propped up with logs (Capper 1906: 572).

He concluded the letter by commenting that he was not yet aware of any person or scheme that could carry out this work, suggesting that he return himself that summer to help co-operate in a plan from University College London. His letter had successfully raised public expectations of how an excavation should take place at the site although, for better or worse, Petrie would not end up taking part in the planning for or the actual excavation of Stonehenge in 1901.

From his letter, it is clear that Petrie was strongly opposed to the idea of the fence around Stonehenge. By mid July 1901, the Commons and Footpaths Society had received several complaints regarding the fence restricting access to public footpaths (see Figure 40). Some

archaeologists, Petrie in particular, complained that the fence changed the character of the site (*The Times* 29/7/1901b: 11; Shaw, Lefevere, Buxton, Hunter and Rawnsley 1903: 8). Two years after the excavation had finished, by July 1903 this society had received donations from several sources, again including Petrie, to the sum of £1,650, with the aim of raising £2,000. They approached Antrobus promising to recompense him for the fence if he were to remove it and place the monument under the protection of the 1882 Ancient Monuments Protection Act (*The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* 16/7/1903: 3) but he declined; thus the case went to court. Another two years later, the case was finally ruled over for seven days between the 30th of March and the 5th of April 1905. After this, it was ruled by the presiding judge, Justice Farwell, ruled in favour of the defendant, claiming that no public right of way had been established across the site, and the case should have never been brought to court (*The Times* 29/3/1905a: 3, 31/3/1905b: 3, 5/4/1905c: 3; Chippindale 1983a: 166).

The Stonehenge Committee

John Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Act had come into being in 1882 and was the first act to attempt to legally protect ancient monuments in England and the rest of the British Isles, although the resistance of landowners had significantly weakened the final form that passed. The first attempt at the Act had failed in 1880 due to the Society of Antiquaries of London feeling that it unjustly infringed on landowner's rights over their property (Evans 1956: 332). Antrobus (3rd Baronet) in particular had put up a stern defence (Chippindale 1983b: 14). The Society of Antiquaries had been highly sceptical of the original bill, and even with the 1882 Act passing, the Society was divided on supporting it (Evans 1956: 331). In fact, when Pitt-Rivers had approached the Society to help produce a list of sites for protection, he was met with strong opposition, despite being a vice-chairman of the Society at the time (Chippindale 1983b: 6). The Act that was passed could achieve nothing unless the landowner volunteered the site for protection; so as one would expect, Antrobus declined the assistance of the Act

due to concerns that this would affect his rights as the owner (Chippindale 1983a: 164). Perhaps it was the Society of Antiquaries' unfavourable view of the Act that led his son Antrobus (4th Baronet)³ to approach them, when pushed, to advise on what was to be done with Stonehenge in 1901.

The public attention brought to the site after the fall of the megalith could not be ignored. This required Antrobus (3rd Baronet) to ask for a committee to be put together by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Wiltshire Archaeological Society, and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, to advise on the work required at the site. The resulting project he himself would pay for, turning down any outside finance (Gowland 1902a: 37). As a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Gowland was a member of this committee, which met for the first time on March 26th, 1901, where seven resolutions were made. The seventh resolution stipulated that Antrobus would communicate the work to the press, and thus the list was first published as a letter to *The Times* by Antrobus on 3rd April (Antrobus 3/4/1901: 12), later reprinted in Gowland's 1902 report (Gowland 1902a: 38).

Resolutions (3) and (4) discussed the raising of the megalith, (5) slight alterations to the custodian's instructions and (6) gave thanks to the county, parish and district councils. It is perhaps the first two resolutions of the committee that are particularly important as they directly referenced the issue of the fence and access to public walkways. “(1). ...*this committee approves of the suggested protection of Stonehenge by a wire fence not less than 4 feet high...*”, (Gowland 1902a: 38) and continues “(2). ...*the committee recommends, without prejudice to any legal question, that the local authorities be requested to agree to divert the existing track-way or ridge-way from Netheravon...*” (Gowland 1902a: 38). The Stonehenge Committee met for the second time at the site itself later that same month, on 12th April.

³ Antrobus (4th Baronet) having passed away in 1899.

Gowland as the excavation supervisor

When the Stonehenge Committee met for the second time at Stonehenge, on 12th April, it was comprised of:

- **Lord Harold Dillon**, aka 17th Viscount Dillon (1844-1932, aged 57). **President of the Society of Antiquaries** (1897-1904). President of the Royal Archaeological Institute (1829-1898).
- **Rev. George Forrest Browne** (1833-1930, aged 64). **President of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society**. Bishop of Bristol (1897-1914). Disney Professor of Archaeology, Cambridge (1887-1892).
- **Charles H. Read** (1857-1929, aged 44). **Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries**. British Museum Assistant of the Department of Antiquaries (1880-1896). President of the Society of Antiquities (1919-1924). Keeper of Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities (1896-1921).
- **St. John Hope** (1854-1919, aged 47). **Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries**. Excavator of the Romano-British Town of Silchester, Hampshire (1890-1909).
- **Doran Webb** (1864-1931, aged 37), **Local Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries**. Architect, would later design the Birmingham Oratory.
- **William Gowland** (1842-1922, aged 59), **Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries**. Professor of Metallurgy at the Royal School of Mines (1902-1909). Chairman of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1905-1907).
- **N. Story Maskelyne** (1823-1911, aged 74), **Secretary of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments**. Professor of Mineralogy, Oxford (1856-1895). British Museum Keeper of Minerals (1857-1880).
- **H. E. Medlicott** (1841-1916, aged 60), **Joint Secretary of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society**.

- **Rev. E. H. Goddard. Joint Secretary of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society.**
- **J. Caruthers, Fellow of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments.**
- **F. E. N. Rogers, Chairman of the Committee of the Wiltshire Council for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments.**
- **George Blake, Amesbury Rural District Council.**
(*The Times* 13/4/1901a).

The Stonehenge Committee consisted of an impressive roster of several highly respected scholars of archaeology, geology and architecture. This raises the question of exactly why, in particular, Gowland was chosen to supervise the excavation over anyone else. It has been suggested that Gowland was chosen as he had a background in engineering at the Royal School of Mines in South Kensington, London. However, Gowland's speciality was chemistry, not engineering. And in Gowland's report, he does state that the method used to raise the stone was devised by the committee member J. Caruthers, with engineering operations overseen by Delmar Blow, who according to *The Times* newspaper was Antrobus' "professional advisor and architect" (*The Times* 13/4/1901a: 8). As stated by Gowland himself, his job was specifically to oversee the excavation (Gowland 1902a: 43). Therefore, it would appear to be the case that Gowland was specifically chosen for his attention to detail in the excavation. As Shibayama kofun was his only excavation before this point, this begs the question, how well known had his excavation methodology been at the time?

Gowland had briefly spoken about his excavation of Shibayama kofun four years previously at the Society of Antiquaries, with his 1887 paper *The dolmens and burial mounds of Japan* (Gowland 1897), but not in great detail. He did mention his grid system although he did not include any plans or diagrams or it (Gowland 1897: 477). After this, he made comments on at least two other occasions concerning a greater level of detail in recording. Firstly in his 1899 paper comparing Edo period metallurgical practices with ancient remains of metallurgic

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practice in Europe he laments that the level of detail and care in excavation often did not allow ancient metallurgical practices to be properly reconstructed:

“...sites in England and elsewhere have indeed been dug up, but unfortunately too often only by the collector for the “mere gathering of curious relics⁴”. This is far from sufficient and in some cases had better have been left undone. What is of the first importance is a thorough examination of all the remains which the old metallurgist have left us on their workplaces, especially the foundations and debris of their furnaces, in order that we may ascertain not only what they made, but the manner in which they worked. Such alone can supply the links which are wanting in the chain of evidence needed for the compilation of a complete history of the early metallurgy of Europe.” (Gowland 1899b: 322).

It is important to note here that Gowland suggests that it is better not to excavate than to excavate poorly, and his interest in production sites and their debris echo his work at Sakuraidani in 1887 (see Chapter 4). Again, he brought up similar complaints in the opening of his paper on metallurgical practices at Roman Silchester:

“The importance of Silchester as a seat of industrial activity has been enhanced by the discovery in 1894 of some metallurgical remains, of a unique character, which indicate that near the spot where they were found there had once been a silver refinery. Unfortunately they were not found in situ. They were cast aside as rubbish. The debris, which are of very fragmentary nature, were handed to me by Messer. Fox and Hope for examination in the following year. They presented such an unpromising appearance that I laid them aside until a few weeks ago, when I commenced their investigation.” (Gowland 1900: 113).

Gowland had become aware of the importance in recording in situ while in Japan from his note BOX 4-20-5-4 (Appendix 1) discussed in Chapter 6, even though he was not always

⁴ It is not yet clear who Gowland is quoting here.

successful in his first attempt to record in situ at Shibayama kofun. It is likely he was influenced by Japanese archaeologists following the statements made by Machida Hisanari made in 1871, discussed further below. Upon Gowland's return to England, this extended into his interest in the history of ancient metallurgical practices, as it became clear they could not be fully understood or replicated unless much more careful collection standards were used. He then made some important comments about how excavation should take place. However, this still does not fully explain why he was chosen as the excavator for Stonehenge.

As the excavation of Shibayama had only been spoken about publicly once, it was perhaps better known among the members of the Society of Antiquaries, who knew Gowland and his collection. In particular, Charles Read, who was also a member of the Stonehenge Committee and had worked at the British Museum under Franks since 1880. Read had been employed by Franks as an assistant in arranging the Christie collection since the age of 18⁵, and continued to work with Franks and the Museum for much of his life (Evans 1956: 346). During this time, he was almost certainly involved with Frank's acquisition of the Gowland Collection in April of 1889. Because of his history, it is very likely Read was more aware of the collection and the excavation of Shibayama kofun than most. After this, the same year Gowland had given his first paper on the Kofun period, which included his first public description of his excavation at Shibayama, he and Read had worked together on the pewter objects of Roman Appleshaw (Englehart, Read and Gowland 1897).

Finally, a small note, now held at the Society of Antiquaries, can help to clear up this problem. It was written to Gowland by Read, dated to the March 3rd, 1901, in regard to the first committee meeting to be held on the 26th of that month. Read directly asked for

⁵ From this point on Read worked closely with Franks as his right-hand man and protégé (Evans 1956: 346) during and after the time that the Gowland Collection was purchased. Franks had also sponsored Read when he took over the position as Keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities in 1896 (Balfour 1929: 61), which he held during the excavation of Stonehenge and until 1921.

Gowland's presence as the excavation supervisor, as he himself would be abroad at the time, and they wanted a man who knew about "digging" specifically:

“...do accept if you can. We want a man who knows about digging. If you can work at Stonehenge you will be put up by Sir Antrobus +[&] be very comfortable

Yours tr[u]ly

C.H.Read...” (Read 1901a).

Therefore, it seems safe to assume that Read would have been aware of Gowland's approach to excavation. It is very apparent that the excavation of Shibayama, its material, and the form of excavation which Gowland developed from it were the primary reason Gowland had become known as a competent excavator within the Society, or at the very least to Read⁶. Supported by the comments he had made about the standard of excavation in 1899 and 1900. Furthermore, although the actions undertaken were very much in keeping with Petrie's letter, especially his second and third points, the actual field techniques used by Gowland were far more similar to the approaches he had employed in Japan at Shibayama in 1888.

Petrie's influence and the excavation

The photographs taken during the excavation can be seen as an early example of the use of photography in archaeological public relations. Gowland was no stranger to photography, having been introduced to it by Romyn Hitchcock while in Japan, and the two men took several pictures of kofun together that Gowland and William Aston exhibited in London shortly after Gowland's return in 1889 (see Chapter 1). However, one review of Gowland's

⁶ Read would later become the President of the Society of Antiquaries and appointed Gowland as vice-president, for the second time. He would also later write Gowland's obituary for the Society of Antiquaries (Read 1922).



Figure 41. Gowland (shown left of centre), kneeling and leaning on the wooden frame of the stone being raised, is shown overseeing the excavation of a trench through his measuring frame while other workmen can be seen sieving soil on the right side of the image. Photograph from the archives at the Society of Antiquaries of London Reference: MS 894.

presentation tells us that the camera used to take these pictures was borrowed from a local woman (T.R.J. 1903: 129). At Stonehenge, the arrangement of the photographs' subjects seems very intentional. Gowland, perhaps aware of his appearance as the site supervisor, made sure to appear looking decidedly nonchalant in every populated photograph. There is an emphasis on the soil sieving, see Figure 41 and 42, and the use of Gowland's measuring frame (discussed below). Figure 41 shows Gowland, just off centre, breathing down the neck of an excavator, who himself is standing in the middle of Gowland's measuring frame. On the right, two gentlemen are busy sieving the excavated soil to ensure that no artefacts are lost. The huge recently re-erected megalith looms in the background, dwarfing the men in front, and still propped up by wooden support frames and pulleys. From the state of the raised stone, we can estimate the date of this photograph as being taken mid to late September



Figure 42, Gowland (pictured on the far left) is shown with the other workmen sieving the soil at Stonehenge, September 1901. Photograph from the archives at the Society of Antiquaries of London Reference: MS 894.

1901⁷. The photographs were intended not just to document the excavation, but to ensure that the public could see that the most careful techniques of excavation and recording had been employed in order to preserve this site of national importance. This was likely in response to the attention the site received in the newspapers in the wake of the megalith's fall and after Petrie's letter to *The Times*. Despite Petrie having no direct involvement in the committee or the excavation, Gowland's report does seem to directly address several of Petrie's concerns from his original letter to *The Times* the previous February⁸.

⁷The fallen sarsen stone was given a timber frame and through a system of winches were slowly lifted 2-3 inches at a time, with wooden struts placed to support the stone each time it was raised. Starting on 18th September, the job of lifting the stone finished four days later on the 22nd. The stone was fixed on top of a bed of concrete, an inclination in the way the stone rested having been corrected with the use of a hydraulic jack (Gowland 1902a: 44; Burl 2006: 52).

⁸ However, Petrie is named within the 1902 report, first in reference to his plans from 1880, and again in discussing the method by which the stones were shaped (Gowland 1902a: 78).

The report included extensive photographs of the objects excavated, which were recorded in situ using a grid system, discussed below, and received interpretation to the best of his ability given what little information Gowland had to work from at the time.

Just as stipulated by Petrie in his 1880 paper (Petrie 1880: 33) and his 1901 letter, there was a focus on restoration. But only on the affected area and not the entire site, especially the largest leaning stone, which was being repositioned and set in place just as he had suggested twenty years earlier. The only areas excavated were those necessary for the re-erection of the megalith, meaning the excavation was restricted to a relatively small section of the site. The entirety of Gowland's excavation of Stonehenge consisted of eight connected trenches confined to a 15ft square area, each individual trench corresponding to the measuring frame (see Figure 43). From Gowland's plan of the site shown in Figure 44, we



Figure 43. A photograph showing Gowland's measuring frame in location over the top of one of the trenches at Stonehenge. (Archives at the Society of Antiquaries of London reference: MS 894.)

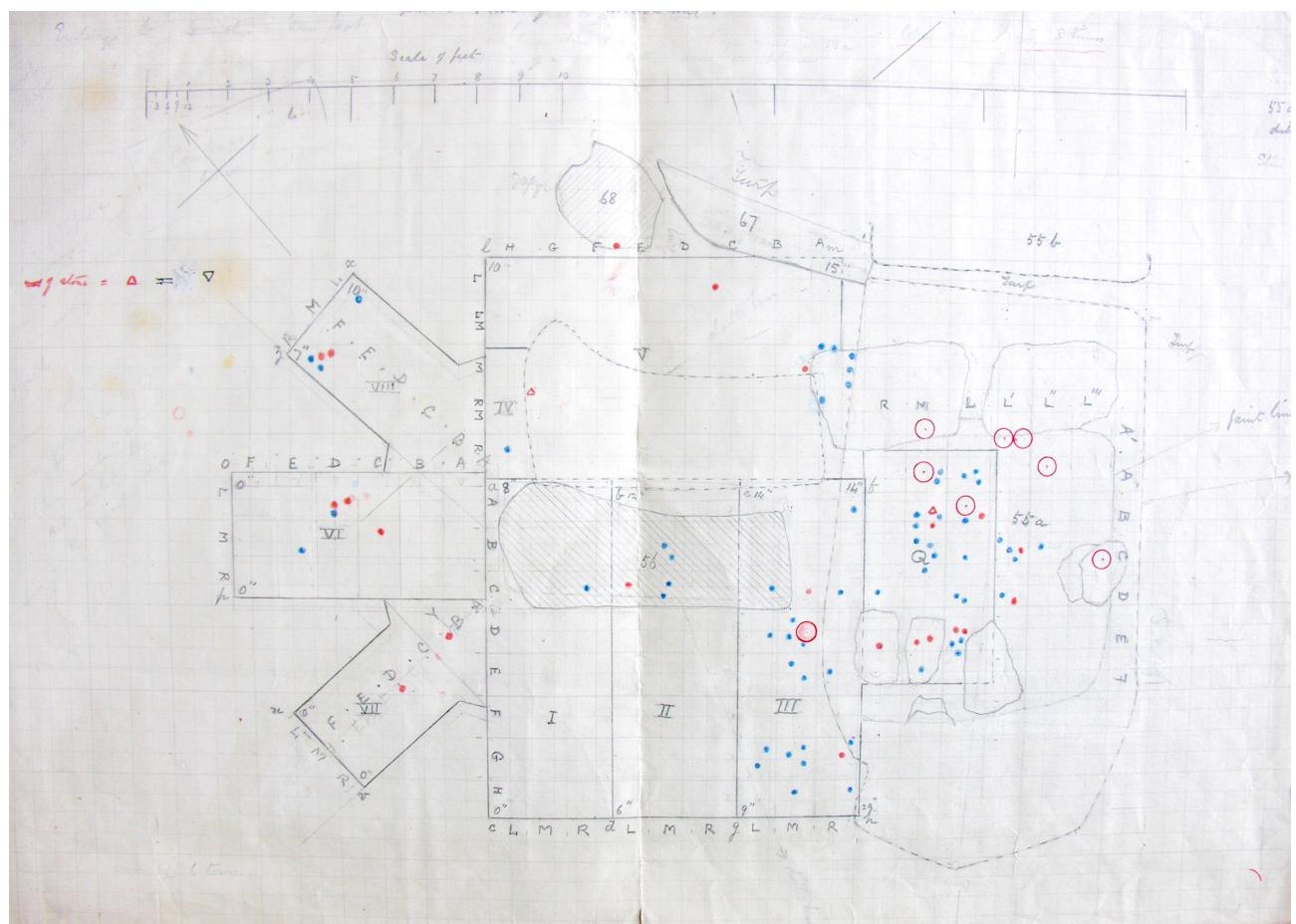


Figure 44. Gowland's original plan of the trenches at Stonehenge. Note that each section of the trench corresponds to the area of his gridded frame, each square representing the 12x12inch square of the inside of the frame, each of these is represented by four squares on the graph paper, the object located to the nearest corner, giving an accuracy of approximately 6 inches. The coloured dots represent the finds. (Archives at the Society of Antiquaries of London reference: MS 894).

can see that despite the excavation being relatively small in scale, it was impressively detailed for the time, with a complete record of locations of objects found in situ from the Neolithic to Roman periods.

This degree of excavation is what Petrie must have had in mind in his letter when he wrote to *The Times* (Flinders Petrie 18/2/1901a). The fact that Petrie had to specify “*even pottery*” in his letter shows the aesthetic bias over what was recorded in excavation during the previous century, as argued against by Pitt-Rivers. However, Gowland made sure to collect all artefacts, keeping a detailed record of locations with the use of a numbering system, made possible by a grid system of recording. In addition, precautions were made by sieving the excavated soil, so as not to miss any artefact.

“No digging was carried on except in the presence of Mr. Blow, Mr. Stallybrass, or myself, and I made a point of being at the excavation before the work of each day began, and remain until it was finished. A watchman was on duty at night to ensure that the excavations should not be tampered with.” (Gowland 1902a: 45).

Just as Petrie had wanted, there was heavy supervision and protection from the public during the excavation. However, Gowland may have slightly exaggerated his dedication to this rule. A letter from Basil T. Stallybrass dated to 10th October 1901 tells of how Gowland had left the site before the very end of the excavation. Gowland left before the excavation of trench N, due to illness; yet Stallybrass states that little else was found, the weather turned bad shortly after Gowland left, and little else was done other than filling in the trenches (Stallybrass 1901). Gowland must have felt pressured to exaggerate his presence on site to satisfy Petrie’s priorities, to such an extent that he was willing to blur the truth to uphold the views of the public.

Petrie’s own 1904 book on excavation techniques would not be published for another three years; this is believed to be the first attempt at a methodological handbook for archaeology (Lucas 2001: 26). However, he does not demand the same level of care in excavation as his 1901 letter to *The Times*. Instead, he places emphasis on the recording of objects by layer and the collection of examples, which would create better sequences for typologies when applied to already existing collections, but not the collection of all the artefacts in their actual location within that layer or even section plans recording stratigraphy. Petrie is widely held to have had excellent excavation techniques for the time, but his proposed excavation for Stonehenge was perhaps a hypothetically perfect one based on the importance of the site. Perhaps Petrie valued the archaeology here more than anywhere else because of the personal significance the site had as the first he published on, setting the rest of his professional career into motion, as well as the fame and the continued mystery surrounding Stonehenge itself.

The excavation concluded in late September. In the October 12th, 1901 edition of *The Times*, Petrie responded to an article printed on the 8th (*The Times* 8/10/1901c: 10), which discussed the ownership and restriction of public access to Stonehenge. Petrie appears to have strongly resented the fencing off of the monument and the charge of admission, stating "*For my own part I would rather give a thousand shillings to preserve Stonehenge than be fleeced of one shilling illegally.*" (Petrie 12/10/1901b: 12). Additionally, appearing to be in reference to the resolutions of the committee, he had this to say:

“...an accusation had been made in saying that the present barbarous enclosure was agreed to by learned societies. This was by no means the case; the only persons who condoned this very dubious transaction were, I believe, all members of a single society; and certainly others with as good a right to be heard were curtly refused any voice in the matter.” (Petrie 12/10/1901b: 12).

Charles Read answers this letter with his own, appearing in *The Times* on 14th October (Read 14/10/1901a: 7). He reiterated the increasing dangers to Stonehenge's preservation from the nearby military camp and the new railway works, while assuring Petrie that the committee had consisted of several societies. Petrie responded in turn on the 16th, stating: "*The use of a fence is obviously for purposes of profit*" (Flinders Petrie 16/10/1901c: 6), strongly implying that Antrobus' interest in the site lay firmly in the amount of money he stood to make. He then went on to state that £5,000 would be a sufficient price at which to sell the monument to the government and inferred that of those societies mentioned, most of their opinions had not been voiced⁹.

⁹ The single society to which he refers would seem to have been the Society of Antiquaries of London. Already a prestigious London society, the committee was headed by the then President Lord Dillon, the excavation was supervised by Gowland, and their members outnumbered those of any other society. It is also notable the Petrie himself never became a member of that society.

Petrie's initial concern in February was the appearance of the site. He did not seem to show any concern with the public's access, as he had originally suggested digging a dry moat around the site (Petrie 18/2/1901a). Additionally, from his letters in October, we can see that he had become primarily concerned with the moral outrage of making money off of the site. However, Petrie never gave a clear indication of what his solution would have been, other than his belief that the site should be bought by the nation. It would appear that this later response was fuelled by Petrie's frustrations that Antrobus was continuing to refuse to sell the site, and seeming to have manipulated the circumstances in such a way that it appeared as if he was going to profit from it.

Petrie's original letter to *The Times* that February had a marked effect on the excavation that would come; however, it also made clear his position against erecting a fence. Whenever this issue of the fence and footpaths came up in the newspapers, Petrie's name was sure to be included, to the extent that it later became public knowledge that he and several other prominent archaeologists were offering their own money towards the fence's removal. The correspondence in *The Times* between himself and Read occurred within a short time of the excavation finishing, and on Petrie's part may perhaps display some frustration in not being involved with it. It is notable, however, that he never made any public complaints about the method of the excavation itself.

Clearly, the committee's stance was in favour of the fence and the diversion of the trackway. Despite this seeming to hamper the freedoms of the public to enjoy Stonehenge, it surely did offer considerably more protection from the site's increasing traffic and was perhaps a necessary evil at the time. In Gowland's report, he very clearly states his own opinion on the matter "...*I have come to the conclusion that without the enclosure there could be no efficient preservation of the monument,..*" (Gowland 1902a: 39). He goes on to say, "...*I may add that it is, to say the least, astounding that the diversion of that roadway should be opposed by any archaeologist.*" (Gowland 1902a: 40). Here, Gowland may very well have been referring

The excavations of William Gowland: Shibayama to Stonehenge

to Petrie directly. From this, we can see that the committee's position was more concerned with the preservation of the site than its appearance or the freedom of public access.

Fencing off the site was perhaps not such a shocking concept to Gowland, as he had experienced the continuing designation of imperial mounds in Japan during the 1870s when ancient tombs were declared imperial mausolea and fenced off with no public access whatsoever. There had been no attempts to preserve them, but as seen in Chapter 2, Gowland had witnessed firsthand the poor preservation of hundreds of other tombs, which had not been protected, alongside the lack of restoration of those that had only recently been designated as imperial. Despite some people showing a great deal of animosity towards Stonehenge being fenced off, upon Gowland's comments one newspaper article reported:

"Mr. Gowland commenced by asserting, amid cheers, his warm approval of the actions of the freeholder in putting a barbed wire fence round the mysterious British monoliths" (*Morning Post* 20/12/1901).

Petrie was a widely respected archaeologist and clearly had a great interest in excavating Stonehenge, but as has been shown above, he could not be involved with the 1901 excavation due to his stance on the fence, trackway and the site's ownership. Stonehenge would, for the foreseeable future, remain under private ownership. It was not until 1918, after Antrobus' death, that the site was gifted to the nation. It is quite likely that the committee's position was agreed upon, at least in part, so that the work could be carried out as quickly as possible. The court case went on for four years and ultimately made no difference to Antrobus' plans for the site whatsoever. The 1901 excavation, original presentation and exhibition took place the same year that part of the sarsen circle fell and was presented,

exhibited for the second time¹⁰, and publicly displayed early the following year in 1902. It was perhaps because of the desire to act quickly and address the general concern over Stonehenge's protection, to appease both Antrobus and the public, that the committee had given no opinion as to the sale of Stonehenge and intentionally distanced themselves from Petrie.

Gowland's interpretation of Stonehenge

Gowland developed his interest in archaeology while living in Japan, and it is revealing about his background in archaeology that in his Stonehenge report he uses three Japanese examples. The first discusses the purpose of the site, the second the construction of the site and a third the use of stone mauls used on the site.

In Gowland's report on the excavation, he does give some small consideration to the discussion of the original intended use of the site. Although this is still a subject that receives much debate today, in the early 20th century there were two primary explanations for the purpose of Stonehenge; one as a sepulchral (burial) cult and the other, to which Gowland prescribed, a sun worship cult. William Stukeley had been the first to suggest that the site was orientated towards the midsummer solstice sunrise (Parker Pearson 2012: 45). Gowland used his observations of sun worship in Japan to strengthen this argument, citing the site of Meoto Iwa¹¹.

¹⁰ From a leaflet in the Gowland Archive, held by the Society of Antiquaries, we know that there was a second lecture and exhibition of objects from Stonehenge given by Gowland in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Little Saint Mary's Lane on May 22nd at 8:30 for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

¹¹ (夫婦岩, Wedded rocks), two large rock outcroppings that stand just off the shore of the village of Futamigaura, Mie prefecture, with a view of Mt. Fuji on the horizon, on particularly clear days. The larger is considered to be the husband and the smaller the wife. Gowland includes a woodblock print of the sites which he collected whilst in Japan, which currently resides in the archive at the Society of Antiquaries. He then discussed sun worship that took place at the shrine, where a *torii* (鳥居, ceremonial gate) had been erected in front of the site on the shore in such a way that it frames the sun rising between the stones on the equinoxes. Gowland's observation would go on to inform the work of Sir Norman Lockyer about the intended use of Stonehenge (Lockyer 1906: 3-4). Lockyer had, in fact, suggested the date of 2000BC for Stonehenge in February 1901 in a letter to John Lubbock (Hutchinson 1914: 137). However, this was based on problematic equations of the site's orientation, and he made no comment on the level of technology of those who built it. Gowland does not mention this date in his work, and it was not published until 1906 thus it is not clear if he was aware of it when making his dates for the site.



Figure 45. A stone maul found at Stonehenge, similar to those which Gowland discussed, in a 2016 display at Wiltshire Museum, giving an explanation very similar to the one Gowland gave in his paper. (With kind permission of Salisbury Museum ©).

Gowland makes a note of comparing the Shinto *torii* gate with the trilithons at Stonehenge (Gowland 1902a: 88). He does not imply there was a connection between the two, but rather suggests that there was an independent origin as an outcome deriving from a “*similar development of the human mind*”. Stating his belief that the megaliths of Britain were not necessarily the product of cultural diffusion, but could just have easily been a native invention from the Neolithic or Early Bronze Age.

Gowland’s argument for the use of the site is not particularly strong, and in his paper he sounds hesitant to discuss it at all. However, his discussion of the construction and dating of the site fared much better.

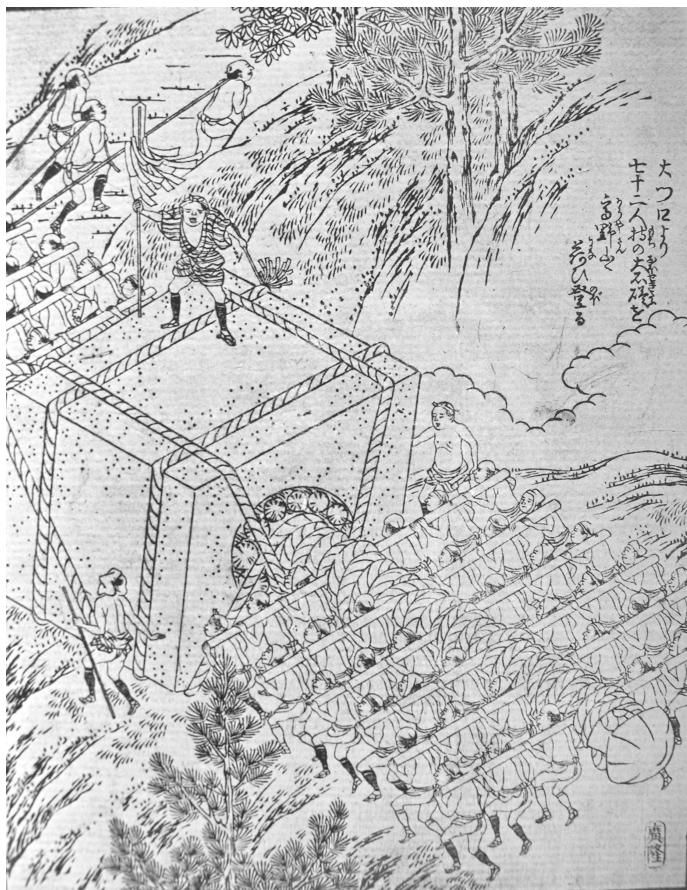


Figure 46. An image of the construction of a Japanese castle which Gowland used as an example of how the stones may have been moved. (Gowland 1902).

In discussing the stone mauls found on the site, Gowland describes their use by using an ethnographical example of traditional Japanese construction, when heavy mauls were used to pound down the stones used for the foundations of houses. Thus Gowland was the first person to identify and correctly interpret these mauls, as can be seen in Figure 45, which shows one such maul and its current interpretation. Cecil Willett Cunnington (1878-1961) disagreed with Gowland over their use, however, suggesting they were rollers (Gowland 1902b: 24), his argument being connected to a wider argument of the date of the site, but Gowland was correct.

In discussing the methods incorporated to move and work the stones, Gowland was very quick to dismiss claims that the use of metalworking would be required, suggesting the use

of a sledge and/or rollers as sufficient. He cited not just more ethnographic examples from Japan, but also from Egypt (Gowland 1902a: 73). The use of an Egyptian example has become the most famous in the public consciousness, although Gowland based much of his argument on observations from East Asia, using the example of the construction of large stones that make up the ramparts of Osaka Castle, as seen in Figure 46. In this example, the stone laid resting on a wooden frame, and a large number of men pulled this and the stone with ropes. He claims to have seen this method in use himself. Gowland was not the first to suggest the use of manpower and rollers. Similar discussions had been given by Fergusson, (1872: 73) who had suggested that rollers were the only explanation, given that larger stones were moved in Egypt and India. And again, Arthur Evans (1851-1941)¹² in 1888, used the example of the Khasis of Northeast Bengal, where similar techniques were believed to have been used (Evans 1888: 318). However, unlike Gowland, neither had suggested this would be possible before the use of metals.

The dating of Stonehenge

Although Stonehenge is now known to have some features dating back to the Mesolithic period (Parker Pearson 2012: 135), early attempts to date the site as a whole were based primarily on the erection of the trilithons. It was assumed the centrally placed trilithons had been erected prior to the construction of the sarsen circle them. But the other features of the site and how they related to each other were not fully understood. Whether or not there had been activity at the site before the trilithons and sarsen circle had been erected, or to what period the surrounding earthworks dated, did not enter the early discussions of the site. Gowland's dates, in particular, were based only on evidence from the excavation of a small area around one of the trilithons in the centre of the sarsen circle. This means all the dating evidence he had access to would apply to the second stage (Parker Pearson 2012: 132) of the site, at the time the trilithons were erected.

¹² Famous for discovering the site of Knossos in Crete, Greece.



Figure 47. An example of a deer antler, that was used as a pick to dig the holes for the trilithons at Stonehenge, just as Gowland had described. These were also later used to retrieve C14 dates for the second stage of the site. (With kind permission of Salisbury Museum ©).

The date of the erection of the trilithons at Stonehenge had been a problem for centuries; John Aubrey declared the site a druidic temple. Referring to the druids described in the writings of Julius Caesar from the 1st century BC and other classical writers, which would date the site to the Iron Age. Most famously William Stukeley had dated Stonehenge to 460BC (Evans 1888: 312). Some more ancient dates had already been given, the first person to date the site to the Bronze Age was John Lubbock, mainly because the tombs surrounding the site were believed to be Bronze Age barrows, although the argument he gives for this is quite weak¹³ (Lubbock 1865: 53-55). Pitt-Rivers gave a paper on his suggested excavation of the site to the Ethnological Society of London in 1869, where he proposed to form a committee whose members included Lubbock and John Evans among their number. Pitt-Rivers suggested Lubbock's date was correct. But even so, he gave his

¹³ Lubbock dated Stonehenge to the Bronze Age because there is a Roman road which diverted around Silbury Hill showing that the site had been built prior to Roman occupation. Exactly why he thought this site was contemporary with Stonehenge or why this would date the site to the Bronze Age, rather than the Iron Age, is not explained. Gowland did not reference this date.

opinion based on the fact there were flint flakes visible in bare patches of soil¹⁴ which suggested stone tools and not bronze were used to shape the stones (Pitt-Rivers 1870: 3).

Still, many others had considered it to be post-Roman (Fergusson 1872: 114). In fact, in his 1880 publication, Flinders Petrie had claimed that based on astronomical data, the placement of some of the stones dated to the Anglo-Saxon period¹⁵ (Petrie 1880: 20). Building on previous studies, Evans, gave a paper on December 6th, 1888 at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which dated Stonehenge to “*... before the close of the Bronze Age in this part of Britain*”, to which he gave the approximate date of 250BC (Evans 1888: 324)¹⁶. However, both Petrie and Evans based their work on much earlier investigations which were not well recorded. Evans comments on the issue in 1888:

“Unfortunately the excavations of the inner area of Stonehenge in pre-scientific times must almost extinguish the hope of our obtaining much more to confirm the presumptions established by these finds” (Evans 1888: 322).

Gowland’s dates from Stonehenge, from his 1901 excavation, were based on a number of deer antler picks and flint tools found during his excavation. From these, he prescribed a date for the erection of the great sarsen trilithons to between 2000 and 1500BC, considerably earlier than previous estimates. However, today’s chronology of the site places the erection of the trilithons to an earlier date still. The most recent dates for the sarsen trilithons’ construction in the second stage of the site’s development, between 2620 and

¹⁴ He also collected and displayed these at the society meeting.

¹⁵ Based on a popular interpretation that the site was aligned to the mid-summer sunrise, Petrie made corrections for climatic changes to his observations of the mid-summer sunrise over the “heel stone” of Stonehenge. From this, he proposed that the mid summer sunrise would have risen over the heel stone in approximately 730AD give or take 200 years, then goes on to say that it could perhaps be as early as 400AD (Petrie 1880: 20). However, Petrie does suggest that some stages of the sites construction could be pre-Roman, due to the construction showing origins in woodwork (Petrie 1880: 25). But, he concludes that none of his evidence would bear scientific scrutiny (Petrie 1880: 31).

¹⁶ Evans’ date was based on the record of a bronze incense cup found three feet under the earth by Inigo Jones (Evans 1888: 322) and typological observations of the similarities between Hallstatt culture objects from the continent to those found in the sites surrounding Stonehenge (Evans 1888: 322-324).

2480BC, during the Late Neolithic and start of the Early Bronze Age (Darvill, Peter, Parker Pearson and Wainwright 2012: 1026; Parker Pearson 2012: 132). These dates were derived from calibrated C14 (radiocarbon) dates of deer antler picks (see Figure 47), one from the sarsen circle and a second from the south trilithon. It is notable that Gowland's dating not only based his date on the same objects but was also significantly more accurate than the majority of previously published estimates, even if his calendar dates had between a six and twelve hundred years difference from the modern dates.

These modern dates have only been made possible by the advances of modern science within the last few decades and are still likely to change with further calibration. Judging Gowland's estimates against this evidence would be unfair. What is important is that Gowland believed the construction of the stones to have taken place during the end of the Neolithic period, just before the invention of metalworking. *“These implements can therefore, I think, notwithstanding their rudeness, be legitimately placed in the neolithic age and, it may be, near its termination.”* (Gowland 1902a: 71). His argument was based on the similarities of the deer antler picks and flint tools to other sites known to be Neolithic.

This study was no doubt influenced by the work of John Evans (1850: 127-137; Childe 1956: 70), Pitt-Rivers (1906) and possibly Petrie who all attempted to date objects using early typologies that was becoming standard practice in the early 20th century. His study of flint tools was based on comparative collections held by the British Museum. Two flint production sites Grimes Graves¹⁷ in East Anglia and Cissbury in Sussex, and a collection from Stourpaine in Dorset¹⁸ were all already dated to the Neolithic. Gowland gives multiple figures of stone tools from Stonehenge compared with those of these three sites, which he had assessed in the British Museum's collection, via access granted by Read (Gowland 1902a:

¹⁷ Flint mining sites had first been correctly identified by Pitt-Rivers at Cissbury between 1867 and 1868. However, he had originally dated them to the Iron Age, as the site was later a hillfort. But he later amended these dates to the Neolithic, based on the work of William Greenwell at Grimes Graves in Norfolk (Greenwell 1870; Thomson 1977: 50; Russell 2000:15).

¹⁸ Excavated by Henry Durden who's collection was partly sold to the British Museum after his death.

63). Gowland goes on to reference William Greenwell (1820-1918) who had excavated Grimes Graves and suggested that flint mining sites would be unnecessary if bronze was in wide use.

Deer antler picks had also been found at Grimes Grave, and were known to have been used as digging tools during the Neolithic. Although deer antler picks had been found in both Neolithic and Bronze Age sites in the late 19th century (Greenwell 1877: 217), Gowland believed if Bronze Age tools were in use there would be some evidence of them found at the site, rather than only that of antler and stone tools. Only one very small trace of bronze was found, giving no reason to assume that the site would require a knowledge of metalworking or was built any later than the end of the Neolithic or very early Bronze Age (Gowland 1902a: 65).

Gowland's estimations of the level of technology required to erect the megaliths are, surprisingly, more or less correct. Gowland had been unwittingly describing the Late Neolithic to Copper Age¹⁹. From our modern understanding, the trilithons were erected in the Late Neolithic, not long before or during the Copper Age (also known as the Chalcolithic Age, 2500-2200BC), which is characterised by the very early use of copper and gold, primarily for ornamental purposes. Gowland dates the first use of copper or bronze to 1800BC (Gowland 1902: 87), within the range of his dates for Stonehenge. However, this is again an earlier date than many had afforded the ancient Britons at the time, John Evans having dated the start of the Bronze Age to 1400BC.

Gowland was the first to argue that the stones were placed just before the wide use of metal in the British Isles. In hindsight, this was by far the most accurate date for the site at the time. He concluded his report by stating his belief that Neolithic culture was more advanced

¹⁹ Gowland did not use the term Copper Age when discussing British sites. Although the concept of a Copper Age had already been applied to other parts of the world, it was not yet believed there was a Copper Age in England.

than normally given credit for and dismissed ideas that any foreign assistance was required due to the evidence available:

"In Britain there is abundant evidence, in the numerous rude stone monuments distributed throughout its area, that this particular phase of mental development had reached a very high point. Why then should we seek in distinct countries for the origin of this crowning example of neolithic art? Of its foreign origin there is, in fact no proof, and its plan and execution alike can be ascribed to none other than our rude forefathers, the men of the neolithic or, it may be, of the early bronze age." (Gowland 1902a: 89).

On January 13th, 1902, a special meeting and exhibition at the Anthropological Institute was held where the objects from Stonehenge were displayed, and Gowland gave his report on the site. The resulting paper was published in *Archaeologia* (Gowland 1902a), the discussion which took place after the presentation was also published in the journal *Man* (Gowland 1902b). The main issue of the discussion was the date of the stones, the most prominent speaker being Arthur Evans, and A. L. Lewis, Read and C.W. Cunnington also contributed. Gowland's excavation techniques were praised, yet all disagreed entirely with his views on the date for various reasons. Primarily this was because there was a small amount of copper oxide encrusted on the surface of one stone in section 'V'. Evans felt this dated the site to the end of the Bronze Age, as he had already suggested in 1880 (*Western Daily Press* 15/1/1902; Gowland 1902b: 22). Even Read believed that there was not enough evidence to change their opinions on the date. Gowland's explanation was that the oxide was evidence that the metal was known about, perhaps from an ornament, but as antler and stone tools were still in use, it could not date to later than a transitional period between the Neolithic and Bronze Age. The paper concludes with Gowland's defence of his date:

"Finally, He (Mr. Gowland) might say that the date 1800-2000 B.C. is given in his paper only as an approximation based solely on his excavations and subject to revision from any data

The excavations of William Gowland: Shibayama to Stonehenge which his future diggings might yield. And as regards this approximate date, and the origin and purpose of Stonehenge he should continue to hold the opinions he had expressed in his paper until they were disproved by future discoveries. No one would then be more ready than he to modify or relinquish them, as all he desired was to arrive at the truth and not to bolster up any pet theories.” (Gowland 1902b: 25).

This passage may indicate that, shortly after the excavation, Gowland was planning to make further excavations at the site, but this was not to take place; although Gowland had displayed hard evidence, Evans' date seemed to prevail thereafter, until modern evidence became available.

Two decades later, shortly after Gowland's death in 1922, Gordon Childe published his broad study *The Dawn of European Civilisation* in 1925. He dated the erection of the bluestones to the Beaker Culture (2800-1800BC) (Childe 1925: 383), but the erection of the trilithons he dated to the end of the Early Bronze Age Wessex Culture. This was due to the appearance of a carving of a dagger reminiscent of Mycenaean culture on the surface of the stones, which he considered to be evidence of importation and dated to around 1600-1100BC (Childe 1925: 388).

In the 1950s, during the heyday of 'cultural diffusion', Richard Atkinson's book on Stonehenge was published (1956). Atkinson goes further with Childe's hypothesis and suggests that Stonehenge was the product of direct cultural diffusion from Mycenaean culture. Again based on the dagger carving, despite having access to uncalibrated C14 dates. He goes as far as to suggest that a Mycenaean architect instructed the ancient Britons, the Bronze Age Britons being too uncivilised to perform such a feat on their own (Atkinson 1956: 164; Parker Pearson 2013: 73).

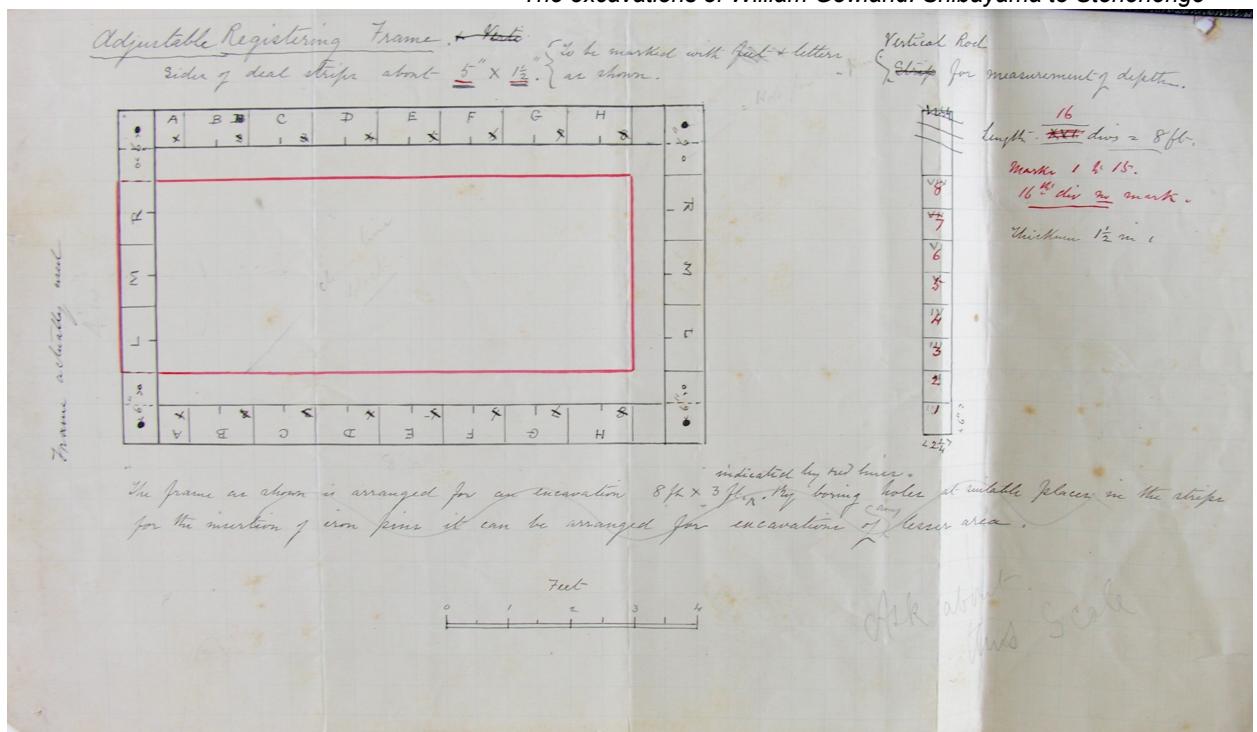


Figure 48. Image of Gowland's design for the registering frame used to locate objects at Stonehenge. (Archives at the Society of Antiquaries of London reference: MS 894.).

It was not until calibrated C14 dates became available in the 1970s that Stonehenge was finally dated to before Mycenaean culture (Renfrew 1968; 1973: 16-17, 69). This new evidence dated the trilithon construction to before 1800BC or even before 2000BC. However, even with these earlier dates, Colin Renfrew would still attribute the stones to the Bronze Age Wessex Culture (Renfrew 1973: 102-103). By the 1980s others finally began to suggest the Late Neolithic Beaker culture (2100-1500BC²⁰) could have been responsible for this stage of construction (Harrison 1980: 96).

But these dates were not widely accepted until 1995 when new C14 dating evidence became available. This pushed the date of the sarsen stones back to around 2500BC, the division between the Late Neolithic and the Copper Age as Gowland had claimed 93 years prior in 1902, finally harking back to before the use of metal tools.

²⁰ Dates given by Richard Harrison (1980: 73).

The evidence had been there, yet archaeologists found it difficult to believe that such an undertaking could be possible for a Late Neolithic society. Gowland never underestimated the architectural accomplishments of pre-metalworking societies but based his observations using only the evidence which presented itself, as well as comparative sites, to identify the level of technology available.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Gowland had developed a surprisingly progressive approach to the study of past cultures while living in Japan. Perhaps it was seeing the advancement of Meiji Japan first hand that was what allowed him to disregard the negative bias attributed to Stone Age peoples at that time (see Chapter 1). And in turn, enabled him to be able to very accurately date the monument based only on the material culture that he found. Because of this, he remained the first person to date Stonehenge correctly to the end of the Neolithic for almost a century.

Comparing the excavation of Shibayama to Stonehenge

Although there seem to be references to Gowland undertaking some small excavations before Shibayama kofun, such as at Sakuraidani (see Chapter 4), the only major excavations that he undertook were those of Shibayama and Stonehenge.

When the excavation of Stonehenge is compared to that of the excavation of Shibayama, we see that Gowland had been using similar methods thirteen years earlier. As shown in Chapter 6, Gowland describes his system of recording at Shibayama in his unpublished archive which informed part of his 1897 paper (BOX 4-17-2 Appendix 3; Gowland 1987; 477).

“In this exploration of the dolmen I made the following arrangements for the determination of the position of any objects which in might contain. The floor was was divided into 20

The excavations of William Gowland: Shibayama to Stonehenge compartments by manner of a bamboo frame work. Each compartment was numbered & had two baskets a large and small one having its number assigned to it, with which the objects found in it were placed. This bamboo framework was laid upon the earth which covered the floor. each division was then carefully scraped away in layer²¹ until the paved floor was reached sieved first through coarse & then through a fine sieve to ensure that nothing however small might escape detection, This was continued until the hard floor was reached I hope by these precautions to the abb[above] to find the exact original position of each object in all the contents of the dolmen[.]” (BOX 4-17-2 Appendix 3).

From his notes, we can see that in 1887 Gowland had set about in advance to accurately record Shibayama kofun to the best of his ability, with a carefully thought-out system of recording. At the time, this was by no means the standard in archaeology, either in Britain or anywhere else in the world.

There are, however, several marked differences between the two excavations, which would be partly due to the nature of the sites, but also the thirteen-year time difference between the events; no doubt Gowland’s attitudes and those of the archaeological community towards site preservation and recording were changing. For example, although Gowland was very careful to record the locations of objects preserved under the layer of soil within Shibayama kofun, he did not record the location or number of objects he removed from the surface of this layer, which were referred to as sweepings, as he considered them not in situ. Again, as we discussed in Chapter 6, the grid system he employed did not incorporate accurately measured rectangles, and the locations of the ceramics were based on the areas where the largest amount of their sherds were found. This means that only an approximate location of objects was given; however, Gowland vastly improved upon this method when excavating Stonehenge.

²¹ This refers to the earth having been scraped away in a uniform manner, rather than having been excavated stratigraphically. As there was only one layer, that which had fallen in from gaps in the stone chamber’s ceiling as Gowland describes above. See BOX 4-17-1 Appendix 3.

Between the excavations of Shibayama and Stonehenge there are several similarities, listed below:

- Careful recording of all objects, including those with no aesthetic value, with a focus on interpretation of the objects recovered in relation to the site.
- The excavated soil was sieved in order to collect small fragments or objects missed during initial excavation.
- A grid system of recording was used in an attempt to record objects excavated in situ.
- A numbering system was used in order to allow for the identification of objects and their original location against the records of the excavation.

Gowland was an early advocate of collecting all objects from a site, rather than just those of aesthetic value used to furnish museums, which had been the major focus of collecting for much of the earlier 19th century. As shown in Chapter 6, Gowland had already shown an inclination towards this way of thinking when he collected heavily decayed wooden coffin fragments and poorly preserved human remains in an attempt to locate the original burial within Shibayama kofun.

Just as Gowland had sieved the soil at Shibayama kofun, using two sizes of sieve, one with a 1/4 inch mesh and the second with a 3/8 mesh (BOX 4-17-40 Appendix 3) he took a similar approach at Stonehenge. At the British site, Gowland employed four sieves of descending sizes, “*The material was removed in buckets and carefully sifted a series of sieves of 1 inch, 1/2 inch, 1/4 inch and 1/8 inch mesh, in order that no object, however small, might be lost.*” (Gowland 1902a: 43). This is twice the number used at Shibayama, which even by today’s standards could be considered excessive. This no doubt reflects the importance he put into the excavation at the time.

One of the most obvious differences in the excavation at Stonehenge was Gowland's use of recording within a three-dimensional space rather than an only 2D horizontal plain, which he had used at Shibayama. In the case of the Stonehenge excavation, Gowland measured from a datum line, which he described:

"Before proceeding with the excavations, a datum line passing through the highest point of the surface of the ground to be excavated was carefully determined, and from this line the vertical position of each layer of material removed from the various excavation was observed and recorded. This was rendered necessary by irregular centre of the ground surrounding the stone. The exact level was then ascertained by levelling up to the bench mark (338.9) of the Ordnance Survey on the stone No. 16, so that any future time the depth at which any of the objects were found could be accurately referred to, no matter whatever changes occur in the ground level. It was found to be 1 foot 5 inches below the bench mark hence 337.4²² above the sea level." (Gowland 1902a: 40).

At Stonehenge, Gowland used a wooden frame divided into 12x12 inch squares, marked by letters and a measuring pole divided by 6-inch spaces, which he termed the "registering frame" and "vertical rod". Gowland's plan of the two objects is shown in Figure 48, and the frame itself is shown being used in the photograph in Figure 42 and 44. The frame was fixed in place by metal pegs that were pushed into the ground through holes in each of the frames' four corners. When in use, the frame was fitted over the area to be excavated at the level of the datum line. The excavator would then remove the soil through the frame, one-foot square at a time, at a level of between 3 and 6, inches before it was removed in buckets for sieving (Gowland 1902a: 41-43). Once an object was found, the spaces within the frame were divided with the use of cord and iron pins, stretching the cord over the frame, lengthwise and widthwise. This created a 12-inch square, locating the object horizontally.

²² 1ft 5in below the Ordnance Survey datum using the bench mark of stone 16 at 338.9ft, or 102.9m above sea level (Walker 1995: 10).

Then the depth of the object was measured with the rod from the datum line. The find was then located on Gowland's plan of the trenches (Figure 43). From his plan, we can see that each four 6-inch squares of the graph paper represent one of the grid's 12-inch squares. The objects having been drawn into the nearest corner of the 12 inch-square, most likely by eye, giving an accuracy of approximately 6 inches in a 2D plain, which takes on a three dimensional dimension when used in combination with his sections (Figure 49).

As a basic concept, this is a similar grid system that Gowland had incorporated into his excavation of Shibayama kofun at the end of 1887. This consisted of one 8ft long bamboo pole, laid across the floor, and three shorter 2ft poles tied to it lengthwise at one end, creating four divisions of approximately 2.5ft x 2.5ft, yet not of a regular size, across the tomb floor (See Chapter 6). The whole frame was then moved back to measured points as

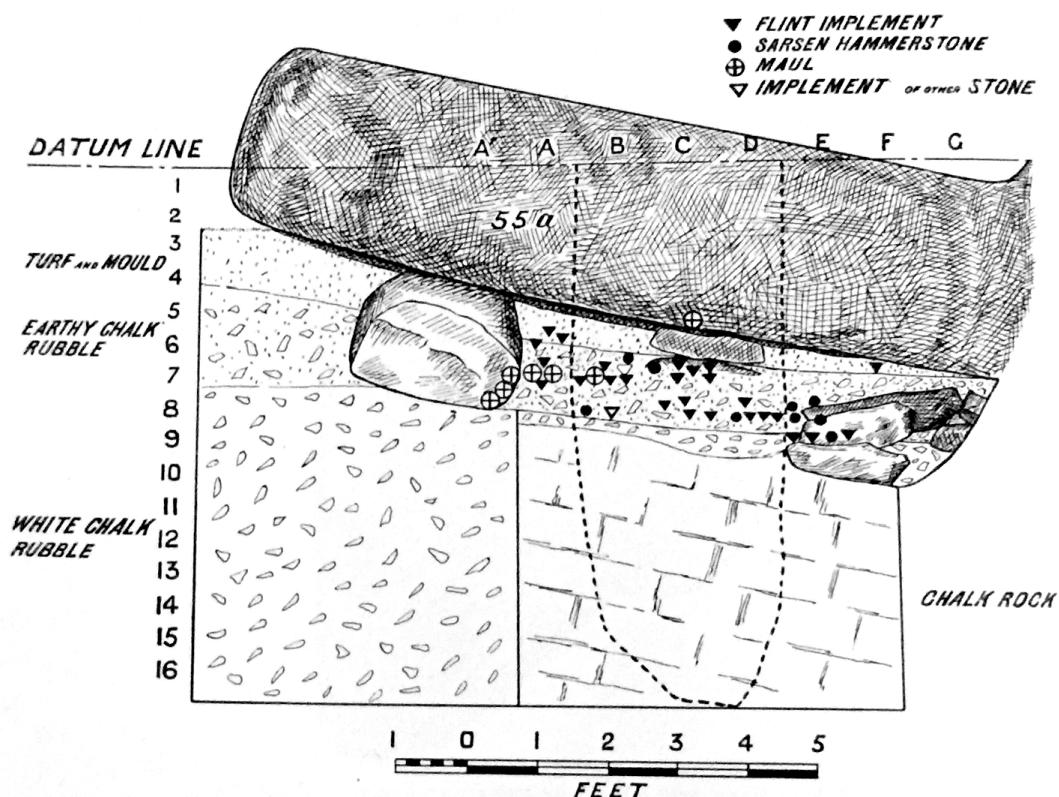


Figure 49. One of Gowland's published trench sections of 'excavation Q', recording stratigraphy and the three dimensional location of objects. Importantly, although the layer is recorded it is not given any kind of context number, the 'layer' number which Gowland uses refers to the depth of the object at intervals of 6 inches (see left side of image). It is also important to note that the published plan and sections are not as accurate as the originals which were drawn on a grid. (Gowland 1902a: 52).

the floor was uncovered (BOX 4-17-40 Appendix 3), ultimately separating the floor of the tomb into twenty rectangles where the objects were recorded approximately in a horizontal plain. At Shibayama, the vertical was not recorded, as all objects were placed on the floor of the tomb and buried by soil falling in from gaps in the ceiling of the stone chamber (BOX 4-17-1 Appendix 3). As the vertical location was fixed to the relative level of the paved floor of the tomb, all objects in the tomb had the same level of deposition and therefore recording the level of each object individually would be unnecessary. Furthermore, Gowland did not have access to any form of ordinance survey for Japan at the time and thus could not know the true height of the tomb, even if he had attempted to.

The numbering system used at Shibayama consisted of “Div” (division) numbers referring to the rectangles that the object had originated from Div.1 to Div.20. The system used at Stonehenge was considerably more accurate as it gave a more detailed explanation of the objects’ original position, with trench number, layer and the division of the grid in which it was found, as indicated by letters. It is important to note, however, the layer number only refers to the depth of the object from the datum line, measured in lots of 6 inches. For example:

“...an object in Excavation III., Division CM and Layer 5 would be registered III. 5 CM, which signifies it was found in excavation III.” (Gowland 1902a: 41).

Wherein “III” refers to the trench number, “CM” refers to the grid coordinates in that trench and “layer 5” refers to $(5 \times 6 =) 30$ inches below the datum line (see Figure 49).

Though the two excavations hold many similarities, there are significant differences due to the very different natures of the sites. The excavation at Stonehenge was considerably more detailed, indicating, as one would expect, Gowland’s ideas and techniques having evolved in the years after his return from Japan, through his work with the Society of Antiquaries of London, discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. The practical theory he incorporated into both

The excavations of William Gowland: Shibayama to Stonehenge
excavations shows that he had already been developing these ideas while in Japan. Therefore, although the letter from Petrie to *The Times* had been an important influence on the Stonehenge excavation, it was not the primary catalyst for Gowland's excavation techniques.

Gowland's Stonehenge report also included several sections of the trench edges, displaying the stratigraphy of the site, something that again did not occur at Shibayama. Gowland had not described stratigraphy at all in his archive from Japan. Recording stratigraphy in this way was likely something Gowland had picked up after returning to England and becoming better acquainted with other excavations and gathering awareness of their importance. Gowland's use of stratigraphy was not perfect, with Walker pointing out that it is difficult to relate the stratigraphic units within separate drawn sections of the different trenches (Walker 1995: 10). However, this is true for most excavations at this time, discussed below. Where Gowland's use differs is that he attempted to record the locations of objects with an accurate depth and displayed their relationship to the stratigraphic layers. As stated above, Gowland's methods were praised at the time, and when the excavation is discussed, it is still highly regarded today showing a level of care and detail and accuracy that many excavations for years afterwards would fail to replicate. However, for several reasons discussed below it appears not to have gained much attention at the time.

Throughout Gowland's notes on Shibayama kofun and his report on Stonehenge, there is a clear concern for systematically recording the sites, and in the case of Stonehenge this had developed to the degree that he showed concern for future archaeologists being able to reconstruct the excavated areas from the report:

"I explored the chamber [of Shibayama] superficially only on 10th July 1887 - as I did not wish to disturb the contents more [(They had already been disturbed)]. hoping at some

The excavations of William Gowland: Shibayama to Stonehenge future time to be able to examine +[&] securing them systematically..." (BOX 4-26-3 Appendix 3).

"It will thus be seen that the whole of the objects unearthed [from Stonehenge] could, if necessary, be put back into the exact positions in which they were found." (Gowland 1902a: 41).

Archaeological method has advanced considerably since Gowland's time. But, the reasoning of Gowland's excavations is very much in keeping with modern archaeological practice in England and many other parts of the world, over one hundred years later.

Influences on Gowland's excavation techniques

We have identified how Gowland's technique had changed between his time in Japan and his return to England. Now we will redirect our attention to what influences Gowland had received in order to make these very advanced records of Stonehenge.

In order to do this, we will have to touch upon the history of British field archaeology at the end of the 19th century. Along with Pitt-Rivers and Petrie, several other notable antiquarians²³ began to make measured excavations at this time. William Greenwell, John Robert Mortimer (1825-1911) William Copland Borlase (1848-1899) and John Thurnam (1810-1873) had all published works giving detailed descriptions of barrows throughout Britain and other sites.

²³ John Robert Mortimer (1825-1911) is also a well known antiquarian, active between 1863 and 1910. His field practice was ahead of his time, including having soil samples analysed and plaster casts made of post holes. He also attempted to record stratigraphy, but later analysis showed that this was often incorrect (Harrison 2009). Although he had a long career, he only began to publish at the end of the 19th century (Mortimer 1897: 286-301), which does not include anything similar to Gowland's fieldwork. Furthermore, his most celebrated work *Forty Years Research in British and Saxon Burial mounds of East Yorkshire* (1905) was only published after the excavation of Stonehenge. So is very unlikely to have had any influence on Gowland's excavations in 1887 or 1901.

It may be natural to presume that these ‘barrow diggers’, as they are sometimes referred to, had some influence on Gowland, as his work on kofun took a similar format to many of these earlier works on burial mounds. This kind of publications would often include the record of many sites over a particular geographical area which resulted in a general discussion of the similarities observed. A direct comparison can be drawn between many of these works and Gowland’s 1897 paper. And there may have been some indirect influence on Gowland, as he appears to have been attempting to produce a similar publication due to the presence of such works in the British academic landscape at the time. However, Gowland’s initial investigations appear to have been far more directly influenced by the work of Ernest Satow and Sylvester Morse²⁴, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Although not known for his field technique, Borlase is of particular interest for our purposes, as he had visited Japan before Gowland in the spring of 1875 and may have met Ernest Satow (Borlase 1876: 5). Gowland was likely aware of his work, as Edward Sylvester Morse had referenced Borlase’s 1876 paper when discussing *magatama* (Morse 1879: 265)²⁵. Before this Borlase had published several small papers and a large volume on Cornish barrows, the latter entitled *Naenia Cornubiae* (1872) and a second volume, much later, on Irish long barrows entitled *The Dolmens of Ireland* (1897). He also published on Japan²⁶ which includes a description of himself purchasing a bronze mirror (Borlase 1878: 241; 327-238). He had been told by the Japanese salesman mirrors were found in “ancient graves” referring to kofun. He also makes a very brief mention of kofun described to him by

²⁴ Gowland references Morse’s paper in BOX 4-4-29 (Appendix 1) when making his first investigations into kofun in Omi in 1883, and again in his 1987 paper on kofun (Gowland 1897: 442).

²⁵ In turn, Borlase references Morse’s 1880 paper on kofun in his 1897 book on Irish long barrows, going so far as to use two of the figures from the paper, but only to relay to the reader that there are “dolmen” in Japan (Borlase 1897: 446). He makes no mention of Gowland. Gowland certainly would have known Borlase after he returned to England as they were both members of the Society of Antiquaries in the 1890s and Borlase’s book on Irish long barrows was mentioned in a letter between Gowland and Basil Chamberlain when looking for a definition of the word ‘dolmen’. This document although important has not yet been ascribed to a location in the archive and therefore cannot be yet given a BOX number.

²⁶ *Nippon [Japan] and its Antiquities* (1876) and *Sunways: a Record of Rambles in Many Lands* (1878: 227-334), the former is a discussion of other publications on Japan and the latter includes a description of his travels in Japan.

one of his Japanese travelling companions (Borlase 1878: 309), but he did not visit any sites. It would appear he was not aware of the significance of kofun and did not even refer to them as barrows or dolmens until much later after Morse and Satow had.

As for his field techniques, although he is believed to have excavated many sites in Cornwall, he gives no direct discussion of his methodology or technique. Of the two hundred barrows he claimed to have excavated, he recorded only twenty-two (Marsden 1974:118). He does give many detailed plans and sections of standing structures (Borlase 1885), which as discussed in Chapter 2, was a feature of British archaeology in the late 19th century. However, when it comes to his methodology, he only gives a brief, if any, description of his trenches. He gives detailed illustrations of the objects but does not attempt to locate them in context. This is very much a feature of archaeology throughout the 19th century but lacks the advancements that other such as Greenwell, Pitt-Rivers and Petrie had made. Borlase makes his intentions clear in the introduction of his 1872 book, he intended to record for prosperity not to interpret or even date the sites by the Three-Age System (Borlase 1872: 3). Thus his work was becoming outdated by the end of the 19th century (Marsden 1974: 121). Another candidate is William Greenwell, who had excavated almost three hundred barrows in Yorkshire, and according to Pitt-Rivers was the first person to give him a lesson in excavation in the late 1860s²⁷ (Bowden 1991: 66). The two men had also dug together at Cissbury (Bowden 1991: 71). Gowland makes multiple references to his work on flint mines at Cissbury and Grimes Graves and even directly references *British Barrows* (1877) (Gowland 1897: 88). Although Greenwell's publication has many carefully taken measurements of barrows, it gives only sparing details on the actual excavation, relying more on descriptions of the site and discussion of the objects. It does not include any plans or sections, as although Greenwell did make measured plans of barrows, they went unpublished (Marsden 1974). These can include the arrangement of the burial and some associated grave goods, but because they were unpublished it is difficult to say how aware

²⁷ Although Pitt-Rivers is believed to have performed some excavations before this.

Gowland would have been of them, and even these show little resemblance to Gowland's work and do not rely on grids.

John Thurnam's work on West Kennet Barrow, near Stonehenge in Wiltshire, includes a map, two plans, some drawings of the stone chambers and some object drawings, but gives only a very brief description of his excavation (1861: 412). The discussion is in fact not dissimilar to how Gowland attempts to explain Shibayama kofun in Appendix 3, but Thurnam does not at all attempt to record the original location of the objects he collected and gives very little description of anything other than the placement of the human remains (Thurnam 1861: 405-421). One of his plans of a barrow at Collingborn, Wiltshire, displays his trenches and shows the location of 21 cremation satellite burials (Thurnam 1872: 329), but this is not very detailed and cannot be said to be accurate.

Gowland's original interest in kofun was perhaps influenced by the preexisting interest in burial mounds in Britain and the recording of them. And it is clear that these kinds of publications, especially those on burial mounds, influenced the format that he used in his 1897 paper, in particular, the way he attempted to discuss and classify kofun and their associated objects in a similar way. However, before the very end of the 19th century, it was not common to discuss the actual excavation methodology in depth or publish plans that detailed the excavation trenches, instead focusing on the results and interpretation. It should be noted that although Gowland discussed his grid plan of Shibayama kofun in 1897, he did not publish any images of it, and even the published version of the plan of his excavation at Stonehenge was not as accurate as the original (Figure 42). It would not be until the later work of Petrie began to popularise more detailed explanations of excavation technique that this begins to change. Gowland was actually in quite an unusual situation, as he was put in the position where he needed to prove he had produced a careful excavation to appease Petrie's original letter to *The Times*. It may well be that, such as in the case of Greenwell and Gowland, there are more detailed records that simply went unpublished, but because

Greenwell's plans were unpublished it is very difficult to say if this could have had any influence on Gowland.

The latter half of the 19th century and the early 20th century was a turning point for archaeological practice, and it is very likely that this changing field influenced Gowland's excavations. The two largest figures in British archaeology in the last decades of the 19th century were Pitt-Rivers and Petrie. Both men at times been awarded the mantle of the "father of archaeology", and they both propounded for the careful recording of context and the collection of objects for their interpretative value rather than their aesthetic or monetary value.

As discussed above, Petrie had a strong influence on Gowland's excavation of Stonehenge. His handbook on archaeological method in 1904 attempts to argue that careful records should be made of sites as they are excavated. But as Sidney Smith was quick to point out, in his 1945 obituary of Petrie, others such as Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894) and Pitt-Rivers had also been making strides towards this way of thinking (Smith 1945: 4).

While Gowland was in Japan, Pitt-Rivers became the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments in January 1883, after Sir John Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Act of 1882 was passed. Pitt-Rivers had been actively excavating multiple sites whilst in the army during the 1860s, although many of his early excavations did not bear the marks of the same careful recording which his later excavations would show. One example is the excavation of a site in Oxfordshire between April and September 1968, about which Mark Bowden states:

"Fox [Pitt-Rivers] made no attempt to locate any of the finds or excavation trenches accurately in this report and he published no maps for plans... This is in striking contrast to much of his later work and shows how little he appreciated the need for precision in recording at this time." (Bowden 1991: 72).

Between 1868 and 1874, Rivers had a change of opinion on the matter and would give lectures in London stressing the need to study all materials of human culture (Daniels and Renfrew 1988: 65). Contrary to one of the mainsprings of interest in the 17th and 18th centuries, when the cultivation of taste had been an important aspect of collecting, Joan Evans credited Pitt-Rivers as having given the death blow to 'taste' in archaeology (Evans 1956). This occurred at a similar time as several German archaeologists were developing much more precise and detailed excavation techniques in Turkey and Greece. Although Schliemann has been criticised for his excavation technique (Wheeler 1954: 13-14), he did produce important work and made a pioneering stratigraphic excavation of a tell site in Turkey²⁸ (Trigger 1989: 291). Other examples included Alexander Conze's (1831-1915) excavations at Samothrace in 1873 (Marchand 1996: 97) and 1875 and Ernst Curtius' (1814-1896) excavations at Olympia in 1875 (Marchand 1996: 77-84). All these examples are representative of this general trend towards systematic recording but still primarily attempted to accurately record structures and objects by layers. They did not use a grid or attempt to record of objects in location or indeed in a three dimensional plain as Gowland's plan at Stonehenge did.

Pitt-Rivers developed a more careful methodology later in his life during his excavations of Cranborne Chase. Although the excavations began in 1880, the report of the site was only published in 1887 (Pitt-Rivers 1887), yet it did not receive a wide release and was only privately printed. Therefore, it is quite unlikely Gowland would have been able to obtain a copy in Japan, in the same year he excavated Shibayama kofun. Although there had been some interim reports before the complete report was produced, these did little to explain Pitt-Rivers' methodology, which itself had very little in common with that which Gowland employed in 1887.

²⁸ Mortimer Wheeler, in particular, had a tendency to overlook or be very critical of German archaeology, potentially having gained a negative bias against the country due to having fought in World War 1. Other British archaeologists including O.G.S Crawford were more willing to give Schliemann credit for his work (Crawford 1953: 29). Furthermore, Gavin Lucas has pointed out that his methods were not much different from that of Pitt-Rivers (Lucas 2001: 31-36).

There is an impressive collection of object drawings and measurements in the report for Cranborne Chase. However, there was little attention to the original, in situ, location of each object other than their vertical position, to establish their sequence in relation to each other typologically, rather than in direct relation to the stratigraphy of the site (Lucas 2001: 24). For the time, Pitt River's volume does display very new ideas on how excavation should be approached. He was perhaps the first to state that the excavator should record everything collected rather than simply that which reflects their own interests, as they may be of use to future archaeologists who may have interests in other aspects of the site (Pitt-Rivers 1887: xvii).

Although the excavation method is different, it is possible that the ideas which Pitt-Rivers produced had reached Gowland through publications and his network of British expatriates in Japan. Gowland's excavation in 1887 also shows a considerable desire to record the site for future prosperity, just as Pitt-Rivers' methodology does.

Petrie, a younger contemporary of Gowland and Pitt-Rivers, began excavating in Egypt in 1881, producing three publications before the excavation of Shibayama in 1887. His survey of Stonehenge (1880) and the Pyramids of Giza from 1881-1882 were intended to improve existing plans of the sites, and although the former did not involve any excavation, his book published in 1882 did. However, his methodology mainly consisted of advice on hiring Arab workmen (Petrie 1883: 7). Petrie's work in his early career was mainly comprised of very careful and accurate plans, similar to Gowland's earlier work in Japan but on a large scale. Petrie began to use artefacts that were uncovered to date sites and structures. However, one of Petrie's biggest criticisms was his lack of recording when it came to the stratigraphy of the site (Lucas 2001: 27). Although both Petrie and Pitt-Rivers were aware of stratigraphy, neither of them used it to reconstruct how the site worked. Petrie did make a careful plan recording the layers of Tell el-hesy in Israel in 1890 (Trigger 1989: 292). However, In his later

handbook on archaeological excavation (Petrie 1904) he pays little attention to stratigraphic relationships. This is not at all dissimilar to the problems mentioned above to Gowland's use of stratigraphy at Stonehenge, but as he recorded the location of the objects, it allows us to reconstruct a better understanding of it, while the same cannot be said for the work of many of his contemporaries.

In Petrie's 1904 book, he would propose the extensive use of plans, in the case of tombs proposing the use of very similar methodologies to that which Gowland had formed in Japan (Petrie 1904: 52). He does then go on to describe the use of a grid system on the following page but on a much larger scale, suggesting its use over a large area such as a town (Petrie 1904: 53), rather than a single trench or tomb floor. Lucas, quoting O.S. Crawford, gives credit for this to Pitt-Rivers. He is said to have introduced the importance of plans to archaeology with his Cranborne Chase excavation (Crawford 1921: 208; Lucas 2001: 26); though, as stated above, Petrie had been making measured plans from significantly earlier than this. However, what neither Petrie nor Pitt-Rivers did was attempt to record objects in their exact locations within the trench.

As Gowland likely continued to have some access to English academic publications through his network at the Asiatic Society, as seen from his archive. It is not impossible that he could have been influenced indirectly by the methodology of Greenwell, Thurnam, Pitt-Rivers and Petrie. At this time, field practice was developed in a changing landscape of British archaeology thus affected how his methodology changed when he came to excavate Stonehenge. But this does not offer a full explanation of where Gowland's methodology came from before 1887; so we will have to look more carefully into the development of Gowland's grid system for an answer.

Technique

The most unique part of Gowland's excavation techniques is his use of a grid system at both Shibayama and Stonehenge, and the recording of objects three dimensionally at Stonehenge.

Very occasionally plans of burials, showing the skeletal remains and associated burial goods had been created much earlier but were not carefully measured, an early example being Rev. James Douglas' (1753-1819) work at Chatham Lines in 1779 (Douglas 1793). Many later antiquarians and archaeologists had made measured plans, including those of Greenwell, Pitt-Rivers and Petrie, discussed above. But in Gowland's case, he had likely not been exposed to this before having left for Japan. In fact, the recording in the horizontal plane at Shibayama may have been influenced by previous studies of tombs in Japan, that Gowland was emulating. Both Edward Morse and Ernest Satow published papers on Kofun in 1880. As discussed in Chapter 2 Gowland was emulating these papers and modern western archaeology when making his plans of kofun. However, the manner in which he recorded the locations of objects inside the tombs was not common among 19th century western archaeologists. Satow's report on the tomb of Mae-Futagoyama (Satow 1880) was particularly influential to Gowland's early work (Tomiyama 2014: 31) (See Chapter 2). The plan of the site shows the objects in their approximate locations within the tomb and can be seen to have been placed with intentionality when it was closed. However, Satow had not created the plan; it was drawn by a local man, Inoue Mayumi (Maehara 2009: 13). In the original, Inoue had drawn the objects, very approximately, in their original locations and numbered them making reference to more detailed drawings which surrounded the plan (Figure 50).

Satow had had the plan copied for his publication (Figure 51), and Gowland's archive also contains a copy of the plan (Figure 52), which both show some distinct differences from the

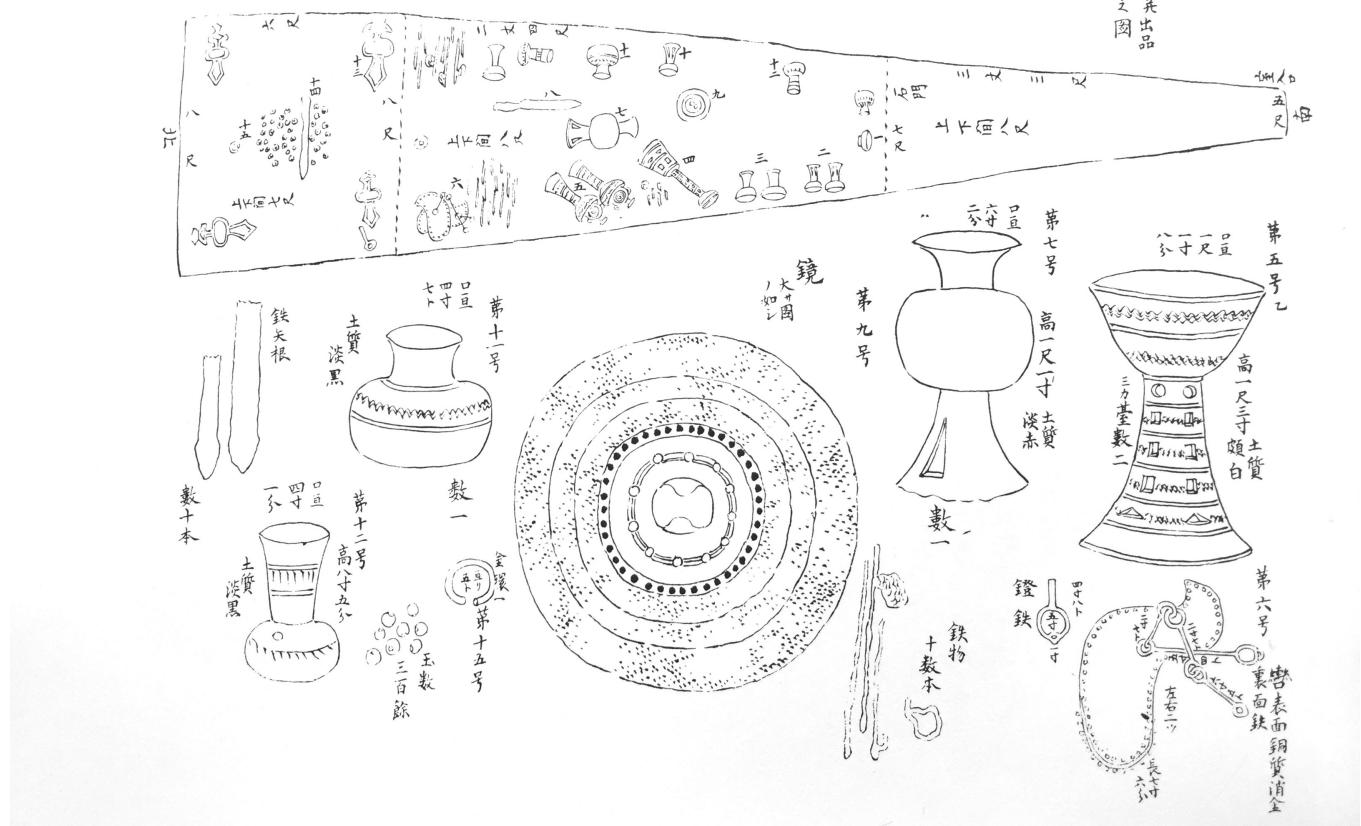


Figure 50. Inoue Mayumi's plan of Mae-Futagoyama kofun. (Tadashi 1979: 193)

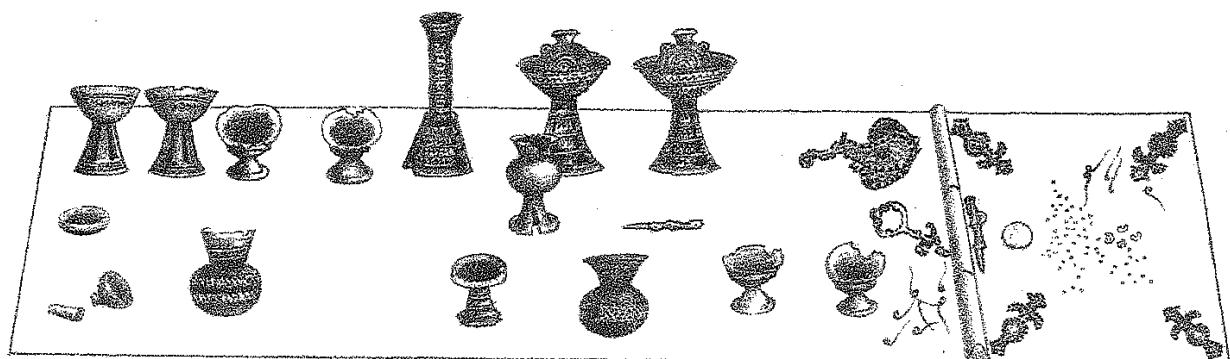


Figure 51. A version of Inoue's plan of Mae-Futagoyama kofun according to Ernest Satow (Satow 1880: 314).



Figure 52. A version of Mae-Futagoyama kofun's plan from the Gowland Collection, incorporating elements from the plans in Figures 50 and 51. (Currently held in the British Museum BOX number unknown).

original and to each other. Comparing these three plans the shape of the tomb has changed completely, perhaps to fit the measurements Satow was given and is shown from the same isometric perspective. The orientation had been flipped from Inoue's original plan, and many of the objects have moved or even changed form, such as the mirror, placed in the middle of the tomb on the original, which is then moved to be near the back of the tomb in the Satow's copy. A single gold earring behind the mirror was transformed into four *magatama*, and a vessel shown against the eastern wall changes form in Satow's copy and in Gowland's the earring changed back, but the mirror has moved yet again slightly further back.

There are some obvious differences in the size and shape of some objects, but there are also objects added to this plan from the original which do not appear in Satow's plan, indicating that they had been corrected in Gowland's copy, such as the *magatama* transforming back into a gold earring. However, there are further misrepresentations, such as the horse bit with cheek plates in the northwestern wall becoming almost unrecognisable in the later two copies. And the beads, having been made only represented as green splotches by the time they appear in Gowland's version. All of this perhaps displaying the problems with unmeasured records, and potentially why Gowland did not use the site as an example in his publications.

Inoue is said to have developed the idea of depicting the site in this way from studying biology, specifically the Dutch biological text books which had entered Japan in the 18th century and showed the human anatomy planned out in such a way (Maehara 2009: 13). But the reason he attempted to record the site at all was directly influenced by the statements given by Machida Hisanari in 1871, discussed in Chapter 2 (Pai 2013: 60). This shows a clear chain of influence from Machida to early Japanese archaeologists to early western archaeologists and finally both Japanese and western work resulting in Gowland's plans.

Tsuboi Shōgorō is likely to have also been influential to the manner in which Gowland had recorded Shibayama kofun. Tsuboi had published a paper in *The Bulletin of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo* in May 1887, shortly before Gowland visited Shibayama in July of the same year, a copy of this paper is held in the Gowland archive (BOX 4-53 not transcribed). The report consisted of a description of the objects found with an elevation plan and a floor plan of the tomb showing the approximate locations of the objects recovered. This bears a striking similarity to the plans which Gowland produced, see Figures 53 and 54. It is not yet clear how aware of Tsuboi's paper Gowland was before the excavation of Shibayama kofun, but it seems likely he would have been following the publications of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo. The plans Gowland made were also likely made sometime after the excavation as the descriptions of the objects are more accurate than in the list of objects (BOX 4-17-13) likely made during the excavation. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 Gowland held Tsuboi in high regard and may have met him during Tsuboi's stay in London. A more detailed report of Ashikaga kofun was published in 1888, which is also held in Gowland's archive (BOX 4-55 not transcribed).

Furthermore, similar unmeasured plans can be seen from letters sent to Gowland from Heinrich Neumann (1854-1927) in 1885, a German geologist who had sent Gowland descriptions of tombs investigated by others, such as Otsuka Gioken (BOX 4-34-1 not transcribed). Neumann is not known to have published on kofun and perhaps contacted Gowland as an expert in the study. However, these again are representing records made by the Japanese to record the tombs.

The early Japanese plans of kofun influenced the way in which Gowland and other Europeans in Japan depicted kofun, inspiring Gowland to attempt to locate the placement of the objects in this manner, but this does not explain why he tried to record their exact location or why he used a grid system. However, there are also a number of similarities in Gowland's attempt to record in situ, in both Shibayama and Stonehenge, that echo the work

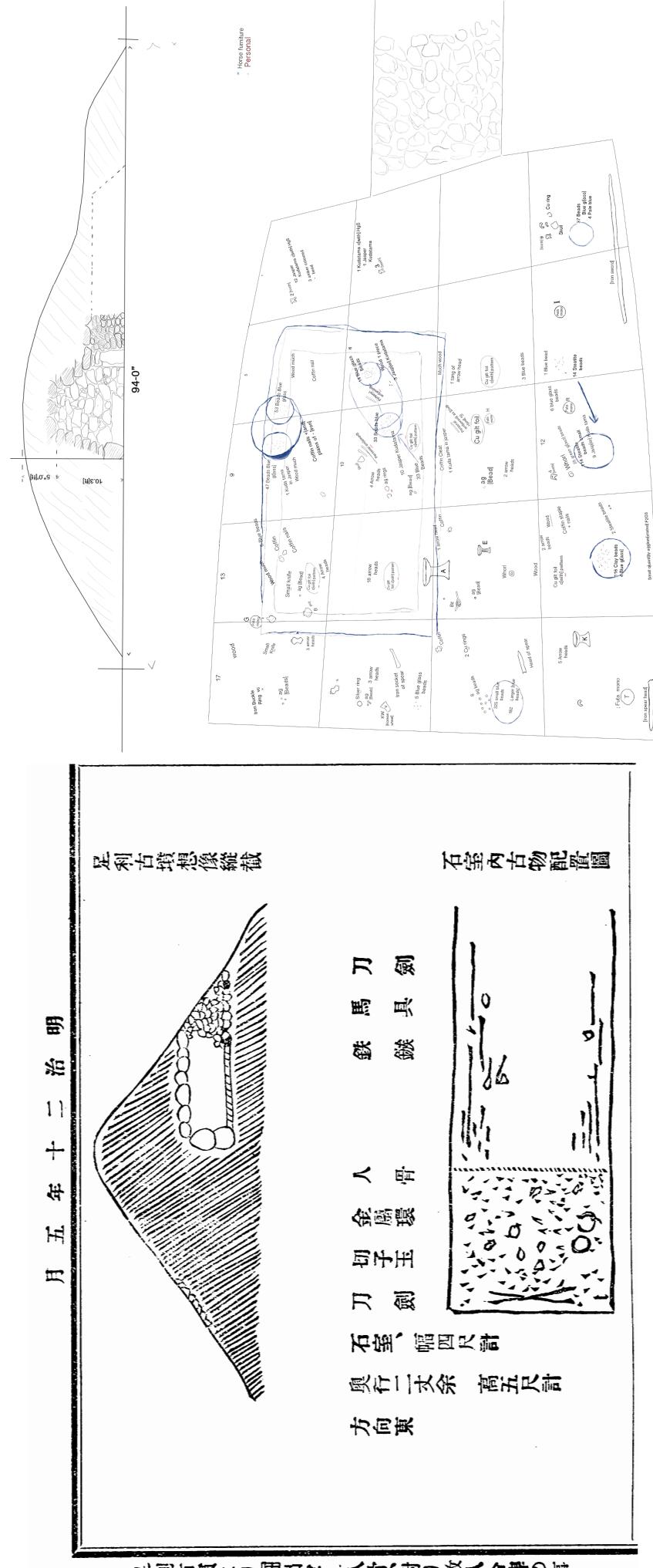


Figure 53. Tsuboi Shōgorō's plans from the excavation of Ashikaga Kōfun, first published May 1887 (Tsuboi 1887: 153).

Figure 54. Sections of Gowland's plan of Shibayama kofun made post 30th December 1887 (BOX 4-1-1 and BOX 4-2-1, see Appendix 3 for larger and more complete versions).

Although somewhat obscure, the work of Abbé Jean-Jacques Pouech in 1847 is considered to be the first attempt at excavating with a grid system (Bahn 1996: xii). Pouech, when working in the cave of L’Herm, Ariège, in southwestern France, excavated a bear skeleton by dividing the trench into square metres and allocating each square a number (Bahn 1992: xii, McFarlane and Lundberg 2005: 39). He was a French Roman Catholic priest who practised geology and had an interest in palaeontology (Buffetaut, Cuny and Le Loeuff 1991: 36); yet he is perhaps remembered better by palaeontologists for his very early collection and description of dinosaur eggs than he is by either geology or archaeology. It is difficult to say how aware Gowland would have been of this excavation, as although Pouech did publish, it was entirely in French²⁹. It is possible, however, that this excavation could have inspired a British geologist, William Pengelly (1812-1894), to use a similar technique almost ten years later.

William Pengelly, a member of the London Geological Society, was responsible for the excavation of Windmill Hill cave, now known as Brixham cave in Torquay, southwest England. First discovered in January 1858, it is situated very near to the more famous site of Kent’s Cavern, already well known to have produced fossils³⁰, and in fact, Pengelly had previously investigated the site in 1846 (Daniels and Renfrew 1988: 139). Hugh Falconer, the then chairman of the London Geological Society, brought Brixham Cave to the attention of the Society on May 12th, 1858 and investigation of the site was undertaken the same year, supervised and sponsored by the Royal Society and the London Geological Society. On July 29th, the first stone tool in association with extinct prehistoric animal bones were found, sealed below a 7.5inch-thick layer of stalagmitic deposits. This was significant as it

²⁹ As Gowland needed to have parts of his 1897 paper translated into French by Dikins. F. it is unlikely he was very well versed in the language.

³⁰ Kents Caverns had been previously explored in 1824-1829 by Father J. MacEnery, who had found flint tools in association with ancient animal remains; however, he had been dissuaded on publishing on the matter by Dean Buckland (Daniel and Renfrew 1963: 33; Grayson 1983: 74).

brought into question the dates from the creation of man in the Bible (see Chapter 2). Pengelly quickly notified the Royal Society of this and the results of the excavation were first made public at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science that year. Despite Pengelly and Falconer having given papers on the excavation, neither were published, and Falconer remained sceptical about the date of the flint implements (Grayson 1983:182). Indeed, he went as far as to take several of the tools to Augustus Franks at the British Museum to have them identified as truly human-made (Van Ripper 1993: 97).

Joseph Prestwich (1812-1896) brought the subject up again before a meeting of the Geological Society of London in June of the same year (Woodward 1907: 209). Although the report would not be published for a number of years, it did directly influence the excavation of sites in the Somme Valley by Sir John Evans (1823-1908)³¹ and Prestwich, in the year following the excavation of Brixham Cave, where similar evidence was found³². Hugh Falconer again contacted Prestwich on November 1st, 1858 in relation to the collection of Boucher de Perthes, a Frenchman who had published on his finds from the Somme in 1847. The collection contained flint tools found in the same context as mammoth bones, although it was met with ridicule and discredited in France. However, after the results of Brixham, Falconer decided to reevaluate it, which led Evans and Prestwich to investigate the site and Pengelly continuing to work at Brixham until summer 1959. After the French excavation, both Evans and Prestwich gave talks on their findings³³. Although the information was not new³⁴,

³¹ The father of Arthur Evans.

³² Although the connection between the two excavations is often overlooked, they were intrinsically linked. Falconer was the catalyst for both excavations and Prestwich had been involved with the Brixham Cave investigation, as the treasurer for the Committee of the Royal Society, which directed the excavation of the cave, (Pengelly also being a member of this committee) (Woodward 1907: 209).

³³ Prestwich read a paper before the Royal Society on May 26th, 1859, entitled *“On the occurrence of flint implements, associated with the remains of extinct species in beds of a late geological period, in France at Amiens and Abbeville, and in England, at Hoxne”*. And on the 2nd of June the same year Evans brought his own paper *“Flint implements in the Drift: being an account of their discovery on the continent and in England”* before the Society of Antiquaries (Woodward 1907: 211; Grayson 1983:188).

³⁴ There had been several other instances of such evidence which had been discouraged or explained away (Daniel and Renfrew 1963: 32-34).

it was for the first time fully understood and proven using scientific methods (Woodward 1907: 211), later going on to influence many subsequent works on the antiquity of man³⁵.

From the material of these two sites, and perhaps, in particular, the very careful excavation of Brixham, it was for the first time clear that the occurrence of human-made objects in sealed contexts was undeniable evidence that man had co-existed with now extinct animals since long before 4004BC³⁶. This created the foundation for other scholars to look for similar examples, revitalising modern thinking and helping to sway the beliefs of many academics away from the creation myth of the Bible (Daniel and Renfrew 1963: 35; Trigger 1989: 146; Gruber 2008 (1965)), see Chapter 2.

For our purposes, however, the most important aspect of these monumental historical events is the grid system which Pengelly used during his excavation. As a geologist, Pengelly was particularly interested in keeping an accurate record of the stratigraphy of the site and perhaps was already aware of how valuable systematically collected proof of man's antiquity would be. Cave systems have notoriously difficult strata, to combat this, Pengelly incorporated a rather complex cubic grid system in which layers were located vertically and horizontally, allowing for each find to be recorded three-dimensionally (Bahn 1996: 120; Grayson 1983: 182; Van Ripper 1993: 88). This was considerably more careful and time-consuming than previous methods, and on August 20th, Edward Vivian complained about how slowly the excavation was progressing. Pengelly's methodology was quickly defended by Falconer (Van Ripper 1993: 88). However, Pengelly clearly felt quite strongly about his methods, as in a personal letter to Charles Lyell (1797-1875), a leading geologist, he stated that if his methods had not been used he would have resigned his superintendence (Van Ripper 1993: 88-89).

³⁵ Prestwich and Evans receive considerably more fanfare than Pengelly for this. This is likely due to Prestwich later holding the post of Professor of Geology at Oxford University, as well as both men eventually receiving knighthoods, even if Pengelly's excavation occurred first and his method was significantly better than their own.

³⁶ The estimated date of the biblical creation in Genesis. Proposed by Archbishop Ussher (1581-1656).

The report was only first published fourteen years later (shortly after Gowland's arrival in Japan) in 1873, by the Royal Society of London (Busk, Evans, Falcone, Pengelly, Prestwich, and Ramsay 1873) wherein Pengelly describes his methodology:

"Whenever a bone or other article worthy of preservation was found, its situation (that is to say, its distance from the mouth or entrance of the gallery in which it occurred, as well as its depth below the surface of the bed in which it lay) was carefully determined by actual measurement. In order to their identification, the specimens were all numbered; those that were found in the same place received the same numeral, and were packed in one and the same box, so that at the close of exploration the number of boxes indicated the number of localities in which fossils had been found; the boxes were distinguished by numbers, each bearing that which each specimen within it bore. Finally an entry of each box was made in a journal, in which were registered the number and situation of the specimens it contained, with the date on which they were found, and occasionally a few remarks respecting them". (Busk, Evans, Pengelly, Prestwich, Falconer and Ramsay 1873: 482; McFarlane and Lundberg 2005: 40).

Comparing Pengelly's and Gowland's excavations, there are several similarities other than the grid system used, the numbering of boxes and objects based on their location in the grid, and a list of objects made with remarks on them (very similar to Gowland's unpublished notes collected in Appendix 3). In comparison to the Stonehenge excavation, there is another similarity in the use of a datum line to record the height of the objects found. Although Gowland does not directly reference this excavation at any point, the similarities are perhaps too numerous to deny any influence. The arguments pertaining to the great antiquity of man are linked to the development of evolutionary theory, cultural evolution and the Three Age system. As such, these theories were well-known in the early 20th century and before at the time in which Gowland was a young academic in London just as these two

excavations were taking place. The excavations and the resulting talks were given to many prominent members of the London societies and could have reached Gowland through his network of fellow expatriate antiquarians and geologists in Japan. However, Pengelly's plans were never published, only the descriptions of what took place there. It is likely plans did exist, but it was not common place for British journals to publish plans at the time. Unlike the early Japanese publications, such as Tsuboi's which Gowland was exposed to. Gowland's plan at Stonehenge clearly evolved from these ideas and was forced to become even more careful and precise due to the pressures and restrictions placed on the excavation by the owner, other interested scholars, and public expectation.

Therefore, the excavation methodology at Stonehenge would appear to be a combination of the best of European geology, archaeology and early Japanese archaeology taking place in the late 19th century, producing one of the most carefully recorded excavations of the early 20th century.

After Stonehenge

In November 1902, the Stonehenge Committee met once more at Burlington House, London, to review the steps undertaken the previous year. The excavation and re-erection of the megalith had been considered a success. However, there were still fears that other similar incidents could occur and it was suggested that for the proceeding winter some of the stones be propped up in wooden supports. (*The Western Daily Press*, Bristol 14/11/1902: 3). That same year, Gowland was made the Head of the Metallurgy Department at the Royal School of Mines. After this, Gowland focused on his career as a metallurgist and did not undertake any further excavation. He would continue to publish on Japan and early metallurgy throughout the world, but his dating from Stonehenge fell on deaf ears. In spite of this, he would continue to claim that ancient man was not savage, up until the end of his life (Gowland 1902a; 1906; 1912) (see Chapter 2). In Gowland's paper *Copper and its alloys in*

The excavations of William Gowland: Shibayama to Stonehenge prehistoric times (1906) Gowland discusses early metal working very generally from across Eurasia, again using his Japanese examples, and had the following to say in the opening, very generally about Neolithic man:

“...It is clearly evident from the abundance of the remains which have been unearthed that during a period to be measured only by many centuries he [Neolithic culture] had reached and maintained the highest development of that civilisation which was possible with such imperfect appliances. No further advancement could be made until some new material was made available for the manufacture of others...” (1906: 11).

When viewed out of historical context, it is not difficult to see why many modern archaeologists looking at Gowland's 1902 report would assume that it was revolutionary for its time (Chippindale 1983a: 167; Cunliffe and Renfrew 1997: 1; Kaner 2007: 276; Parker Pearson 2012: 35). In reality, Gowland's dates met a rather cold reception, and although his excavation technique was praised at the time, it appears to have had relatively little influence of British field techniques thereafter, even if it does have similarities to modern methodology. It would appear that the methods, were simply considered too slow and expensive to be practical unless there was a very specific reason for it. This form of recording would not be routinely used until the latter half of 20th century once advances in technology had allowed recording objects in situ to be more financially viable.

The reception of the dates appears to have been mainly caused by a general unwillingness to believe that pre-metalworking peoples would be capable of building such a structure, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, there may have also been a strong presumption that Gowland would find the site to be Bronze Age. The original British Association committee, consisting of three major figures in early British archaeology, Pitt-Rivers, John Evans and Lubbock all had much longer careers specialising in British archaeology, Rivers and Lubbock had both claimed the site dated to the Bronze Age. And John Evans' the son of Arthur

Evans, in particular, dated it to the end of the Bronze Age (Lubbock 1865: 53-55; Pitt River 1870: 3; Evans 1888: 322). But as already discussed, the original committee had been stopped from excavating at the site, and Pitt-Rivers had passed away shortly before the events which lead to the excavation took place. Gowland in comparison, from an outside perspective, would have seemed to have had very little experience in archaeology, as it is not likely many were aware of his work at Shibayama kofun unless they had a particular interest in Japanese prehistoric archaeology. Furthermore, Pitt-Rivers had already suggested that the stone tools used could have been employed, even if the culture that built them had advanced into the Bronze Age (Pitt River 1870: 3), perhaps giving credence to rejecting Gowland's dates. Because of this, it appears that Gowland's dates did not gain traction primarily because of negative preconceptions of the abilities of pre-metal working peoples. And Gowland may have been perceived as having a lack of credibility when his dates went against so many other major names in archaeology at the time, despite his field work being considered excellent. Gowland's field technique and methodology thereafter had little effect on archaeology as a discipline as he was not remembered for being a prolific excavator and was not mentioned in the works of Petrie, or later archaeologists writing on the history of archaeological field practice, such as Mortimer Wheeler and O.G.S. Crawford. Furthermore, Gowland's published plans were less accurate than the hand drawn originals, as it was not the convention to reproduce plans on a grid at the time. Without access to the originals it would be easy for anyone looking back at his report to assume his excavation had not been as carefully recorded as it was.

Gowland's method of excavation did go on to directly influence the work of Lt. Colonel William Hawley at the site; the two exchanged letters in the early 1920s, shortly before Gowland's death in 1922, and these are now held in the Society of Antiquaries. However, Gowland was bed bound for the last few years of his life so likely did not have much direct influence on the excavation. Unfortunately, Hawley's work is generally considered not to

have been as careful or as well-documented, having become notorious in the history of investigation at the site.

The point that Petrie had made regarding the character of the site's landscape remained true. The fence and the later presentation of the site within its much larger ancient landscape have remained a problematic issue, even until recently, the site was described by Simon Thurley, at that time the chief executive of English Heritage, as a "*national embarrassment*" (www.theguardian.com). Between 1999 and 2013, a master plan began to be undertaken, including the nearby A344 being redirected under a tunnel and the fences removed. The site remains enclosed to an extent but is aesthetically being returned to its landscape at the estimated cost of £27 million, a full century after Petrie's original concern was put forward³⁷.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explored the historical background of William Gowland's excavations through the case study of his best known example. As Stonehenge was widely believed to be his only excavation and he was not a specialist in archaeology, being primarily self-taught, his excavation at Stonehenge has often been overlooked, appearing to be an anomaly in the history of archaeology. However, I have shown that the Stonehenge excavation was influenced not only by previous important developments across other disciplines, likely through the work of Pengelly, and other archaeologists at the end of the 19th century, but was also clearly a direct outcome of Gowland's work in Japan.

Gowland's initial methodology had originated from a combination of early western publications on Japanese archaeology, which themselves were often based on earlier Japanese scholarship and contemporary Japanese recording. In particular, the western

³⁷ If not entirely without its own problems. (Chippindale, Gosden, James, Pitts and Scarre 2014).

conventions of elevations plans informed the manner in which Gowland depicted many of the kofun he measured (see Chapter 2). However, when he was able to conduct his excavation at Shibayama, he incorporated elements of Japanese archaeological reports, such as Tsuboi's excavation of the Ashikaga kofun cluster and the work of British geologists in William Pengelly's excavation of Brixham cave. After Gowland had returned to England, he was influenced by the changing field of archaeology but found the recording methods to be unsatisfactory when trying to reconstruct production methods. This lead to several complains about British excavation including the Society of Antiquaries' excavation of Roman Silchester. It was his relationship with Charles Read, who was well aware of Gowland's excavation in Japan and his work in England that was responsible for his involvement in the excavation at Stonehenge. However, it is clear that Gowland's work at Stonehenge also received considerable influence from Flinders Petrie, who was responsible for raising the public concern over the site's access and to a certain extent its preservation. This acted as an external pressure, which shaped the eventual 1901 excavation at Stonehenge. The resulting excavation produced by multiple points of influence was different from anything previously occurring in British archaeological field practice.

Although his methodology was highly regarded at the time, it was his interpretation that was widely dismissed, for no more reason than the lingering prejudice against the abilities of prehistoric peoples, discussed at length in Chapter 2. His interpretation had been based purely on the material evidence present, allowing him to date the site to the end of the Neolithic correctly. It took such a long time for the archaeological community to come to the same conclusion, almost a century later, that it had forgotten that Gowland had ever made these statements. It was likely because he had an unusual introduction to archaeological methodology with a background in other sciences, and his experiences in Japan that he was able to approach the excavation of Stonehenge in such an analytical manner (See Chapter 2). However, as he was an outsider to the main stage of British archaeology when compared

to many other important names at the time, this appears to have been another reason as to why his interpretation failed to gain attention.

The revelation that it would take almost a century for Gowland's dates to be proven accurate should be a warning to all archaeologists of the inevitable cultural bias present in archaeological interpretation. Gowland was able to produce an excellent excavation and very accurate dates by taking on board multiple outside perspectives and remaining critical of previously existing interpretation, regardless of who made the claims. In doing so, he was able to avoid the problems which would persist in Stonehenge's interpretation afterwards of theory causing interpretation to drift too far from the material evidence. This is not to suggest that later archaeologists studying Stonehenge did bad work. No modern archaeologist would have knowingly referenced John Lubbock's work to date Stonehenge. The idea that the trilithons could not have been built by Neolithic Britons was simply a malignant fact that continued to be believed far longer than it should have been. This also shows the importance in the history of archaeology, as an understanding of where the information we take as fact comes from can have ramifications on modern theory and interpretation. Gowland could be seen as one of the most forward-thinking archaeologists of his time – displaying post-colonial thinking with a style of archaeological practice not far off from modern-day techniques – and should, as a result, be better represented in the history of British archaeology.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Overview

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to investigate what Gowland's motivations in creating his collection were and the influence he had and received in both the west and Japan. In doing so, I have also explored his work in a broader historical framework of what the understanding of Japanese archaeology and archaeological practices was, and how it was advancing in Japan at the time of his stay. This was achieved through a broad study of Gowland and his contemporaries and his collection which a modern perspective with the help of the current Gowland survey team. As a result, I have exploited the record that Gowland left behind to begin the reconstruction of a more complete record of his excavation of Shibayama kofun, and show how the methodology he developed was instrumental for his early scientific excavation of Stonehenge.

Chapter 2 explored the understanding of Japanese archaeology established by foreign specialists who entered Japan during the Meiji period, with the wave of advancements in 19th century Western scholarship, in combination with previously existing Japanese historical and antiquarian research, resulting in attempts to understand the origin of the Japanese and Stone Age inhabitants of the islands. We discussed the early attempt to protect archaeological sites in the 1870s in Japan, often believed to be a one-sided adoption by the Japanese, but in fact, showed influence from both Japanese and Western scholarship. In turn, this environment of early archaeology created and influenced Gowland's interest in Kofun period archaeology during the early 1880s and how he recorded his excavation of Shibayama kofun. Tsuboi may not have known who Gowland was during his stay in Japan, but as discussed in Chapters 6 Tsuboi's work influenced the way Gowland originally approached excavation. In return, Gowland and Aston's work on Japanese archaeology influenced Tsuboi's work after he had visited England, as discussed in Chapter 3. This illustrates that rather than a one-sided system in which

Europeans brought scientific archaeology to Japan, there was a two-way system in which scholars influenced each other through their respective research and reinterpretation.

However, early advancements in monument protection and the collection of artefacts in Japan were overshadowed and characterised by the manner in which the Meiji government used archaeological materials as a political tool, discussed in Chapter 2. The arrival of Emperor Jimmu in 660BC was seen as the beginning of the emergence of Japanese culture in the islands, as well as the start of the imperial line; thus Kofun period objects were considered to be the earliest evidence of Japanese civilisation. The designation and fencing off of kofun sites attributed to the emperors described in the early 8th century histories put considerable pressure on Gowland's and early Japanese archaeologists' attempts to study and collect Kofun period materials, and would later hinder the advancement in Kofun period archaeology through the first half of the 20th century. One current theory of the history of archaeology has been suggested that all archaeological institutions in the 19th century were based on nationalistic interpretations of archaeological materials (Diaz-Andreu 2007: 10-11). From the actions of some individuals and large systems such as the Meiji government (Smith 2010: 121; Mizoguchi 2006; 2013) or 19th century western academia surrounding archaeology (Trigger 1984: 358; Diaz-Andreu 2007), this would appear to be true. However, I would suggest this theory does not accurately describe the actions of Gowland as an individual actor, or indeed the actions of many of his contemporaries. Instead, I would suggest that it is more appropriate to say that archaeologists such as Gowland and Tsuboi were individual actors on the micro scale within colonialist, nationalist or imperialist systems on the macro scale. These systems acted upon them, but they themselves did not necessarily display these qualities as individuals, and their work did not necessarily attempt to further these systems. I also suggest that Mizoguchi's model of safe and dangerous archaeology during the Meiji period would not have been identifiable had Japanese historians and

archaeologists not been making pragmatic observations which tested the boundaries of that system.

We then explored Gowland's interests and the development of his methodology, which would appear to have been formed by both 19th century geology and archaeology in Europe and the manner in which early Japanese scholars approached archaeology, such as Machida's suggestions or Inoue's plans (see Chapters 2 and 6). We also explored how his own experience and interest in metal production, as a chemist and assayer at the Osaka Mint, informed his observations on archaeology in Japan, Korea and England.

Gowland had developed an unusual perspective drawing on his experiences in Japan that allowed him to form observations of prehistoric peoples free from the bias of the late 19th century academic landscape in the west. As a result, he came to surprisingly accurate conclusions regarding the construction and date of the trilithons at Stonehenge, yet it was also for these reasons that his interpretations were largely overlooked during the proceeding century (see Chapters 2 and 6). I would suggest that this was in part caused by the pragmatic observations of Gowland and other western scholars on the development of Meiji period Japan during the 1870s and 1880s. This caused their opinions to differ from the unilinear cultural evolution of Spencer and Lubbock's theories often only believed to have begun to fall out of fashion in the west in the 1880s (Lubbock 1865; Trigger 1984: 364; 1989: 176). Ultimately, Victorian understandings of cultural evolution did not explain the rapid westernisation of Meiji Japan. Contemporary indigenous populations in other parts of the world who were seen as existing at earlier levels of cultural evolution and thus perceived as primitive by westerners. The material culture of these contemporary cultures were used as comparative ethnographic examples for prehistoric peoples. Therefore, due to continuing colonialist western preconceptions of less technologically advanced populations, Stone Age societies, both contemporary and prehistoric, continued to be seen as un-evolved, uncivilised and barbaric. I would suggest

it was Gowland's time in Japan, observing the modernisation that took place around him that allowed him to look past these preconceptions. He was able to separate the intelligence of ancient peoples from the level of technology they had access to. In the case of Stonehenge, it was these original colonialist ideas that impeded the understanding of the monuments date for most of the 20th century. However, exploring exactly what the ideas regarding cultural evolution of these other western scholars working in Japan were requires further research.

In Chapter 3 we built on the 19th century understanding of the Stone Age (Jomon period) and Iron Age/Dolmen Age (Kofun period) discussed in Chapter 2, focusing on reconstructing Gowland's chronology of the Kofun period. This included very early attempts to understand the "Bronze Age" (Yayoi period), which would not become known as a separate chronological period until the 1920s. We also explored some of the conclusions that Gowland had come to regarding the dates of the Kofun period, whether correct or not and attempted to understand where these ideas had originated, based on his works on Japanese archaeology. However, as much of Gowland's observations were informed by previous work in Japan. To fully reconstruct where these ideas had originated, a larger study of Japanese antiquarian publications will be needed. I was also able to show that although Gowland was not known to Tsuboi before 1889, and Gowland gave no public presentations of his work while in Japan. However, while in England Gowland and Aston's work may still have had some indirect influence on Japanese archaeology due to Aston trying to dissuade Tsuboi from continuing his studies of the *tsuchi gunmo* in the discussion of his 1892 paper (Tsuboi 1892; Aston 1892).

In Chapter 4 we focused on Gowland's investigation of a *sueki* production site in Osaka, Sakuraidani. As one of the earliest sites of *sueki* production to be investigated, the kilns at Sakuraidani, Osaka are important to the history of Japanese archaeology and an example of Gowland's interest in ceramic production. We explored how Kofun period ceramics and

their production were understood during the 19th century, providing descriptions of the work of ceramic production specialists in the earliest histories. We also showed how, through an ethnographic example of contemporary 19th century Korean ceramics and their production, and Pierre L. Jouy's collections of ancient Korean ceramics Gowland was able to gain an in-depth understanding of the production of Kofun period ceramics as a whole. We explored the sudden cultural change which occurred at the turn of the 5th century AD, which Gowland and others had previously misunderstood as the result of an invasion (discussed in Chapter 3). But this was actually the material remains of a massive increase in production, elite control, and centralisation, now identified as the start of the Middle Kofun period at the turn of the 5th century. In exploring the use of *sueki*, we looked at how a desire for a new material culture led to the integration of Korean itinerant workmen, in attempts to create an elite monopoly over high status craft goods and as a manner of gaining greater centralisation by giving peripheral elites access to elite material culture. Although through the work of William Aston and Gowland there had been historical and archaeological evidence for specialised production in the Kofun period, the two early scholars were not able to compile their work on the subject.

Chapter 5 in conjunction with Appendix 3 attempted to reconstruct the history of the investigation, methodology, and result of Gowland's excavation of Shibayama kofun, which occurred during late 1887. Through an analysis of Gowland's grid system and his extensive notes on his visits to the site, we were able to relocate and reconstruct a large portion of the excavation. This was a difficult undertaking, as Gowland was occasionally not the most reliable narrator of his own work, and the collection had been separated, as discussed in Chapter 1, thus the record of the site is not yet fully complete. Some objects, especially corroded metal objects and those still misplaced within the British Museum's storage, will require future research for the excavation to be fully reconstructed. Although the content of the tomb was disturbed in the past, Gowland's records give us the opportunity to try and understand the location of the objects within the tomb through

comparison with other sites in Osaka. This has so far only offered a partial understanding and will likely be more helpful once the study of the objects in the British Museum's collections is complete. Furthermore, it came to light that the site had been visited before Gowland's visits by the Sakai city *kencho* (prefectural office), leaving open the possibility that there is still a collection of objects and/or a record from the tomb in storage somewhere in Japan. If these still exist, finding these records would better complete our understanding of the tomb.

In Chapter 6, we researched Gowland's methodology by focusing on his excavation of Stonehenge, while also building on the discussion in Chapter 5 – namely the excavation of Shibayama kofun, and any other outside influences on Gowland that informed his excavation technique. The methodologies used at Shibayama and Stonehenge have many similarities to the work of the Victorian geologist William Pengelly; making a connection very likely. As such a more direct link between the discipline of early scientific geology and early archaeological practice is shown. We also explored how the precautions taken by Japanese archaeologists such as Machida Hisanari had an indirect influence on Gowland's collection and excavation technique which lead to more direct influence by others such as Tsuboi.

Shibayama was shown to have been the reason for Gowland being chosen as the excavator at Stonehenge, achieved through his work with the Society of Antiquaries of London and his friendship with Charles Read. Nonetheless, the excavation at Stonehenge, despite only being Gowland's second excavation, shows a considerably better developed methodology indicative of other influences. To better understand Gowland's methodology, we explored his records of Mae-Futagoyama kofun, Gunma prefecture, and the similarities his work had with other Japanese scholars had at the time with the work of Tsuboi at Ashikaga kofun cluster, Tochigi prefecture. We also explored the excavation of Brixham cave by William Pengelly, which although Gowland makes no direct

mention of, his methodology and grid system are so similar it is perhaps difficult to say there was no influence. Therefore, It was a combination of both western and Japanese influences that impacted on his excavation of Shibayama. His methods were likely also improved as a consequence of the controversy surrounding the restriction of public access to Stonehenge due to the construction of a fence. Gowland and the Society of Antiquaries were clearly on a different side of the agenda to Petrie. Although Petrie was generally negative towards what took place at the site he, in fact, had a positive effect on the excavation likely making it more careful than it otherwise would have been. This was achieved by publicly raising perception of how a hypothetically perfect excavation should take place and put a lot of pressure on Gowland. This ultimately produced one of the best early excavations in the history of British archaeology at the very start of the 20th century. The achievement is made all the more impressive when one takes into account the fact that most of Gowland's interpretations converge with more modern research on the site, though these were generally overlooked at the time, as they conflicted with idea surrounding Stone Age cultures (discussed in Chapter 2). And Gowland's interpretations on Stonehenge have largely remained overlooked since.

Conclusions drawn

During the excavation of Stonehenge, it is clear that Gowland's work had a profound effect on British archaeology, not only in the way in which fieldwork took place but also in the interpretation of Britain's most famous ancient monument.

Although Gowland's methodology was excellent and received relatively wide acknowledgement through the first scientific excavation of Stonehenge, he was overlooked by later histories of archaeological practice. Despite producing such important work and being such a prominent member of so many London societies in the early 1900s. This included a term as the Chairman of the Royal Anthropological Society, twice Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of London and a member of the Royal

Association, however, he is not well represented in the history of archaeology. His work on kofun had influenced the work of westerners focusing on Japanese archaeology during the course of the 1880s and much more so after he himself began to publish, and this trend can be seen in the work of Cpt. Brinkley and Munro among others in the early 20th century (discussed in Chapter 3).

As we explored in Chapter 2, interest in scholarship on Japanese archaeology exploded throughout the 1880s and 1890s as Japan actively sought the ideals of westernisation, in large part due to the arrival of foreign specialists in Japan. At this time, the country was exposed to early scientific archaeology. The work of early scholars in the Asiatic Society of Japan, such as Ernest Satow and William Aston stimulated Gowland's own original interest in Japanese archaeology between 1881 to 1888 and went on to have a profound effect on much of his academic work throughout the rest of his life. Japanese interest in archaeology continued for several years after the western specialists returned to their countries of origin during the 1890s and first decade of the 1900s. However, after this, the scholarship on the Kofun period within the English language-speaking world dried up, and there was a disconnect with Japanese scholarship. Kofun archaeological research became heavily restricted in Japan continuing to be used as a political tool by the Meiji government and afterwards in the lead up to two successive World Wars in the first half of the 20th century. It did not fully recover as an area of study until after the 1940s. As such, by the time Japanese scholarship began to reconnect with the West, much of Gowland's work was considered outdated in both Britain and Japan.

From a modern perspective, it is often easy to overlook the intelligence and ingenuity of past peoples, whether they be 19th century archaeologists, Edo period Japanese or Neolithic Britons. What makes Gowland's work at Stonehenge so impressive from a modern perspective is just how much it aligns with our current approach to archaeological practice, as much as it aligns with our current understanding of when Stonehenge's

trilithons were constructed. But perhaps equally as surprising is just how overlooked it has been. This seems to have primarily been based on an unwillingness, at the time, to attribute such famously impressive structures to prehistoric non-classical cultures, that I have suggested was an extension of a colonialist system. Gowland was able to overcome these assumptions due to his unique perspective and based on his observations while in Japan of rapid cultural change in Meiji Japan (see Chapter 2). It was also perhaps Gowland's background that worked against him, as he was self-taught and had not been well known in early academic archaeology. When Gowland came up against the previously existing scholarship of Lubbock, Pitt-Rivers, Arthur Evans, Petrie and others who had not considered the possibility of such an early date for Stonehenge, it was assumed that future evidence would disprove Gowland's dates. When Petrie was writing his 1904 book on archaeological practice, he may have internally left out any description of the 1901 Stonehenge excavation and its techniques due to his ill feeling towards the event, and he was still involved with the court case surrounding public access to the site which was not resolved until 1905 (see Chapter 6). Consequently, later scholars overlooked Gowland's work because it had not been considered conclusive at the time it was announced. And the dates given in the preceding century did not attempt to date Stonehenge to the Neolithic, ultimately due to a rather weak argument John Lubbock made in the mid 18th century (see Chapter 6). This illustrates how important the history of archaeology is to modern scholarship in the field. As prehistoric periods are theoretical models constructed by archaeologists to understand the material culture of the past, many of the facts we build these theories on were observations made much earlier which we build upon. Without continuing to be critical of these base observations and having an understanding of where they originated inaccuracies, such as those surrounding the date at Stonehenge, can persist much longer than they should.

As a metallurgist with an interest in the history of metal production, he was perhaps one of the best equipped individuals in British archaeology at the time to make statements about

the periodisation of prehistoric chronologies. For the very reason that the Three Age system was subdivided by the adoption of metal technologies. By the time Gowland excavated Stonehenge he had already published several papers on the history of metalworking and worked on the reports of metal artefacts from several sites in England (see Chapters 1 and 6). Yet still, his opinions on the level of technology required to build the trilithons at Stonehenge was overlooked.

Some archaeologists, such as Paul Bahn (1996) and Gavin Lucas (2001), when discussing the history of archaeological practice have included William Pengelly's excavation of Brixham cave but have stopped short of suggesting this had a direct influence on any early archaeological excavations. As there did not appear to be any link to the work of other notable archaeologists at the time. Through Gowland's work at Shibayama kofun and Stonehenge, a more definitive relationship can be suggested; Gowland's methodology and the descriptions of his methodology seem to draw on the methods developed and applied by Pengelly. Furthermore, Gowland's attempts at ethnographic studies of 19th century Korean kilns gave him a clearer understanding of *sueki* production that furthered *sueki* studies at a very early stage, but exactly how much, if any effect this had on Japanese archaeology, is yet to be seen.

There is a tendency for many to study the work of early scholars through secondary discussions of their work rather than their original works themselves, especially if those scholars are not as well remembered in history as Pitt Rivers and Petrie. It could be argued that this is in part due to the rarity of surviving copies of their publications and/or the difficulties in accessing them. However, now there are new websites such as archive.org, that give access to many of these early papers which are now within the public domain. Meaning these early works are now, in fact, easier to access than many academic works from the mid-20th century which are still protected under intellectual property laws. Furthermore, archaeological assemblages are becoming more accessible

through the work of the British Museum and other museums seeking to digitise their assets, which shortly may also begin to include 3D models of objects as that technology becomes more widespread.

Digitisation projects, such as the current Gowland survey at the British Museum, open up historical collections to future researchers and allow greater reinterpretation than was previously possible. That aside, digitising the entire Museum's holding is a Herculean task and will likely continue for several more years, even just to complete the Gowland Collection alone. A major emerging theme in recent years is, however for museums to better exploit electronic media. Therefore, there are plans underway to create a similar publicly accessible record of the Museum's archival holdings. This plan is still in the early stages of planning and exactly what form this will take has yet to be seen. However, the amount of information I was able to collect through studying the Gowland archive is testament to how important the accessibility of archive materials is, notwithstanding the potential information which may be held in other physical archives hidden away in museums. I hope that Appendices 1, 2 and 3 display how context, colour, corrections and sketches are important to the interpretation of hand-written notes.

Due to how difficult many of these handwritten notes are to read, simply making photographic records would be helpful, but this does not allow these records to be searchable or easily accessible. However, recording every part of a handwritten note is problematic as they often do not conform to the conventions of modern word processors, and my own transcriptions required a liberal use of Photoshop to create an approximate representation of Gowland's original notes. This method would be difficult to apply to the entire archive, especially if a form of crowdsourcing is used, but perhaps a more time efficient method could be devised in which this information can be properly recorded and represented. My own research into the collection has been greatly helped by many of these recent developments, and perhaps many of these issues will not be so problematic

in the future as many more students and researchers have easy and free access to such information.

The proper record of historical and archaeological collections within museum collections is important for archaeological assemblages to maintain their true value. Although the Gowland Collection may be a unique example, it does display how visually unappealing collections gain considerably greater value when their records allow them to be placed in their archaeological and historical contexts. The information held in physical and archival collections and the connections between them create a wealth of information greater than the sum of its parts, showing the importance of collaborations such as the current Gowland survey.

Areas for further research

I mainly focused on Gowland and the Western publications that influenced his work, although a more in-depth study of earlier Japanese scholarship that formed the interpretation of the early Western scholars in Japan would be of use. There is also still considerably more to be done in the study of late 19th century Western language publications, with one major line of inquiry to follow being a study of English language, Japanese, and pan-Asian newspapers, such as *The Japan Mail* and *The China and London Telegraph*.

It was common to publish short articles on talks given at society meetings in newspapers, even if no actual paper was ever published in the societies' proceedings. Several of the early English language histories of Japan (Griffis 1877: 8; Reed 1880: vi) tell of what a useful source of information these newspapers provided. In a similar fashion, some scholars who did not appear to have published on archaeological or early historic subjects, such as Chamberlain, Satow and Joseph Hoffmann (Aston 1887: 51), are referenced as sources of information, which may refer to unpublished papers that only

received newspaper articles. It is also possible there may be more information regarding Gowland on China, or at least publications that informed his understanding of that country. He makes mention of having been in China and uses a comparative chronology in his discussion of the Kofun period, as well as having published a paper on Chinese bronze in 1893 (Gowland 1983b). Despite this, there is as of yet little relevant information, and it remains an area for future study.

Although I was able to discuss Machida Hisanari's suggestions and the Meiji government's use of Kofun archaeology as a political tool to an extent, it is a large and complex topic and was not a focus of my study. A more careful study of Machida and the edicts and laws made regarding Kofun and archaeological sites and objects would likely reveal a much greater picture of how archaeology was viewed at the time, and I intend to explore this topic in future research. The Meiji era provides an interesting case study of early public archaeology and would, therefore, allow us to better understand Gowland's difficulties in studying these sites.

In the case of Stonehenge, as time and access was restricted in the Society of Antiquaries I was not able to make adequate reproductions of Gowland's plan. Although a copy has been published, I believe the original to hold more information, which would be worth transcribing. Furthermore, there are believed to be records of the excavation and the objects held in the Wiltshire Museum, which I have not yet been able to view. These may include a more detailed record of the excavation, as Gowland had a tendency to record very detailed notes, yet none appeared in the Society's collection, which were simply a collection of his papers given by Gowland's daughter after his death.

In this thesis, I discussed ceramic production in Japan, and it holds significance for several reasons, as it not only informed the understanding and work of Gowland and his contemporaries but was also used to construct relative chronologies. I was able to give an

overview of Gowland's work in Osaka and short discussions of the adoption, use, and production of *sueki*; however, this remains a massive area of study which deserves considerably more detailed analysis than I was able to give here. The structure of production in the 5th to 6th centuries offers a unique perspective into the organisation of a large landscape by a non-literate culture, even though by its very nature it is a very difficult topic to understand. Middle- and Late Kofun period production of other products and *sueki* remains a large area of research within Japan and may be an important indication of state formation through the specialisation of production. Therefore accruing more of that information in the English language will be an important development for understanding the archaeology of Japan.

In conclusion, the study of William Gowland's collection at the British Museum has unearthed a wealth of information pertaining to Gowland's work in minute detail, and in doing so gives a more complete history of archaeology in Japan and Britain at the end of the 19th century. The reconstruction of Gowland's excavation of Shibayama kofun is an invaluable record of a Late Kofun period site, which has yet to be completed, but shows much promise. In using Gowland as a lens, we have touched upon the broader area of study into the development of archaeology in both Britain and Japan, and shown Gowland to be an important figure in the history of the discipline in both countries, who had not previously been given the proper credit for his work.

Appendix 1: Notes regarding Gowland's kofun research

[Transcriptions of archival notes spread between BOX 4 and 5 of the Gowland archive. The BOX numbers reflect the order in which the documents were photographed by Kutsuna Keizo, between 2010 and 2015, and do not appear in the chronological order in which they were written. The documents below are unpublished materials, hand written/drawn by William Gowland regarding his tomb research. Now held between the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries of London. Corrections, annotations and abbreviations of the original document are included, unreadable sections are denoted by: ".....", my own annotations are written between square brackets. The colour of text reflects the colour of pen or pencil used on the original. Where sketches appear on the original they have been added in their approximate location in relation to the original text. Where possible the British Museum numbers, (Franks and OA+) have been added to allow the reader to access them easily via the Museum website (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)].

BOX 4-4-3 [William Gowland's notebook dated Oct - Dec 1881, first kofun viewed. The entirety BOX 4-4 consists of a small green notebook, dated late 1881, not all the of notebook is represented here. Notes on mint and Osaka artillery work and a visit to "Yamanaka's" to view a hanging scroll.]

1881 Saturday.

Oct 1. Great decrease in the mint work
only 4000g below ... per day. No assaying
today excepting coins.

Browne & Thomson dined with me
after dinner I lost 32 pounds at wrist

(Can bronze guns be satisfactorily broken
up with dynamite into suitable
pieces for recasting melting?
Best furnace for heating guns
to be afterwards broken by "type"?)

Oct 2nd

Sunday. With Browne & Mac at
Yamanaka's & saw a of one of
Buncho's paintings : as a work of
art very coarse & unfinished but
not a bad Kakemono. at a distance

BOX 4-4-4 [Discusses a book (see footnote) some mint work and a castle moat.]

decretive effect good.

Oct 3rd Read second volume of "albert
nyanza"¹ by Baker. Containing a Both volumes
expose the years misgovernment of the Turks
& the atrocities of the slave traders of the
upper nile.

Oct 4th, Inspected the guns At the castle
Which I have to convert into copper coins

¹ Gowland refers to: Baker. S. 1861. The Albert of N'Yanza, Great Basin of the Nile and explorations of the Nile sources.

A strange medley of hundreds of guns
of all sizes & shapes. Several very
Some
old,[^] having been brought from Korea
By Hideyoshi's expedition Most of these
Of obsolete shape x.
Whilst passing the upper moat of
the castle *I* was informed by
Its
Lt Col[one]l Martins that the water never

BOX 4-4-5 [Castle moat continued, mint work, and a letter from Ernest Satow.]

fails its level being well maintained
It is supplied
^by springs It is many feet higher
than the river.

-
The new engine and rolls in the copper
mint can't work today for the first
time,

-
Letter from Satow:-
Ai no take peak of Shimane 9850 feet

w
Kim Pusan (Koshin) granite
Yatsu ga dake. Little.... but

Koma ga dake (Koshin) }
fiyo & Aō-ō-yan. } granite

Shimane. loose angular pieces of stone
of a light grey colour.

-
Failed a second time to reach the
Summit of aka take peak of

BOX 4-4-9 [Diary, notes on imperial funeral.]

1881
Oct 11th-

"[Oct]12

"[Oct]13 { on examination of lock of mint broken
stronghold This morning rtn[returned]. Found the
Heads of four skeleton keys in it
"[Oct]14th Rain '32. No fires have yet
been required in the house

"[Oct]15 Saikiyo by 4:23 train from Osaka
... Mountains
preparations for cutting rice going on,

But little being yet cut.
Kiyoto [Kyoto] very quite, all Music &
Noise of drums vc[et cetera] being prohibited until
Old
the burial of the princess² on the 20th.
1st bought silk rice, but vc[et cetera] for kitch[en]
Also kiyo midzu Pottery. Day cloudy

BOX 4-4-10

Seen obscured hence could not select
mirrors for body. Pleasant
Evening with a young lady guest & two
daughters of the house vc[et cetera].
17th heavy rain. Thomson & MacLagan
Joint me at lunch after which
we visited's Showrooms where
I bought several Kakemono³. Returned to
Osaka by 4:23 train, I going direct to Kobe.
18th moist cold evening but no fires req[uested] @.
Mosquit[oe]s Not still the
Rain 1:48.
20th
21st rain 0:09

BOX 4-4-17 [Diary mentions visit to the mint by Princes Albert & George, and earthquake.]

Nov 10th
"[Nov] 11[th] Rain 0'02. 1
Princes Albert & George lunched at ...
via Kobe
& left for Akashi⁴ at 12:25
Satow⁴ who had accompanied them on
upon
them Kiyoto, nara Towns called upon me

Received official invitation of Mr
Ishiuma's resignation & it's acceptance.
=
still no fires required.
-

Evening engaged with d[rawin]g of copper works
chimney.

Earthquake moderately severe at
a little before 3:00 am. did not
feel it although Maclagan & Edwards
did.

² Refers to Princess Katsura no miya Sumiko Naishinño 1832-1881. Daughter of Emperor Ninkō.

³ 掛物, a hanging scroll.

⁴ Referring to Ernest Satow of the Asiatic Society.

BOX 4-4-18 [Diary/notes on the mint.]

nov

12. First fire required.

13. Sunday, excursion in Mino with Thomsen, Browne & MacLagan. Too early for the crimson maples probably five or six days too soon. (Waterfall estimated from 80-100 feet high.)

Rice nearly all cut, most of it already gathered in.

14th Mr Ohno appointed Comm[issioner] of the Mint.

works

Drawing of copper[^] furnaces' chimney finished & traced.

15,16,17 very unwell. dysentery. Much work owing to on 15th of 90,000 3 ... by O.B.C.

18th received notification that K Endo is appointed Comm[issioner] of Mint, Mr Ohno becoming only

[^] an officer of the Mint.

BOX 4-4-19 [Notes visit to Mint, mentions a fire in Osaka and visit to Omi.]

Nov[ember] 20. Excursion to Mino [箕面] with

Thomson, Hall Yeoman Branwell Ost.

dined at my house, Thomsen slept.

MacLagan. Rice nearly all gathered in. Many of the fields ploughed & Rape seed planted out.

Maples nearly all crimson but tinted much browner & duller than last year.

This said to be due to the dry summer.

Nov 21st Cold raw day with showers.

Evening fine.

23rd Last night first conflagration this winter. Over 1000 houses burnt down

in the pleasure quarter of [left blank]

Nov 26 Left Osaka by 3:10 P.m train for Otsu in company with Aston⁵ en route for the Dolmens of Fūmon & Taniguchi via Karasaki on the shores of L[ake]. Biwa.

Slept at Kagi ya Karasaki.

⁵ William George Aston.

BOX 4-4-20 [Notes visit with Aston to Lake Biwa in Omi, hiking and visiting Kofun, including Funmon-mura and Taniguchi in Omi.]

Nov 27 Kagi ya Karasaki. 29.96 [co-ordinates? hight?] Left in off at 7:00 am. a charming morning. Sun rising gorgeously over lake. From Karasaki to top of Kiyeisan 50 cho[5,454.55m]. Mountain on this side but thickly wooded at Shinosakamoto 12 cho [1.309.09m] beyond we turned off to Kami Sakamoto [坂本] ascending from here up a five ... several handsome white stone lanterns⁶ to the San no Temple [日吉大社西本宮] to visit the Ishi no Kasatō⁷.

BOX 4-4-21 [Omi continued.]

Ishi no Kasato
29. 83

Dressed stone chamber, granite
Trad[itio]n [claims] that [it was] built to provide work for the people during a time of scarcity by the Daimyo of Aki.
finely
Inner chamber of dressed masonry said to have been [used] for the study of a learned man therefore a veritable Hermetage [庵]

Chamber rectangular nearly square, it sides N[orth] SSW[South southwest]. Parallel galleries on two of its sides[.] The whole covered although entirely by mound of earth. Roof partially fallen in. above probably true explan[ation] as it cannot be very old altho[ugh] probably the site was formerly occupied by a dolmen a low shelf on two of its sides may have. been for shrine or idols.

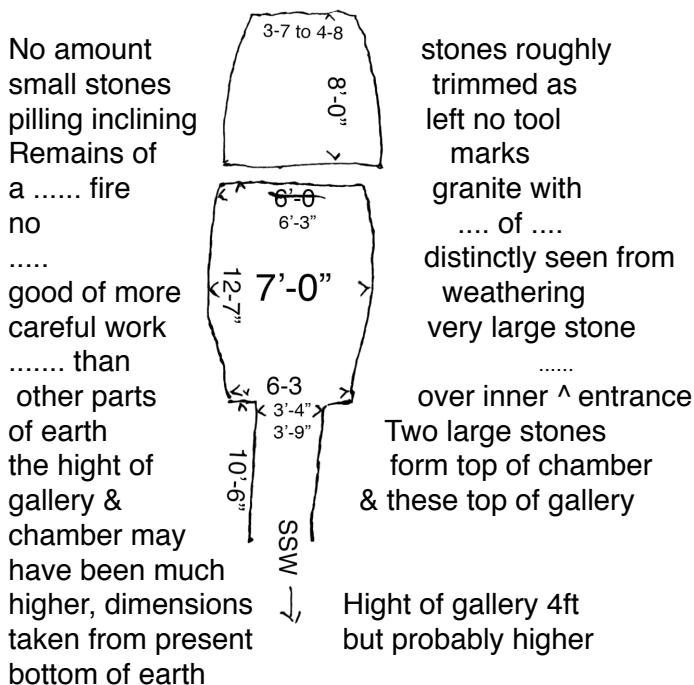
Leaving here we decedent to the main road which runs more or less along the as near the shores of a lake & encompasses a magnif[icent] perspective

⁶ A number of lanterns line both sides of Sakamoto road.

⁷ Now located in the Garden of Fuyuen restaurant, Shiga prefecture.

BOX 4-4-22 [Omi continued description of kofun.]

in front on or our left ... there a with
 a ... snow cap, on our right the lake
 with the mountain ... of
 of in the the snowy peak of
 Ibukiyama passing through the clouds
 a large range of mts[mountains] to E[ast] also snowy
 at 9 am. House of San no Miya who
 is to be our guide.
 Near Fumon Village two low hills
 Komjira yama of Iwagau



BOX 4-4-23 [Omi continued description of kofun.]

Granite blocks adjoining it
 probably the rock in ... altho[ugh] they
 have a stoney resemblance to boulders.
 No.2 dolmen. NNE from about
 8 cho further on on the summit of
 neighbouring hill.
 Sutsuama a little W of S.
 Broken down, end only remaining

Granite yet hill apparently
 of shaley - requires further
 examination

To the E of this two other
 no 3 Broken down probably by earthquake

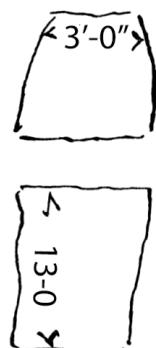
No. 4 Roof intact interior barely
 visible through crevice. same
 nature as No. 1 but entrance to W

BOX 4-4-25 [Omi continued description of kofun.]

Returned to kompira yama on which a
... to Kompira v[&] purchased in S div dim
Taniguchi. The low hills in
this neighbourhood are covered with
Dolmens v[&] their ruins. many large
blocks of grant crop out.

no 1. Partially ruined dolmen entrance.
face SW.

Entered from a hole in roof + measured



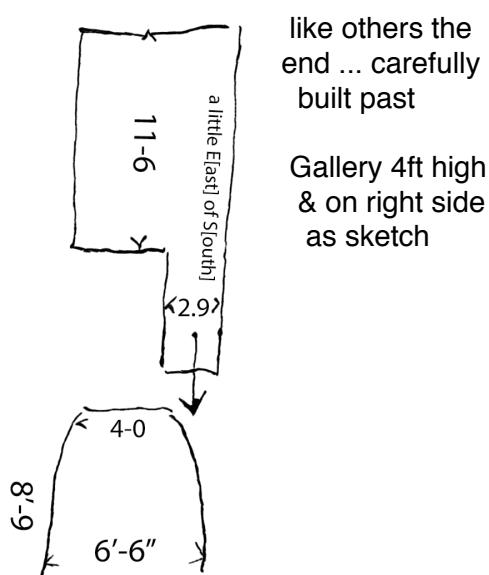
Locality perhaps
chosen from
the prevalence of
suitable stones by
the dolmen builders

Four stones for roof granite
End stones well squared ,

....
much earth in gallery .

BOX 4-4-26 [Omi continued description of kofun.]

No.2 a little E of S



like others the
end ... carefully
built past

Gallery 4ft high
& on right side
as sketch

two stones forming roof
imperfectly close the chamber
one stone 9'-3" X 3'-6" X 2'.0" appear

BOX 4-4-27 [Omi continued description of kofun.]

No. 3 Ruined

" 4 filled up with earth

" 5 Ruined back intact

Entrance nearly due S[outh]

" 6 Half ruined, two blocks

hung off roof. entrance S[outh] hill W[est]

Granite

7 Entrance S[outh] on E[ast] side of
S[outh] end Similar in other respects
to others. Stones somewhat larger

All covered ds[dolmens?] have been
Covered by mounds

BOX 4-4-29 [Omi continued description of kofun.]

Returning to Karasaki & Otsu
.... b y train 4.38pm to Osaka
these dolmen resemble strongly
those discovered by Morse⁸ in the

neighbourhood of Dendzuka mura
(Kawachi) excepting that there
galleries are much shorter &
their ends more carefully built,
no traces of pottery prove seen
altho[ugh] there are it is said that
farmers frequently have found
pottery vc[& et cetera] which being being curious they
have given to their children as
play things. This chiefly however
in the fields.

Age of dolmens, who were their
builders, for what purpose they were
used tradition does not tell.

Are they of Japanese construction

BOX 4-4-30 [Discussion of dolmen builders. Description of Ainu)
page crossed out, vertically in pencil.]

or ... are they aboriginal⁹.
If dolmen of similar form

⁸ Refers to Morse. S. 1880. "Dolmens in Japan" in *Popular science monthly* 16: 593-601.

⁹ Japanese referring to the arrival of the Japanese dated around the historical description of Jimmu in 660BC,
aboriginals referring to the Emishi and/or Ainu that Jimmu was believed to have displaced into the northeast.

are found in years as n[orth] Japan
perhaps they are aboriginal [Ainu]
if Japanese we should expect
to find them throughout the
W[est] of Japan wherever similar
stone occur.

The use of the wedge, & lever
(& perhaps of the wedge) & of
iron much have been known to the
builders.

Careful examination of the outcrops
from which the blocks have been
taken might had to the discovering
of cast away and broken tools, &
thus to the mode in which
the stones of the side walls
were so regularly broken.

BOX 4-4-31 [Diary. Top half of page blank.]

Nov 28 Mr Ishuinal and from Takio
via Yakkaiichi.

Nov 29. Called on Ishuinal at 4:0 a little
after 4:00 P.M.

Nov 30. Rain '15 on two or three occasions
this month rain
fire this evening about 8:30.

Commenced trans[lation?] of "Dai ni hon-

BOX 4-4-33 [Diary, notes earthquake and a dinner party at his house with many of the other mint workers.]

Dec 5th - 12:55 pm Earth quake one
shock only. In evening ~~wrote home~~
~~letter~~ & analysed mint annual Requis[ition]
In evening translation. "Kewa Heichi."
& Mint Requis[ition]

Dec 6th. mint requisition.
" Y. Dinn[er] at my house ... Me Ishuinal
Hasegawa, Ohno, Okamoto & Ono.
Thomson wasn't to come left for Yokohama
lent small ring for tie as present
to Mr I.
Dinn[er] complete success.
.....,, & 1 pint more
of Yorkshire
"8th Transl[ation?] of Kim Fin Dyu raka.

BOX 4-4-35 [Diary mentions fire and another trip with Aston, description of Kofun in pencil. Lower half of page crossed out and not penned.]

9th- about 2: am a fire in neighbourhood
of Satsuma - broke:

Coin prep[aration] fm[from] Nov calc
In mint metal 5-10 P.M.

B Five hundred 3 gold ingots melted
today.

10th To Kobe by 5:00 PM Train.

11th set out for Iuaiko with Aston &
Yagimoto in Ken cho carriage.

Moist & rain.

11. Maiko Dolmen

all entrance

38ft long and over gallery

23'-9" length of chamber

5 stones for roof =

Entrance gallery & chamber no fen
as seen but little diff[erence] in width.

Entrance a little S of W

Present hight about 4ft
width left in

.....

.... not seen -

BOX 4-4-36 [Description of Kofun continued, describes ceramics) Page crossed out in pencil.]

Below a broken down dolmen
on the side of ... a great many
... of pottery. some of corse means
... with Corean wheel pattern on
inside ... marks of as
much as ... on outside
soe with simple... ...
form pattern.

several depiction upper pedestals for
.... as

-

Pottery a corse earthenware even
on less burials

-

no glazed group found here-

Dolmens of very rude construction
of block without any attempt
at dressing. very much rude than
those of Omi.

Situation on low hills & plateau
of dolmens (granite) with pebbles
...+with granite rock out
cropping use there. the stones
for this dolmen taken

See Minyama's book for form lined wave pattern.

BOX 4-4-37 [Continuation of Kofun description, Diary and description of evening with other mint workers) top of page crossed out.]

& used just as found.
long same chamber shape
.... dry the nature of the
material available for roof.
dolmens but little elevated about surf[ace].
of ground

12th Rain 0.90 dressing ... for
Mr Ishinual
13th Entrainment at the ... house
Hira-Shika in Kita no Shinuchi by
Mr Ishinual to Maclagan, self x
Mint
about eight pep[people?] ^ officers.
... During entertainment in
addition to Geisha & maiko
a performances of "Kiyogen"
a sort of burlesque on
the "no"(noh theatre)

BOX 4-4-38 [Diary.]

Dec 14.

Dec 15 Capp Brinkley¹⁰ took potluck
with me.

" 16 Capp Binkley & Maclagan
dine with me

Dec 17th Aston & Maclagan dined
with me.

BOX 4-4-39 [Visit to Yamatake, Osaka and description of Kofun page crossed out with pencil.]

Dec 18th left Osaka 7.45 am.
passed through Aikamo, & Yao it &
crossing Kiyo Kaido reached Yamatake
Mura &
~~Left nara rond at Aikamo~~
Yamatake mura a small village
of famous houses about 6-10 cho
S[outh] of Osaka & on the
Route rond.
..... with mura adjoining Okido

¹⁰ Captain Francis Brinkley an Irish military advisor, who knew Gowland, possibly due to Gowland's work at the imperial artillery in Osaka.

and
No 1... Part of end netting little of the roof
summarising
Roof stone very large
Entr[ance] ab[about] S[outh] W[est] Granite or
Rough built of very large
stones, no plaster or tool marks
Back also roughly built as
the sides.

BOX 4-4-40

No 2 much similar to last
Very large stone.
..... rock
of the Ikoma
range
Entr[ance] S[outh] S[outh] W[est].
Hight about 8 feet
covered with thick
layer of earth about 4 feet
near this on of left side of road leading
up the Tate ishi were several
... stones about from ...
higher said to be for castle
....
Visited several other dolmen
some downtrodden others others withhold
stones all these having been taken
away.
No. 3 high mound not open
signs of entrance having been recently

BOX 4-4-41

Closed, said to have been closed up
in Ancho period
another also not open

No. 4 Length 13'-4"
Breadth at bottom 7'-9" top 4'-6"
Hight 10'-3"
Entrance right side
Two large stones for roof
Entrance } 6'-0 high SW a little
gallery incomplete.

Large stone over inner part
of entrance
4'-9" X 7'-0" X 6'-5"

BOX 4-4-42

No.5 similar to last

rudely dome shaped
No.6 narrowing from all sides
towards roof so that two
moderately small stones.... to
form it's roof
Dimensions at top 5'-0" X 2'-3"
Entrance on right SSW
Dimensions of bottom
10'-6" X 7'-0"

..... somewhat carefully
filled with small stones.
no mortar, or tool marks

No. 7 ordy[ordinary?] form resembling
Oni dolmens. Entrance at sides
SSW.

BOX 4-4-43 [Continuation of kofun description.]

No 8. 16'-0" X 7'-0" at bottom
Roof lower than others here.
Entrance gallery at side
a little W of S
Passage and chamber of this
dolmen deeper but little in
height.

BOX 4-4-44 [Continuation of kofun description.]

Large mound in bamboo
No 9 grove below the village
.... Yamatake mura
Length 18'-0"
Bottom breadth 8'-0 above 5"-0"
Height 9'-6 -10ft above

.... Stones from roof
Stones very large
Entrance gallery to right SW

4'-10". Breadth of gallery
3'-8" height (*of gallery*)
21'-5" length (*of gallery*)
Breadth of entrance 4'-0"

BOX 4-4-45

Large stone over inner
entrance
6'-3" x 6-9x 5-8
Mound some what elongated

Over 20ft high

34.50 20.	4.20
.... 20,, 2.50.	2.70
Pottery 5.00.	5.00

	12.20
	11.90

Dolmens similar those of
Muiko] & Omi, many however
are very much higher & one
espec[iall]y larger in every way.
~~They are also~~ most of the mounds
are better preserved & the

BOX 4-4-47

Dolmen covered with more
earth than at former placed.
In no case do the stones
Of which they are built show
Any signs of tool marks,
& no trace of mortar of any
kind is seen in these.

Seen from sides
The stones ^ are very large
Much more so than those
In the former places.

Fragments of pottery with the
Corean wheel patterns picked
up amongst the derbies of one
received In ruins.

Of several
The stones ^ have had
removed. The place of the dolmen
Being shown by hollow at in
Ground. Proby[probably] for building the

BOX 4-10-1-1 [Notes on Mae-futagoyama kofun. Gowland's visit to Gunma. Contains the measurements and short notes on the content of Ernest Satow's 1880 paper on the tombs of "Kadezuke", *Kozuke no kuni* being an ancient name for part of Gunma. The modern name of the tomb Ernest Satow and Gowland visited is Mae-futagoyama kofun part of the Ōmura kofun-gun].

[Ernest] Satow

asisoc[asiatic society] [volume]13/[18]80¹¹

Kodyuke.

Collection of Ohommura pottery in the home of
W. Negishi zhifu-zhi-räu.

Double m[oun]ds¹³
E[ast - [West]
Tomb in E[ast]
and
Haniwa

3 m[oun]d[s] c[with] pottery
Village of Ōmura ^ 7 miles E[ast] of Mayebashi[Maebashi]¹²
& 5 miles N[orth] of Isezaki[Isesaki] on the high r[oa]d
from Tokyo to that town.
Village of Ohoya 2 m[oun]d[s] c[with] pottery
adj[acent] to Ōmura.
Southernmost m[oun]d 372'[ft long] x 284'[ft wide] x 36'[ft high]¹⁴
Dolmens in 3 chambers. 33'[ft] x 24'[ft] x 6'[ft],
low sill of stone between middle & inner chamber
northern end .

Ōhoya, and behind "Santai pisha". double
m[oun]d c[with] 5 small ones adj[acent]
no pottery, but, arrowheads & rings,
On s[outh] of same temple. double end. pottery
& Tsuchi mingyo¹⁵ fd[found], now in charge of
Priest Kohito Mauichi

the middle one

One tumulus at Ōmura ^ has a double mount.

Sepulchral m[oun]ds also f[oun]d at Kami Dakushi a
village between Iseyaki+ Sakahi machi on
the maibachi road. Pottery obj[ect] from there
in possession of a doctor Suzuki Kiyōtai
of Kodymi a vill[age] near Kamidakushi.

¹¹ Reference to Satow's publication. Satow. E. 1880. "Ancient sepulchral mounds in Kaudzuke" in *Transactions of the asiatic society of Japan*. Vol VIII. pp 313-332.

¹² Capital of Gunma prefecture.

¹³ Gowland refers to keyhole shaped tombs (前方後円墳, ぜんぽうこえんふん, zenpō kōenfun) as "double mounds" because of Satow's translation on the name Mae-Futagoyama.

¹⁴ These measurements are taken from Satow's paper. However, as the measurements of the inside of the chamber Gowland took himself at the tomb are different, it would appear that these notes were written before Gowland visited the tomb.

¹⁵ An arctic name for *haniwa*

BOX 4-20-1-1 [Notes on Rokuya kofun-gun. This entry consists of a small paper flap that has been fixed to the following entry BOX 4-30-1-2 to add further information to that entry. He appears to have used the symbol “◎” to distinguish the point in which this note was to be inserted into the text on the next page].

◎

Behind the mounds containing dolmen there is a
in which summit burial
group of 13 other - ~~not containing those stone chambers~~ -
on a low heath on the margin of the plain.
in which “summit burial¹⁶” only has been practiced
from 12-20ft high
they are all conical mounds ^ these being much
larger than the others having bases of 60 - 75ft
diam[eter] & being encircled both with a terrace v[&] a moat.

BOX 4-20-1-2. [Notes on Rokuya kofun-gun. Continuation of 4-20-1-1.]

Prov[ince]
Prefecture] of Tamba

the village of

In the prov[ince] of Tamba at ^ Rokuya about 4 miles from
the town of Kamaoke these is a group of dolmen
of considerable importance altho[ugh] none are of the
magnitude of many which occur in the adjacent
prov[ince] of Settsu v[&] Yamashiro. One which is of special
interest on account of the remains which were
found in it as which will be described subsequently -
is situated in a commanding position on the top
of a slope about 500 ft above the plain. the

number

others about 30 in all are scattered over the
lower slopes of the adjoining hills, & with the
inception of two [of the] minds of all have been
reduced by culti[vation] to a state of complete ruin.

◎ near

Drawing &
Diag Diagram

A typical mound with the dolmen contained in
section in
it is show in ^ fig[ure]. the mound is 22ft high,
the diam[eter] of its base being 96ft, & altho[ugh] much cut
away the remains of to terraces are distinctly
visible on its S[ouht] E[ast] side. There are no traces of
a moat. The structure of the dolmen will

...
be seen in the diag[ram]. its its dimensions & other

similar

particulars as well as details of relating to
5 there of the best preserved of the group
will be found in the table (No to)

¹⁶ 積穴式, たてあなしき, *tateanashiki*. Pit style stone chambers, which Gowland refers to as “summit burials”.

These date to the Early and Middle kofun periods, whilst the “dolmen” (as Gowland calls them) date to the Late kofun period. But he was not aware of this chronological distinction.

section & plans of 2 are shown diagrammatically in (diary no)
 a curious feature in several of these dolmens
 is the massive rude shelf of unhewn stone
 which projects from the back wall &
 extends across the whole breath of the
 chamber. It is built into the wall both
 at its ends v[&] back v[&] is placed from 2'.8" to
 4'.2" above the floor. This shelf Since my
 discovery of this form of dolmen I have
 ascertained that although rare it is not particular
 one in Shikoku
 to this prov[ince]. as it is also found in ^ Aiwa
 Hansa mura v[&] in 2 examples in Chiku fu
 {
 Yama no uchi
 In

BOX 4-20-1-2 [Continuation of 4-20-1-1.]

In the dolmen on the summit of the slope a
 long slab of rough stone 10"high is set up
 ... like place
 across
 to ^ the floor a rude coffin below the
 & this
 shelf in which the body of the warrior chief
 which was doubtless originally present in the other
 had been placed. This rude arrangement [^] was
 to take the place of the
 evidently intended as a ... for the sarcophagus
 is
 which are common in Settsu, the hardness of
 the local granite making it diff[icult] to cut blocks
 into that form. . that the rudeness of the
 arr[an]g[emen]t is not ... to a sign of greater
 the than the latter is proved by the character
 of remains which accompany it which
 not of certain in fact
 demonstrate that are of the ^ same age as than
 stone
 than f[oun]d in the sarcophagi of Izumo, Settsu
 as in
 & the wooden sarcophagus of Kozuke & Kawachi.
 well formed circular
 this dolmen is contained in a terraced mound
 about 22ft with one (125ft diam[eter])
 & on the terrace^ upon which are 5 small mounds
 about ft placed at equal distances from one another
 the interior of the dolmen is as above described &
 its size is about the similarly to No.¹⁷ in this table.
 Altho[ugh] probably it mat have had a large gallery.
 (Note I was unable to make a plan of , or it measure it
 as drawing a rain storm a few days before
 my visit its sides collapsed & one of its roof stones

¹⁷ Gowland has left this space blank, apparently intending to fill it in later.

fell in.)

On point of [its] antiquity. ~~this rude arrangement~~ might seem to belong to the earlier times of the dolmen age
 this
 in ~~the~~ dolmen
 but the especial metal objects found mark
 rather
 it as belonging to a more advanced period when the race has became ... in metal v[&] in the art of working metals.

No trace of the entrance is visible on the outside of the mound but from the trench formed by ... its collapse of it faced apparently S[outh]S[outh]E[ast].
~~The following articles the remains which~~
 The remains which it contained were taken out a short time before I visited by the owner
 of the

BOX 4-20-1-3 [Continuation of 4-20-1-1.]

ground in the presence of the headman of the village the chamber beef entered through an aperture ~~in the roof~~ formed by the partial displacement
 a fell
 of the huge roof stone which afterwards completely in. the object obtained are of great archaeological importance v[&] one of the most important finds
 considerable difficulties
 yet made in a Jap[anese] dolmen. after ^ the large v[&] a
 (partially waiting for)
 (delay of) several years¹⁸, during ... I was at last able to purchase them v[&] they are now in the B[ritish].M[useum].¹⁹ where they form an part of the G[owland] Coll[ection].
 The chief objects are briefly described v[&] their positions in the chamber noted in the following list.

attached

List on ^ blue paper to be filled up.

X X X X X X X X X

...

The metallic ornaments object, swords & horse furniture
 their
 in forms and technical those of Izumo, Musashi, Kozuke, Mino, Kawachi v[&]
 doubtless belong to the most flourishing

¹⁸ Although Gowland states here that there was a delay of several years, Gowland first visited the site in December 1881 and was able to purchase the objects one year and five months later in May 1883 (Ishahiya pers.comm.).

¹⁹ This date these notes to after April 1889, when Gowland had sold the collection to Augustus Franks at the British Museum.

part of the dolmen age when the area had completed the conquest of the chief part of the island, had settled in several great centers, & were had lesser to give to the of the ornamental arts

BOX 4-20-1-4 [Continuation of 4-20-1-1.]

1881 Dec[ember]

Dolmen of Tamba . Rokuya mura c 3.1/2 m[iles]. from Kameoka articles found.

3 Tall sacrificial vases with course + small vases on shoulder all more or less upright.

Ht =

4 or 5 several beads of blue glass Below shelf at W[est] end

2 Covered shallow pots (Futa mono) D[iameter]. 5.3/8"

1 Str[aight] long iron sword.

1 “[Straight] “[long] “[iron] “[sword]

On floor in front of shelf & between the mound.

near m[ou]th of chamber.

} Standing upright at shelf

1 Horse bit ^ iron plated c[with] Cu v[&] gilt v[&]
incised .

1 Horse bit c[with] Wheel like ... of above
metals [Iron gilt with bronze].

} On shelf

Horse orn[amen]ts various in iron, Cu²⁰ + Au²¹ as alm[ost]. All on shelf
Halberd shaped

Saddle bow.

Half shaped

Buckle like

Stripes of metal.

Their.

²⁰ Copper.

²¹ Gold.

BOX 4-20-1-5 [Continuation of 4-20-1-1.]

Thin copra foil, gilt v[&] with
designed in lines of punctured dots.
parts of
,,, ornamental appear ... of

Below the shelf in the
part
cist like compartment
at W[est]. end.

Cist portions covered c[with] a layer of small black round pebbles
from neighbouring river.

Decayed wood v[and] putrefied women materials fabric adherent to
some of the objects.

BOX 4-20-1-6 [Continuation of 4-20-1-1.]

Tamba Dolmens

==== Dolmen just described from which remains taken .
====

MidoZuka. The stones od this dolmen v[&] also of all the
other are granite of which there are other of at
.... as

See dig[ram]

several places all yielding the stone in ^ layers
of ranging thickness with totally surfaces .
none are hewn
the of this dolmen is illustrated in the diag[ram].

of the chamber

(Fig[ure]) the dimensions at the floor line are
Chamber L[length] 14-6. B[readth] 6-9 v[&] its height 9'-0" v[&] of

the

Gallery “[length] 9-0 “[breadth] v[&]... with a h[igh]t of 4 ft,
the shelf is let the walls v[&] back v[&] in
very being 5'-3" broad & from 1-0-1-6 in thickness
& its bottom in 2-8 the floor.

which seems about 11'-7" above.

(& 21ft high)

is 21ft high & the roof of the dolmen is covered [c]with

.....

The mound which ^ has been very much cut away
it
for the purposes of cultiv[ation] is about 21ft high
but remains of two
& terraces are distinctly seen on its S[outh]E[ast] side.
There has been no moat

==

2. Adjacent mound v[&] dolmen. No shelf. Top, H[ight] 15'-9"

3-11
1-3
4-7

1-3
shelf is
8-10
..... .

The bamboo grove. 2 stones for roof . Mound

With shelf 3'-7"x17-2" to 1'-6" Top L[ength]. 29-10
Bottom of shelf 2-8 above floor
2-10

See photo[graph] 3.

4. Broken down entrance (a little N[orth] of E[ast] ?).

BOX 4-20-1-7 [Continuation of 4-20-1-1.]

~~Dolmen in bamboo grove.~~

~~2 stones for roof . no others continuing large ... back wall
v[&] ... gallery stone
mound broken down~~

No (5) Dolmen on hill side. No shelf. Mound levelled v[&]
culti[vated]

Walls built in irreg[ular]
Largest ...

No(5a). One stone for roof

No 6. Imperf[ect] .. Shelf . 6'-5"x4'-2"x1'-3".^ 4'-2" above floor
Photo[graph]

Bottom

BOX 4-20-1-8 [Continuation of 4-20-1-1.]

Tamba Rokuya mura

Mounds on small plateau at edge of pl[ain].

A. 196ft. Top diam[eter] 11ft 10ft One terrace ft 4'.
Moat a few ft board.

32

B. } Dug away. Small. only
C. }

D. Med[ium] size .

E. Terrace, moat v[&] dimensions similar to A.

Two as A.

F. Sa Terraces v[&] moat a-mound. Circumf[erence] 226ft.
Terrace 5ft H[ight]

of their
About 13 mounds here, difficult to say if circular
dolmen, prob[ab]ly not. All [mounds] here [have] been dig into

=

BOX 4-20-5-4 [Gowland's opinions on Japanese excavation (Pre-1887²²). An undated note which describes Gowland's opinions on the records taken of Japanese kofun.]

"The of artefacts which have been
found in dolmen are or barrows
are

There are no satisfactory records of
the systematic opening of any.
All have been rifled, more especially
the dolmen. In all the layers +[&]
many of the smaller barrows there are
have been dug into their summits
pits or trenches showing in some cases
even recently diggings.
the some barrows have yielded ...
numerous ornaments examples
but as they were opened for plunder
by farmers v[&] woodsmen it is impossible
to ascertain how they occurred
in the md[mound] v[&] whether they were
occur with human remains or not....

BOX 4-20-5-4B

a ther
"Shortly after an large barrow were
been dug into v[&] some ornaments found one
of us has visited the it the place, but
were
in all cases the diggings have been
when
stopped by the local gov[ernment]t before
incomplete.

²² As Gowland later speaks very highly of the work of Tsuboi Shōgorō who began publishing at the end of the 1880s, therefore it is unlikely Gowland was aware of his work when this note was written.

.....
In the long barrow the ^ ... of

.....!
and of the tumulus ^ contains the articles
vermilion in large q[uantit]ies (page)
minimally f[oun]d in sarcoph[agi] v[&] barrows
... of vermillion , to present decay, a ...
-a .. of great

Cinnabar. remains unchanged and ord[inari]y ...
^ Ag mining in Japan. an v cord of

are workings hence.

Red powder Fe2 O3 , (... in these
demp.)

BOX 4-22-3 [Letters between Gowland and William Aston.]

Dec; 15. 1887

My Dear Gowland

I have been indulging
in one of my periodical
(I was in bed for some days)
fits of ^ since undoing
from Low's account of from
recent explorations and hence
the delay in answering for you.
The Find seems to
be very interesting one.

The Japanese Geographical
society had had a paper lately
on rock tombs. but I have
not read it. It might be
worth while to examine it

BOX 4-22-3B [Continuation of BOX 4-22-3]

but generally the
of the Japanese scholars are very
disappointing²³.

Have we any particulars
of the Chikugon dolmens. The
Chinese records of the third
century A.D²⁵. point to it tho[se] in
Chikugon as an important
government centre at that time
and these has been even since (I
believe) whilst considering

observation is so
unsatisfactory,
I saw Fie²⁴ on his
way home the other day.
He gave us satisfactory
accounts of Kobe and
Osaka.

Yours very truly
W.Aston
My wife sends kind regards.

²³ Although Aston is disappointed by Japanese academia at the time surrounding the Kofun period the first generation of Japanese archaeologists, including Tsuboi Shōgorō began publishing in 1887 and 1888.

²⁴ Not yet clear as to whom this refers.

²⁵ This is a reference to the description of Queen Himiko's kingdom of Yamatai from the Chinese History the *Weizhi* (265AD). Which Aston identifies as being Located in Chicago city, Daizaifu, Fukuoka.

recent time been a sort
of vice-regal [gov]ernment there - the
Daizaifu. I have seen some
account of dolmens and
stone misasagi there. But Japanese

BOX 4-22-8-1 [Letter between Gowland and William Aston, 1895 discusses the Bronze Age in Japan.]

WOODLANDS,
SEATON,
DEVON.
May. 9. 1895

My dear Gowland

I have just been
reading with much interest your
paper, or rather the abstract of
it in the London and China
telegraph, on Bronze in Japan.
I hope to see it in the Times [newspaper] someday.

You say that there was in
Japan a Bronze Age beginning
with the immigration of the race
and in ... about the
second century B.C. Now
I have taken the view that there

BOX 4-22-8-2 [Continuation of BOX 4-22-1]

is no proper bronze use in Japan.
the first-a- knowledge of the metals being
derived is from China which had
long periods had been of iron as
Well as copper.

Bronze is not mentioned in
The Horyuji or Kojiki perhaps however as
It is included in 銅 or copper.

But copper was not mined in Japan
Until the seventh century if we may
believe the Horyuji?. It is perhaps
manipulated but was afterwards
Imported (like iron) from Corea [Korea],

to me

It seems presumable that
most
The ancient bronze and iron found

BOX 4-22-8-3 [Continuation of BOX 4-22-1]

or continental
in Japan are of Chinese manufacture
Is there any tin found in Japan?
The name of Japanese word
for bronze is Kare-Kane which
points..... To the influence
originally
.... This metal was a foreign
Importation.

I feel that my knowledge
of the subject is imperfect and
have not examined any of the
old bronze implements found in
dolmen, and should not have been
able to extract more from them
if I had. And I should be very
humbly obliged to you if you would
guide me in a few sentence,
your reason for thinking this

BOX 4-22-8-3B [Continuation of BOX 4-22-1]

was a time for when bronze was
the only metal known in Japan.
I was have a note on the subject
in my hi , and i should like
to add your views. And perhaps
to modify my own.

I have just had a letter
from Satow. He expected to get
away in about a fortnight.

Can you tell me if
and
have no
works of

I hope in forward un ...
my wife spoke of including a note to him
in this

from very
W.J. Aston

BOX 4-22-9-1 [Gowland's replay to Aston's question regarding the Bronze Age in Japan.
Continuation of BOX 4-22-1].

35a Russell Road, Kensington. W.
12th may [18]95

My dear Aston

I have to thank you very much for
your critical remarks, as in all scientific research ones
chief aim should be to ascertain the truth. I have jotted
down below very briefly the reason for my statements

respecting a Bronze Age in Japan. They are based solely on a study of the articles of bronze found buried in the ground of an older date than the period of dolmens or chambered tumuli.

Definition of a Bronze Age - A period during which bronze was the only metal in use.

Bronze swords never occur along with articles of iron & have never been found in dolmens, but simply buried in the ground: perhaps in some areas there may have been small barrows of earth where they were dug up. Hence older than iron & older than dolmens.

The bronze arrow heads are found under the same conditions in one instance along with a very ancient form of stone ornament called "Kitsune no Kewa" never found in dolmens. (see Kanda's paper on Stone implements²⁶). These arrow heads however survived during the early bronze age but they occur very rarely.

Before the dolmens period iron was not in use, at all events no iron swords have been found excepting in dolmens.

The bronze swords have been found chiefly in Kyushu.

BOX 4-22-9-1B [Continuation of BOX 4-22-1]

characters are conserved, belong in fact to two entirely separate divisions of the respectable Kingdom.

Yours very sincerely
W Gowland

P.S. I am really very much obliged for your I hope you will excuse the very crude notes i have hurriedly jotted down in support of my statements, I send you a copy of the journal of the Society of Arts containing my papers in ... I did not send it earlier as I am having it especially printed I intended to send you one of the three copies.

BOX 4-25-1 [Letter from Gowland to Aston 1883]

11

The Mint: Feb[ruary] 12/ [18]83

My dear Aston

I have sent you by train this morning the journal of the N[orth]. China branch of the asiatic society counting Mayer's paper on "stone Figures v[&] scarifies at Tombs"²⁷. You will find in it an account of the burial of the Chinese emperor you allude to.

²⁶ Kanda. T. 1884. *Notes on ancient stone implements, &c., of Japan.*

²⁷ Referring to Mayers (First name unknown). "On the stone figures at Chinese tombs" read before the North China branch of the asiatic society on March 12th 1878. (Gowland 1897: 440)

I have had a capital day today at one dolmen work using descriptions of the misasagi visited in order to tabulate them. I think I have made out a rather interesting fact (?) that dolmens were introduced before the time of Yomei Tenno. You will recollect the misasagi of Keitai between Takatsuki v[&] Ota, Well. on its highest peak these are said it be these huge stone resembling those in the roof

BOX 4-25-2 [Continuation of BOX 4-25-1]

of the Mi no hana dolmen. these are doubtless part of a dolmen. If so, thesis in this misasagi we have the "palace ..." mound + dolmen, the latter not yet displacing the former but being added to it. In fact in this tumulus we will have the connecting link between the two styles.
I have been thinking that we might make a forced march into Tamba on Saturday v[&] Sunday if the weather is perfectly fine . I could join you at Osaka station at 1 23 next Saturday . We would take the train as for as Muromachi v[&] proceed from there to Yoshida one ri beyond Kamioka, in
Sleeping there we would start early start morning for Rokuya about 30 cho further pn where the dolmens²⁸

BOX 4-59-1 [A translation of one of Tsuboi Shōgorō's papers held in the Gowland archive.]

Extract from Toyō Makugei zasshi
Vol IV no 72. (Sept[ember] 25, 1887)
On a cave discovered @ Kitayashimi
village, Saitama ken, by S[hogoro]. Tsuboi, Imperial
University.

There are often found in the hills of the various parts of the empire , the horizontal caves (yoko-ana) . In what time are they dugout is not easily known . It is however interesting task is study their constructions. As they are generally situated one near the other they look

²⁸ Although this would appear to be the first page of a longer letter, the location of any following pages is as of yet unknown.

as if they were windows or halls of the warehouse.
if we glance them from a distance. The caves
are usually about 3 shaku square at their entrance.
are

there there are then chambers of about 4.5 mats or
1.5 ken square, the hight of which is 5 - 6 shaku.
In some of them, we ought to bend our bodies
in entering the chamber. Where it is generally
enough to stand upright. We will
often see the place like shelf or an end, sometimes
halls are made so as to communicate with one
another. There are rudely made by digging out
part of a hill , but not by pilling up with
stones or tiles. I have lately discovered many
caves (yoko-ana) @ Kittyashima village, Yukomi

BOX 4-59-2

district, Sitama Ken, Musasi ... prefecture
they are nearly same as those found in the
other parts of the county. There are mostly
middle gate (... name) between the entrance
and the chamber. Therefore the entrances
duplicate if we see th[em] it from outside. In
general, the chamber is so low that we can
not stand upright even in the centre. The
bed like thing (nedoko no yō na udno) is placed
or hater made sometimes at both sides and
continues at one side only. Sometimes they
have special rim, or sometimes they are nearly
put few inches higher than the chamber level.
The room is at its base square, but as we look
above, it is getting round, and finally at its side
ing looks like as if tea cup (chiyawan) are
in covered. if we see the wall with great
are,we can find the trace of the tools used

Kitayashimi mura

in digging out. In this place ^ there are origi-
nally 24 horizontal caves . I have discovered
59 & made in all 83 now These lately
were

found are entirely covered with earth, the chamber
itself is covered also with earth to 4/5 of its hight
I found great trouble & pain in getting digging
them
^ out but the thins discovered in them relived

BOX 4-59-3

my pain & trouble. They are as follows :-
Tatemono. Naperimo doki (況部土器), Chosen
(Corea[Korea]) Doki[pottery], Namibe Doki (埴部土器), Chokuto

(Straight Katana), Shōtō (small Katana),

BOX 4-63-1 [Further notes on Rokuya kofun-gun. Note on stone chambers with shelves, may refer to Tamba dolmen aka Rokuya]

Dolmen with shelf at back wall.

Chikugo. Kodzumagosi yama no macho^ mura

One dolmen only.
Skuhagosi, asada mura,
Two dolmen together one with
& one without shelf.

Seen by Mr Wakabayashi of Tokyo Anthropology Soc[iet]y.

三

BOX 4-63-2 [Continuation of BOX 4-63-1]

Awa no kuni. Misagoi = 4
Hunda mura { 半田

Dolmen with back shelf

T[okyo]. A[nthropology] .Soc[iety] No 26 pg 186

BOX 4-63-3 [Notes regarding Rokuya kofun]

Tamba Dolmens

In the village of Rokuya scattered over the lower slopes of
The adjacent hills - one only being on this summit -
there is an extensive collection of tumuli.
they may be divided into 4 cases: -

1. An unusually large mound on the top of a hill about 500ft above the village.
2. A group of five on the lower ground near the village. these are of medium size but with trenches (moats?)
3. Ordinary dolmen of varying size.
4. Dolmen with a massive shelf projecting from the back wall

BOX 4-63-4 [Continuation of BOX 4-63-3]

Tunnel of Dolmens Province of Tamba

the neighbourhood
These dolmens of Tamba are situated in village district of Rokuya

4 5 old
a small village about 3.1/2 miles N[orth]W[est] of the ^ castle town of Kamioka . They ... of one large mound on the summit of Cha no Ki yama a hill rising some 500 ft above the village on its N[orth]E[ast] side

13

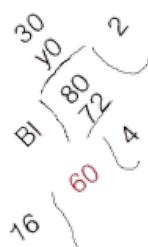
A group of seven adjoining on a low tract of heath but little higher than the hill plain.
 a considerable number at from 30 -50
 scattered irregularly over the lower slopes of the range of hills with at bound the particularly encircles the village
 -towards the head of

stone passes
 The chambers of some of these sepulchral m[oun]ds present a of: x
 to which so ... as for as our destination have gone is
 to this locality : the contents of a rude barrow shelf of at these
 rough manufacture slab of shelf
 wall found of a ... type stone^ let with the
 walls at either end.

Whether this peculiarity [the shelf]
 marks the work of builders
 of a late[er] age than those
 whose usual form was that
 of the simple chamber or
 it is char[acteristic] of the rank
 of the occupant of the tomb
 deest not or had another significance
 does not is difficult to determine
 it the use of the shelf to which
 it was put in

On the side there are

On one end
 doubtful traces of a
 Trench. which partly who



Side The dolmen of on the summit of Cha no Ki yama almost
 consists of a well formed mound surely no
 two ... circular sizing in two ^ lines to a
 the base circumf[erence] of the lowest
 hight of 20 - 25ft, v[&] measured approximately
 into being.
 382ft in circumf[erence] at its base the [at] it[s]
 c[with]125 diam[eter].
 upper part there are five small undulating
 others
 mounds arranged in the form of the Japanese
 more plum flower of the of the Japan plum crest. ()
 no trace of the entrance mouth of the entrance
 gallery gan be seen but the a deep
 (5ft) top .
 [a] trench has been cut down from the summit
 of the mound is the roof stones of the
 chamber & several of the are laid have
 the cham[ber] three stones have been displaced
 owing to to the collapse of the sides &
 is
 the middle part of the chamber being filled
 heap
 ... up with an irregular pilled ...
 of the side side & roof stones.

BOX 4-?-1 [Notes on Konabe kofun. Viewed in person but could not be found within photographed and numbered documents]

Onabe & Konabe. near Nara.

1

Since the beginning of this year 1888 they have been decided to be imperial tombs altho[ugh] on ... my former visit one at least ie. Kouabe had been sold to a farmer for cultivation.

Onabe no nwo nabe

about 800 yards

A double mound[^] to the east of Konabe & greater than it though not quite as much a good state of preservation. It is situated about 2 miles from Nara, the pagoda near the lake pond in the town bearing 133.5, 8 from its circular end. Konabe altho[ugh] smaller was carefully surveyed and measured in order to make a drawing to scale of a typical little changed mound of imperial mausoleum forms, & a f[o]und[ation] dimensions only were taken of Okabe. Okabe like Konabe has it's surface strewn with rounded stones which might probably are these from having weathered out.

It is in a N[orth]-S[outh] line the rect[angular] end being at the S[outh]. The mounds in the on each side have been partly dug away, the mount has been & its shape altered for the purpose of irrigation.

The ... embankment of its mont, it has & edges of it have terraces & summit are or have been finished with hannada[haniwa] many of which are still in tact. At the upper edge of the terrace forming its base when the wash of the water of the moat has laid bare several of the hannda[haniwa] in situ

BOX 4-?-2 [Continuation of BOX 4-?-1]

Onabe 2

situ. They are shown in fig[ure]²⁹ taken from a photo made at the time of my visit. The cylinders vary in diam[eter], from about 1'-0" - 1'-2". The measurement of one less broken than the other are given in the sketch.

A vast quantify of fragments of broken ones are strewn over the bed of the moat wh(now almost dry).

(On asking the local gov[ernor] and another official who accompanied us to be allowed to take one or two of the cylinders as specimens we were told that they could not permit us to take any as the-n it had been lately determined that the m[oun]d was a misasagi & nothing could be taken away from it. Two of the cylinders & just about to fall out into the moat & be broken up were excellent specimens , & in a

will

few months will must be destroyed & worthless yet they refused to let us take them. If however any had been

²⁹ Gowland left this blank.

taken away by the Japanese before the mound became a misasagi if they could be found we might have them).

The circular hole in the side is 2" in diam[eter] & is placed at L20 to the mound. The cylinder are placed from 4" to 6" apart, with their tops about level with the ground.

The photograph of Konabe (1st) was taken from the rect[angular] end of Onabe about 1/3 from base & the 2nd was taken from near the middle of its top i.e. between the rd[round] & rectang[ular] ends.

The

BOX 4-?-3 [Continuation of BOX 4-?-1]

The priceable dimensions of the dolmen as are follow

length of base	about	800 feet
Eastern length of summit	485	"[ft]
Breadth of rect(angular) end	78	"[ft]
"[Breath] "[of] round "[end]	89	"[ft]

Breadth of round end above lowest part of summit 20 feet

the top of the alignment stand in means the hight of the round end C was 5'-1" above the level of the old embankment of the mont & 14 ft 1" above the bottom of the moat

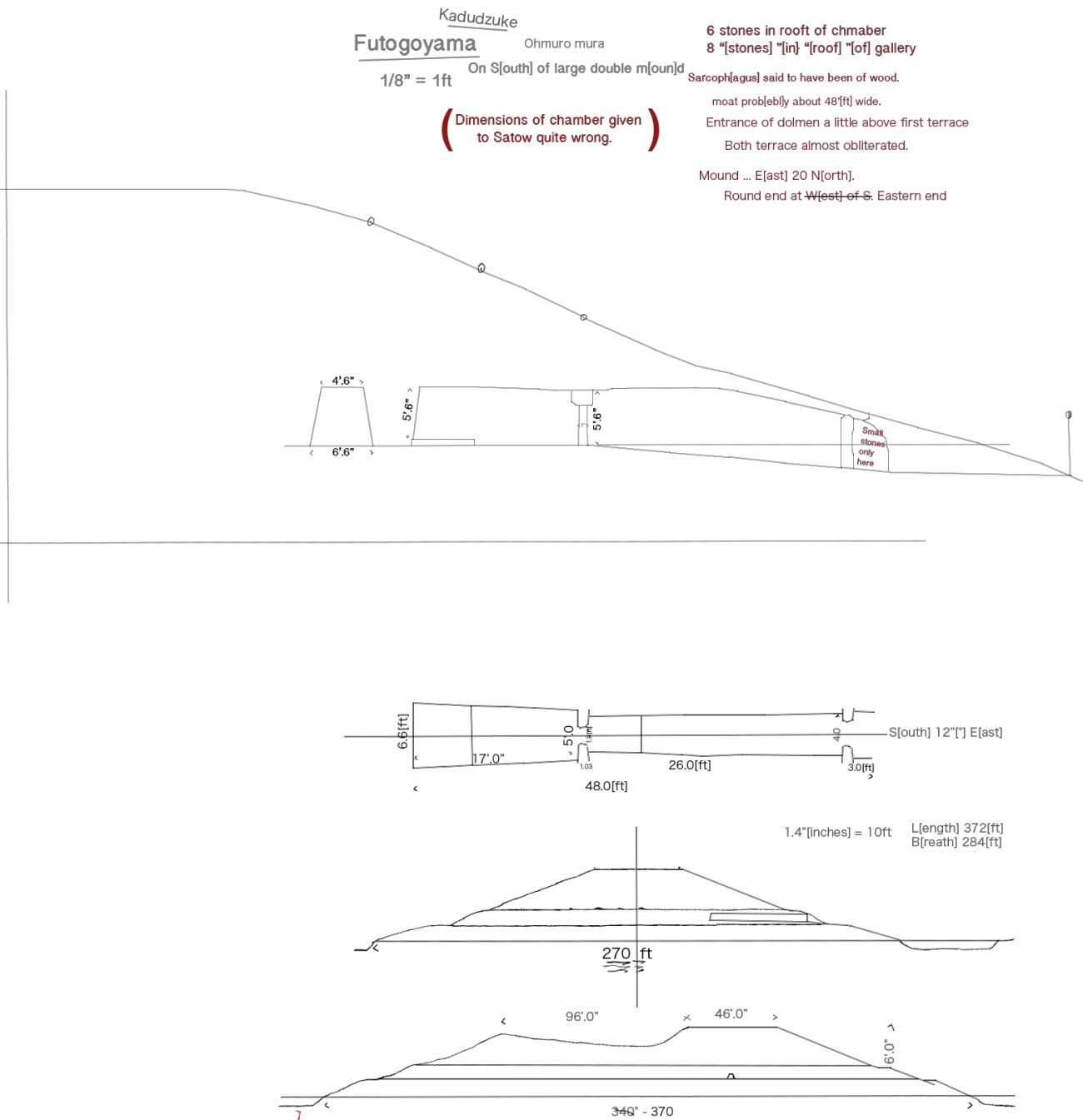
[the ancient city Nara which was the capital of Japan during the Reign of (AD to AD) was situated a little beyond these two tumuli on the site not occupied by the village called Saki mura where lots of other remains are dug up from time to time]

The mound has been ploughed with ... From then & the ... wood Will soon be inaccessible. On the summit of the circular end near the middle in a small shallow depression.

The rnd (round) end

The middle of the top of ^ Ko nabe bears 276'3 degrees from the middle of the Top of rd (round) end of Ônabe.

BOX 5-1-17-1 [Plan of Mae-futagoyama kofun, Gunma prefecture. Only part of the plan is depicted, due to its unusual shape].



Appendix 2: Notes on the use and manufacture of Kofun ceramics

[Transcriptions of a selection of documents discussing Gowland's research into ceramic production during the Kofun period between BOX 3, 4 and 5..The BOX numbers reflect the order in which the documents were photographed by Kutsuna Keizo and Matsuba Ryoko between 2010 and 2015, and numbered by Kutsuna or myself, and thus do not appear in the chronological order in which they were written. The documents below are unpublished materials, hand written and drawn by William Gowland dated between 1881 and 1897. Now held between the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries of London. Corrections, annotations and abbreviations of the original document are included and written in a smaller font, unreadable sections are denoted by: ".....", my own annotations are written between square brackets or in footnotes. The colour of text reflects the colour of pen or pencil used on the original. Where sketches appear on the original they have been added in their approximate location in relation to the original text. Where possible the British Museum numbers, (Franks and OA+) have been added to allow the reader to access their modern records easily via the Museum website: (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)].

BOX 3-1-1 [Description of Korean potter's village 1884.]

441

Pottery manufacture at small village about 3 miles
eastward of Seonsan 11th October 1884
the pottery is made at a group of houses on the detritus
granite hills on the E[ast] bank of the Fus[an] river [Nakdong River].
The clay [used is] a brown common clay found in the neighbourhood .
It is well before use √ a large well trodden heap having is
Kept in in the middle of the shed where the pots
are made. From this heap [of clay] rolls are made about 1.1/2"
diam[eter] & two feet or more long & placed at the side of the
potters wheel which occupied a corner of the room.
The wheel consists of an upper v[and] lower disc of wood set
horizontally on a vertical spindle. it is situated by the left
foot of the potter, generally in the opp[osite] direction of the
hands of a, occasionally however the ... is changed
reverse on the ground
to the direction . the potter squats ^ behind the wheel
with his simple wee[den] tools[,] which are all of wood[,] on his right
hand in a shallow tub of water .
dusts the middle of the upper disc x[and]
In making a pot or large jar , he first ^ places a clump of clay
it it
about the size of his fist on ^ the upper disc v[&] setting the wheel
it
in motion as above he beats with a heavy flattered stick
until it is spread out in the form of a thin flat cake
then with a rude wooden pointed knife he cuts off the
... of the clay from its edges having circle-of circular thin
cake which is to form the bottom of the vessel .
This being uncompleted he takes one of the rolls[,] above mentioned[,]
& works it on around the cake forming rudely the two about
three inches or so of the lower portion of the sides of the

¹ These numbers are printed in the corner of each page, likely these papers originally belonged to a note book, which they have since been removed from.

BOX 3-1-2 [Continuation of BOX 3-1-1. This entry consists of the back of the previous page, with a foot note for the following page, discussing the practice of using an anvil with a circular pattern carved into it in order to shape vessels. Which Gowland speculates may have derived from older Japanese practices].

45

*It is worthy of research that the so called "Chosen guruma" circles those not found in the ancient sepulchral pottery of Korea. None of the vessels in my collection or which I have seen elsewhere have these markings v[and] I have been informed by Mr [Pierre L.] Jouy who a collector of the Smithsonian institute whom I met in Korea v[and] whom i questioned minutely respecting this that he had never seen such excepting in the modern pottery & that is mostly about 100 rule which he had collected the markings appearing in none.

a "hi um Kaku" small glazed jar said to be a few hundred years old , not sepulchral , bore these marks according to a Japanese who through who's hands it had passed.

Query. As anc[ient] Jap[anese] sepultural pottery bears possible that this mode of pottery manufacture was inherited from Japan into Korea?

BOX 3-1-3 [Continuation of BOX 3-1-1]

with both hands

He then takes a flat spearhead shaped wood[en tool] in his right hand & a circular large (diam[eter]) stamp shaped tool in his left, v[and] pressing the latter against the middle of the vessel he beats the outside with the former tool at the same time rotating the outside with the former tool at the same time formed is then with water & another roll of clay worked upon it in the same way , v[and] also beaten as before. Another roll added this completes the vessel the being formed by his fingers v[and] thumbs from the upper edge

see below.

of this ^ the handles were then put on by taking form each a small roll of clay flattening one end to the side of the pot, drawing the clay through his finger v[and] then attaching the other ends. When finished he measured the diam[eter] with a length of wood.

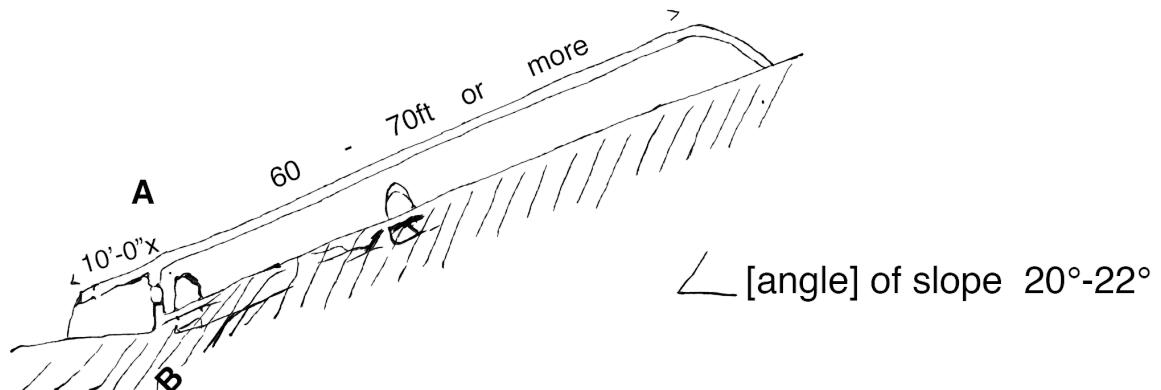
A wooden template of the shape of the outside of the vessel was then used to shape it more perfectly being held against the outside which the wheel was rotated.

The circular stamp of wood is made of line cut against the grain v[and] is used to give shape greater composition to the sides of the vessels. The most common device on these is the concentric circle or "Chosen guruma" *. But besides this several others are used, as an 8 sided star, an magnitude of of dots in concentric circles, also the concentric circles with a cross in the centre.

The kilns in which this pottery generally large vessels is burned are very large, built on the sloping side of the hill.

BOX 3-1-4 [Continuation of BOX 3-1-1]

47



A to B Height inside 5'-2"
 Kiln chamber 4'-10" Height inside
 "[Kiln] "[Chamber] 5'-9" breadth

From lower end of the kiln chamber up to the higher end

seen a series of ^ holes, 1'-0"x5", and about 1 foot or 1'-2" apart. The bottom of these holes is a little above the opening of the arch. The outside of the arch is roughly covered with straw thatch.

BOX 3-1-5 [Continuation of BOX 3-1-1]

They are built by first digging a trench up the side of] the hill, turning the bottom v[and] sides of this with clay + then forming an eir somewhat flattered circular arch of clay over it.

The dark brown glaze of the vessel is formed by mixing together equal parts of wood ashes(The ash of fir twigs) v[and] the ord[inar]y clay used for the pottery. Kneeling this mortar well with water by treading . then ... with much water v[and] passing the thin mud through a sieve. The pots after drying in the air are slipped in this before being placed in the kiln.

The kiln is ignited only when a sufficient quantity of vessels sufficient to fill it has been made .

The it is charged as follows sand in very thin layer is sprinkled on the floor v[and] on this clay balls are so placed that the vessel to be burned shall stand upright on the lowest vessel ... is placed v[and] then another ...

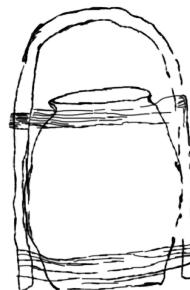
the kiln roof of the kiln is sealed. Between the lumps of clay & the vessels as well as between the vessels where they rest upon one another the very coarse quality sand is thinly sprinkled.

When the kiln has been completely filled, a slow fire is made in the lowest

When the kiln had been completely filled, a slow fire is made in the lowest of fire chamber with fir twigs x[and] this is kept slowly bring for four days. At the completion of that the first chamber is filled with

BOX 3-1-6 [Continuation of BOX 3-1-1 This note is the reverse of BOX 3-1-5, it shows only an image of a 19th century Korean water jar described in the following entry BOX 3-1-7].

49



BOX 3-1-7 [Continuation of BOX 3-1-1]

50

of any convenient kind of wood v[and] these are also put in at each of the sides holes v[and] arranged as well as possible above & between the vessels. When the whole is supposed to be sufficiently burned, the firing is stopped v[and] the kiln allowed to cool.

The mouth of the kiln ... was directed to the N[orth]W[est], but that this is considered unimportant, being determined by the

that of direction of the slope of the hill v[and] not by ^ the prevailing winds.

The stamp with concentric circles or other device does not seem to be used for vessels of smaller size than 10" 8"- or so high.

Most of the vessel in fact almost all used for water v[and] in this neighbourhood are of earthenware, no buckets were seen, but in place of these for carrying water wide open mouthed jars strung

by binding to their sides with straw rope a flexible brought to stork of wood.

The shallow pan used for boiling the houses' mash[?] ales[?]. of earthenware water brought for houses, v[and] rectangular holes hewn in solid fir logs of wood. Coopering little practised.

v[and] for boiling rice made

Vessels for boiling water for domestic use also of earthenware in of iron.

BOX 4-8 [Selected pages from Gowland's ledger on ceramics in the collection. Page 106 of Gowland's ledger give in information about many of the ceramics in the collection.]

*note In the museum at ... Tokyo when I visited it in 188 none of the examples of Korean pottery bore these markings. A collection ^ of nearly 100 effects, of thin pottery made formally an official of the Smithsonian inst[itute]. by my friend Jouy [Perire²] ^ who was sent to Korea as a collector - also does not contain any pieces with this so called "Korean wheel" markings. And he told me he had never seen them before I pointed them out to him in Japanese dolmen & tumulus pottery. See note page 162. So called Kor[ean] wheel marks probably almost certainly introduced with or after the potters wheel.

[Page 107 of Gowland's ledger give in information about many of the ceramics in the collection]

107

This vessel is alm[ost] identical in shape with the earthenware vessels used in Soul Korea for carrying of water, for which purpose they are fastened to a wooden frame which is carried on the back.

The outside of this is covered with "mat-markings" on the interior with the markings called Korean wheel (Chosen guruma) or Korean ware (Chosen nami). The work in which the vessel receives these markings both external and internal is described in my account of a visit to a Korean potters. As Most large vessels of earthenware such as water jars, chimney pipes are made as these described & hence bare these marks. On ancient sepulchral

perhaps more accurately

Korean pottery* they are not found or I should ^ more rather say I have never seen them although I have examined more than a hundred specimens. Yet according to the Japanese archaeologists these markings were made... Japan by Korean potters in ancient times & many even call such pottery Korean.

Similar vessels are frequently to be brought in Nara so that they are dug up in Yamato from time to time.

Below it will be seen that they are also found in the dolmens of Japan.

² Perrie L. Jouy (1856-1894) a collector for the Smithsonian institute who collected in China, Korea and Japan. At the time he met Gowland, he was working in Fusen holding a position in Chinese custom service of Korea (<http://vertebrates.si.edu>).

BOX 4-10-2-1 [Notes on Yasui rock tomb. Gowland describes removing objects from Yasui Rock tomb, Izumo, however they were not found in situ. The use of J. numbers, used in a ledger of many of the collections ceramics at the British Museum, would suggest this document was written after Gowland's return to England]

Rock hewn tomb at Yasui near Imaichi: Izumo.

This tomb is situated in the side of a low hill

clearly fully pebbles v[&] rounded stones:

of ^ detritus ^ in the vicinity of a-f -go scattered group
of important dolmen, & early burial mounds.

is rounded

The chamber was roughly rectangular in shape plan

— — — the & has a ... in 8'-2" in length & 6'-6" in breadth

Di[ar]y the food size is of a flattened conical form rising from

the floor of the chamber & only 3'-6" high at its

gallery

highest part. The entrance^ was a much weathered

& : 3'-1" high v[&] 2'-9" wide, & 2'-4" in length

long Placed longitudinally in the chamber was a
stone

very roughly hewn slab .

upon this slab I found several fragments of human bones

They [the bones] had been much disturbed by

found c[with] them

The & a piece of a [sword?]

straight iron sword. Both bones & sword ^ had been

much & scattered

app accounting disturbed displaced appar[entl]y recently, so that
it was impossible to ascertain with certainty
in what direction the body had lain.

The I also found the following vessels of pottery in
the chamber . none of these were in their original
positioning all having being thrown ... in a heap of
near the back

H[igh]t

No.[J.]77 1 Beaker shaped vessel on foot. 6" Red lightly burnt terracotta. [*hajiki*]

[J.]78 2 "[Beaker] "[shaped] "[vessel] "[on] "[foot] 5" [Red] [lightly] "[burnt] "[terracotta]
hard burnt

[J.]79 3 Libation vessel "—" 5"1/8 Dark grey ^ earthenware [*sueki*].

[J.]80 4 Tazza imperfect 5" "[dark]"[grey] "[earthenware].

[J.]81 5 "[Tazza] 5"1/8 "[dark]"[grey] "[earthenware].

[J.]82 6 Oval? jar c[with] trumpeted mouth.

2 loops on shoulder .

Diam[eter] 11.1/2 x 12/1.2.

[J.]101 7 Cov[ered]? dish (Futa mono) 5.1/4" Diam[eter] "[dark]"[grey] "[earthenware].

[J.]96 8 Tazza - 5.5/8" Soft red pottery

[J.]97 9 "[Tazza] 5.5/8" Red lightly burnt terracotta

BOX 4-10-2-2 [Rear side of Box 4-10-2-1, Notes of Yasui rock tomb. Gowland mistakenly believed *hajiki* to have gone out of use with the invention of *sueki*. Although he does note the occurrence of *hajiki* in several of the kofun he had visited].

Notes Yasui rock tomb. Izumo .

Very difficult to account for the presence of the 4
vessels

very archaic pieces of soft pottery red pottery³ along with
the characteristic others of dark grey earthenware⁴
which is entirely characteristic of the dolmen period.

the tomb in this somewhat

chamber of the tomb is of the most roughest char[acter].
much more rudely than any I have

any

seen close in other part[s] of Japan.

much

the district too is one with ^ strong evidence points out

being

at ^ one of the points occupied by the Jap[anese]s
[when] they migrated from the mainland⁵.

The districts further E[ast] as Kawachi, &[and] the basin of
the the river at the mouth of which which Tokiyo [Tokyo] is
situated was certainly of later occupation.

It is here just possible that we may have here
sepulchral
a secondary interment , the^ pottery pertaining to the
earlier burial not having been removed .
This
The occurrence of pottery of a similar char[acter]. in
the rock when tomb of Bizen would seem to
bear out this view . Yet there is an occur[ence]
of entirely the same vessels in the dolmen of
the double mound at Omura, Kadudzuke Kotuske
& in the dolmen at Tosa.

³ Referring to *hajiki*.

⁴ Referring to *sueki*.

⁵ This would seem to be a reference to Tusboi Shogoro's ideas on the *Tsuchi gunmo*. From a paper on rock cut tombs in Tokyo, published in Tuyo-Makugei Vol 72 September 25, 1887. Which was later published in English (Tsuboi 1892) and read at the Oriental Institute in Woking, Surrey. The discussion was chaired by William Aston (1892). Gowland's archive includes a translated version of the original paper which appears to have been made before Tusboi gave his English version.

Box 4-16-1 [Notes on ceramic coffin at Sakuraidani. From the date of September 16th 1888 given on the plan Box 4-16-3, it would appear this was written after his visit to the dolmen and was one of his last action of an archeological nature before his return, estimated to have been after the following month, October 1888. The description of the *sueki* kiln site is a reference to an investigation Gowland undertook at Sakuraidani 1884, discussed elsewhere].

Terra cotta Sarcophagus

The sarcophagus was taken from a dolmen (chambered tumulus) at Sakurai dani (about 6 miles to the N[orth] of Osaka) in the 14th year of Meiji (1884) at the time when the dolmen was destroyed its stones removed to the neighbouring temple.

The dolmen was called "Taiko dzuka" was situated on the lower slope of a range of low hills known as Senji yama.[Senriyama]

This district has been brought under cultivation during resent years⁶ & during the process many dolmens & clay sarcophagi were destroyed.

Fragments of Sarcophagi & of sepultural pottery [*sueki*] are scattered over the fields.

Some of the sarcophagi are said to have been shorter than the specimen & some to have had flat covers but I saw none of these.

On the Hills in the immediate vicinity I found the remains of several ancient potteries [kilns] where sepulchral vessels had been made; these sites were indicated by heaps of broken & misshapen vessels mixed with masses of semifused clay &

BOX 4-16-2 [Continuation of BOX 4-16-1]

Charcoal ash.

As the whole of the stones of these dolmens had been removed by the farmers[,] none can have been megalithic.

The entrances of all the dolmens are said to have faced the south.

Other localities for clay sarcophagi.

Near the village of Yamamoto between Hikeda & Yamanaka about 7 or 8 miles from Sakuraidani I found the remains of a similar terra cotta sarcophagus in a small dolmen of which the accompanying are diagrams. One stone roof only was megalithic.

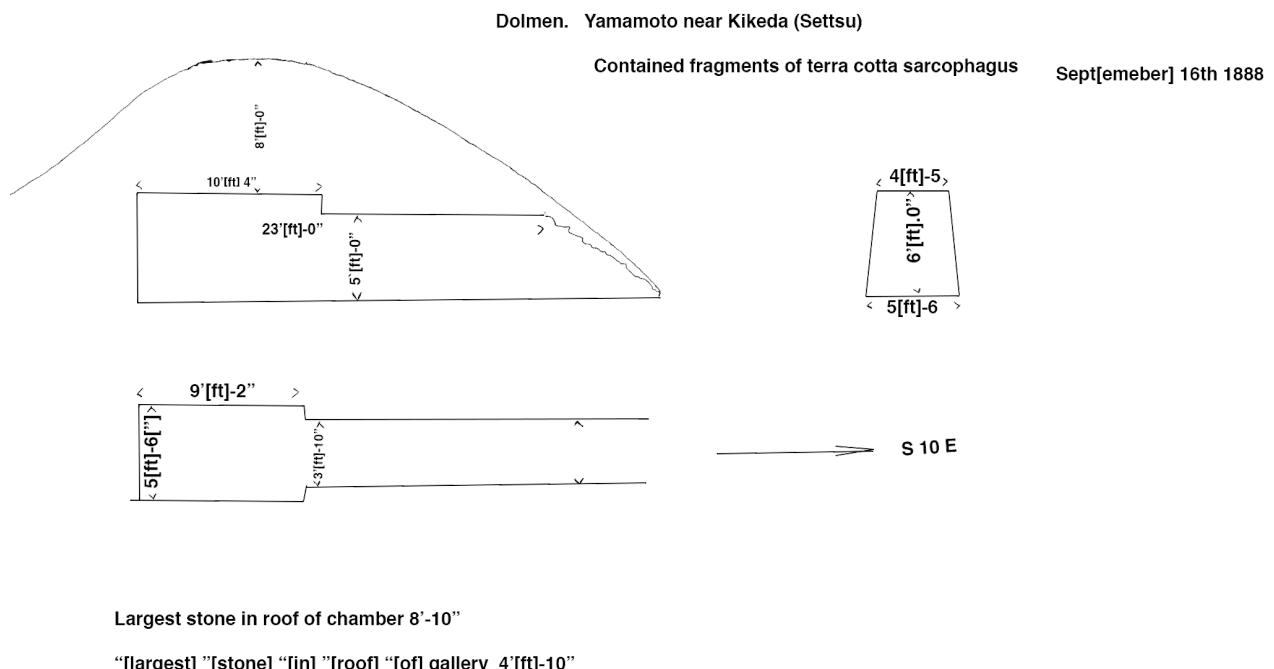
The mound had originally been a simple circular one without a moat.

I have also found fragments of a similar sarcophagus in a rock hewn chamber near the village of Hokubu about 10 miles from Osaka. I have not formed any very

⁶ BOX 5-1-11-2 states that this event occurred in 1884.

definite opinion about the age of these sarcophagi but I think we may safely state that they date from before the 6th century of our era. How much earlier they may be it is impossible to conjecture from the present available data.

BOX 4-16-3 [Continuation of BOX 4-16-1]



BOX 5-1-3-5 [Further notes on ceramic coffin at Sakuraidani. BOX 5-1-3-5 to BOX 5-1-3-6 are part of a larger selection of notes, one kofun in Settsu, only the sections which discuss the Stoneware coffin (Franks.2212) have been transcribed. papers to include directions on when to change slides or photographs, which may indicate this is a script for a talk, and as it makes reference to Gowland's slides it may be the 1888 exhibition of the photographs Gowland took which Romyn Hitchcock].

Settsu

Two other dolmen are worthy of note, one as having the highest chamber of all Japanese dolmen v[&] the other as it contains a remarkably well hewn granite sarcophagus.

They are both only about 6 miles apart. the which

first ^ is in the village of Sompachi is shown in Plan v[&] elevation in sketches Nos . Its chamber is 21ft long 10-8[ft] wide & 17ft high & is entered though a gallery 26ft in length. Its mound is of the conical type & may once have been terraced but all traces of this have been destroyed by cultiv[ation].

The second is about 6 miles W[est] of this. ~~as the other~~ It is the

lest the

... of ^ three great dolmen of the province &

Buddh[ist]

is found in situated in the grounds of the temple
of Kwannon in the village of Nakoayama. Its
Mound has been destroyed in the construction of the
upper terrace of the temple but otherwise it is
in a perfect state of preservation.

..... silde.

In this ... slide the structure of the dolmen
& an end view of this sarcoph[agus]. are given. The
lantern on its cover id of course modern v[&] has
been so placed to convert the chamber into a
sisen⁷ v[&] an extract coins from the faithful
the roof being consisting of two huge ...
blocks. . The gall[ery] entrance gallery is 36ft long
but only 20ft of this is covered c[with] roof stones.

dolmen

The next ^ district which ... under our

is about 3m[iles] rom Sompachi &

consideration ^ at present contains no dolmen,
as the entire group has been destroyed since
1884. It is however worthy of special note

as

BOX 5-1-3-6 [Continuation of BOX 5-1-3-5].

6

as it is the only locality known to
me in which ~~all the~~ every one of the dolmens
contained a terra cotta sarcophagus of a
shape particular to Settsu. The district

allow c[with]

which consists of a long low hill of ^ detritus
v am

called Sen ri yama the slopes of which - where
the dolmen were built was have been
brought under cultiv[ation] since the date mentioned -

is

& the result being that mounds have been
have been

levelled the stone of the ^ dolmen ^ removed &
only the frag[ments] of broken sarcophagi scattered
here v[&] there over fields remain to show
where the dolmen were stood.

One sarcophagus - the only existing specimen of
this special form in Japan - ... was

Buddh[ist]

preserved from destruction by the priest of

⁷ 賽錢, a donation box.

the village⁸. (and I would here pay a
to the priests of that religion for the ...
care which which they have always shown
in the preserv[ation] of which otherwise
would have been destroyed, after about 3 years
.... I was at last able to secure it
by erecting a large entrance gate for his
is
temple & it now in the Br[itish] M[useum].

.... slide

....

Dimensions

a group

BOX 5-1-3-7 [Continuation of BOX 5-1-3-5].

7

a group of 5 dolmens near the vill[age] of Yama mote
about a mile from only a short distance from
Yamanaka is of considerable interest in
combination c[with] these terra cotta sarcophagi as
it contains the only surviving example of

once so numerous in this prov[ince]
this class of dolmens ^ cont[ainin]g these.

It is a dolmen of small size Table no.

Diary “ .

but with one large roof stone (9'[ft] x 8'[ft]). but there
is nothing special about its construction.

The sarcophagus which it is completely broken up
& parts of which several many pieces are
missing was of the same form as that above
described.

The other groups of dolmen which are found
along the banks of the Migawa N[orth] of
v[&] around in the vicinity of the town of Sanda
present no especially charact[eristic] features of
importance.

The principal group of “summit burial” mounds
not cont[ainin]g dolmens occur around the villages of
Okamachi v[&] Sakuradzuka v[&] in the neighbourhood
of the huge double mound at Ota which is
attrib[uted] to Keitai Tenno. There are about 70 in
all 3 only being of the double type .

written out

see page other notes ^ in detailed acc[ount]

of Settsu dolmens v[&] tumuli.

⁸ Referring to Sakurai Giomon.

BOX 5-1-3-8 [Notes on the kilns at Sakurazuka kofun-gun]

The ancient potteries [kilns] of Settsu.⁹

8

in this prov[ince]

I was fortunate in discovering ^ the site of
5 ancient potteries [kilns] in which the sepulchral
vessels of the dolmen period were made.

one

Two of the most important from find judging
from the remains is situated not far from the

NE

Sakura dzuka group of mounds on the ^ slope
where the plateau rises from the lower plain.

apparently

if the foundations of the kiln. have the depth
of the slope. was built in the

the upper part

slope +[and] with the same incline its foundation
at its have

this

ridges of clay

it was crossed with charcoal found

(wood) had been

between which the fuel was ^ placed, resembling
closely the structure of some of the rude kiln

in Korea

sites in use ^ in similar proportions & marking
not very dissimilar pottery at the present

in Korea

day. From the great quantity of broken, unburnt
& misshapen vessels pots +[and] pots fused together &
clumps of & semifired clay
scattered about in some places to a depth
of one or two feet, indicate that very
intensive operation were carried out here.

* The other site is at Susho mura not far

the last

vicinity

from here & the others there in the neighbourhood
of Senriyama also only a mile or two distant.

The plateau & its vicinity seem ^ to have been
a po potter's district & hence probly[probably] are arose
find the use of terra cotta sarcophagi in
the district of by the dolmen builders of
the Senri-yama & other neighbouring dolmens.

* frag[ment]s of futa mono were most abundant v[&] also nine of
large W[wheel].M[marked] vessels with Kor[ean] wheel f

markings inside

in the current times the pottery is said to have been burnt in holes in the
ground but during the part of the Kor[ean] wheel era it was doubtless

⁹ Although this document has no date, Gowland appears to have already been aware of the kilns in Korea and at Sakuraidani, dating this document to post 1887.

kilns built on hill slopes were chiefly employed.

=

Glaze on parts where the ash sealed is solely due to its fusion. (see spec[ifics]).

BOX 5-1-11-1 [Notes on kilns at Taikozuka kofun-gun.]

+ancient potteries. 1

Sakurai dani on the road to Mino about one li

beyond the Hattori Tenjin¹⁰. 26th Oct[ober] 1887

in the temple by the side of the road now being

there is kept an stone earthenware coffin of similar form to the accompanying sketch¹¹. It was dug out of

dolmen **called Taiko dzuka**

a hole in the hill side (rock tomb) which the priest of the temple supposes was once used as a dwelling¹² the sarcoph[agus] being a box in which articles were kept.

called Senji yama

Several sarcoph[agi] have been taken out of there~~es~~ hills[^] near

short

from time to time but mostly of rectangular form

almost square . all have cylindrical hollow feet **generally**

priced with small holes.. **see specimens** .

In the same hills there are remains of ancient pottery where giyogi yak was manufactured. +[&]

with

the ground near[by] is strewn ^ full of frag[ment]s of imperfect & broken vessels . **v[and] agglom[erated] measure of semifused clay + charcoal.**

H-the priest had several futa mono of ord[inar]y size & form,

a bottle somewhat of Tosa shape & several imperfect

vases of the form c[with] the sloping hole in the side .

a great quantity of fragments of broken earthen coffins occur on several parts of these hills .

the pottery in possession of the priest had been found on the sides of the ancient potteries .

BOX 5-1-11-2

Sakurai dani continued.

- 2

Temple Hō-on-ji. Priest Sakurai Gimon . In the village of called no-batake-mura . of Sakuraidani . the hill district of low detritus hills called Sen ri san or Sen ri yama about six or seven cho distance from Nobatake mura contains the sites of several dolmens, which were damaged during the 17th year of Meiji [1884] when the ground was brought under cultivation . On the portion adjacent to the Minō road the remains of there of the mounds can still be seen on the side of the hill notwithstanding that the levelling to which the ground has been subjected

¹⁰ Hattorimachi, southern Toyonaka city.

¹¹ This sketch has not yet been identified.

¹² Perhaps referring to the folkloric tradition of believing the predecessors of the Japanese in Japan, the *tuchi-gumo* or "earth spiders", described in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, had inhabited cave sites and old tombs.

in order to form the present builds. none of the dolmen stones remain as they were all recovered for use in the village but scattered over the whole

hill side are numerous fragments of the ^{grey} terra cotta sarcophagi of which each dolmen is said to have contained one. no ^g sculptural pottery was seen but it was not carefully sought for .

▼

The coffins have been made of grey clay only partially baked. In the interior the sides are marked with the Korean wheel pattern . In most cases the covers were flat the specimen now at the above temple being the only example of a sloped roof like cover . They also nearly square, a little longer than board . Cylindrical hollow feet were

one attached to there bases , generally pierced with [^] two or more holes , one sometimes opening into the inside of the coffin .

BOX 5-1-11-3

Sakurai dani continued

3.

The sarcophagus now kept at the Ho-onji temple in . no batte mura is the only example of long coffin which has been found here. It was taken from one of the three mounds ^{abe} situated above called Taiko dzuka its form v[and] dimensions are given in the accompanying fig it measures but 4'-8.3/4 in length & 1-4 in breadth at its widest part . There are 6 small holes in each of its long sides¹³ & one hole at each end of its cover ¹⁴.

... of the the [^] cover is grooved to fit the upper edge of the sarcoph[agus] which is received to it. The coffin stands on hollow cylindrical feet about which are about 3.1/2" high. Its sides are approximately one inch in thickness, +[and]

one three

inner surfaces are marked with the K[orean]. wheel pattern¹⁵.

The stones of the dolmen from which it was taken are now in the temple grounds.

¹³ These small holes were used to support the walls of the coffin whilst it dried, by looping string through and hanging tim from a support suspended over the coffin, so that it did not collapse under its own weight (Toshio Maeda 2012 perscomm).

¹⁴ These were fitted with specially made ceramic plugs, made with the object, and fitted after the object was complete. These holes may have, in part, been interned to allow air to escape during firing so that the object did not explode as the air expanded inside, however, as there are two either side, when only one would be necessary there could perhaps be some ritual significance attributed to them (Hishida Testsuo 2014 perscomm).

¹⁵ What Gowland calls anvil marks, made during the construction of the object via the paddle and anvil technique.

4m[iles] or
About ^ five or 6-cho further along the hill there is a dolmen
which had not yet been opened. It is the top of its roof
the mound which is of
stone alone is exposed at the top of ^ an insignificant size
All the dolmen are said to have faced the south.

BOX 5-1-11-4

Sakurai dani continued 4.
on the opposite hills there are no dolmens + but there
are however here the sites of three ancient potteries [kiln sites] where
the sepulchral vessels were made . They are situated on
the sloping hill side v[and] are easy recognised by the
large quantities of broken, misshaped, & overburnt pots
scattered around
scatter of around. many of are fused to masses
of wood or charcoal ashes¹⁶ . The chief site
is N[orth] E[ast] by E[ast] of the temple about 10 cho distant¹⁷.
These fragments of the following vessels were found.
Large wide mouthed jars some of large size with
mouths 10"-12" diam[eter].
small tazzas.

Bottles with mouth at one side
Vase like Tumbler without small on shoulder
Vase like bottle of Tosa shape

Ord[inar]y covered hollow pots .

All the large vessels bore K[orean]W[wheels] markings

BOX 5-1-11-5

Sakura dani continued 5.

Three cho N[orth] of the temple a dolmen was opened this year [1887]
v[&] its stones removed. The roof of the chamber contained
a huge stone v[&] in order to remove it easily the chamber
was filled up with earth[&] rubbish it formed a bed
for lifting it. The terracotta sarcoph[agus] in which it
contained was broken to pieces , some of which I found on
the side rubbish which had been at the side of the
excavation. See specimens . no sepulchral pottery was
seen, probably was not looked for the chief of object
of the of the dolmen being the stones of which
it was built.

¹⁶ Although Gowland does not mention collecting any of this material it is believed the fused ceramic metrical he'd in the collection (OA+15723) was collected during this event.

¹⁷ The distance of approximately 10cho (町) is equal to approximately 1.09km.

BOX 5-2-1-1 [Notes on the early understanding of Japanese stoneware.]

There was mostly the whole of the dolmen pottery has been made on the wheel.

Fig[u]r[e] inclu[ded].

The pottery has been termed "Gyogi yaki" by the Jap[anese] because accord[ing] to an old tradition a Buddh[ist] priest Gyogi introd[uced] the pottery wheel from China in the

latter half of the early 7th or first half of the 8th

& ... the many of these vessels in Yamato there is however no evidence whatever grounds

to support this- but there are not the slight grounds

the slightest

whatever for supporting this old tale. on the other hand there is overwhelming evidence. in fact the opinion & testimony of all dolmens that these sepulchral mounds

are of a much more remote date

& the potters wheel date from many centuries earlier. how many of it is impossible to say with certain[ty] the date of the earliest of this pottery is coeval with the start of the dolmen period - this I am inclined to fin[d] appears as not later than the 2nd century B.C. See page

seen

- Pottery all ^ unglazed, v[&] none bearing any without painted drawings

- Decoration in lines into the clay where soft with a s hard point or with a comb

numerous bands design all primitive whi no incised

with many teeth ^ there is not depiction of animal or plant life

Figure]

birds, animals, ..., modelled on their shoulders - only of forms derived from there Some ... shapes are of special interest especially those vessels which are made up of several joined tog[ether] of which have smaller vases set on their shoulders.

no relief decoration

Use still known in Korea

Total amount metals of bronze or copper is notwithstanding & would seem it indicates with that they were not their in use or not were too costly - on all of the searching of these metals - to be buried with the - earlier than

dead . the number of bronze bell like objects¹⁸ ^ which have been dug up but not do occur in dolmen would seem to contribute to the latter suppos[ition]

¹⁸ Referring to *dotaku* (銅鐸, どうたく), dating to the late Yayoi period, here Gowland dates them correctly to before the Kofun period. Although, it should be noted that *dotaku* were never buried with the dead.

BOX 5-2-1-2 [Continuation of BOX 5-2-1-1]

wether the terra cotta were
Grey pottery burnt in closed kiln in the as the
iron oxide all emits in the ferrous state.

All for

....
Where for ... they are found c[with] loops or covered
cups & were not priced [c] with holes . with priced holes ,

Ornamentation is entirely confined to the exterior
of the vessels. The inter examples of the larger
vessels are however often found marked with concentric circles
stamped into their surfaces but this is not inlaid for
amount but is due entirely to the mode in which
they have been in order to make
this sides dense & for form consolidate their sides .
& there circular marking. ... are ca;;ed
Chosen nami, K[orean] wheel, or K[orean] ware. because it has been
supposed to have been ... from Korea. But this

erroneous erroneous
I believe to be entirely without foundation. It
is time that these made of manufacture is much in
Korea at the present day v[&] all large vessels
are never seen on the
has these marking but they are pottery from
the anc[ient] burial m[oun]ds of that country
the markings are prod[uced] by holding a ~~straight~~ wooden
stamp with concentric circles cut on its head against
the side inside of the vessel at the same time that

flat
its outside is beaten with a ^ woods tool covered
which is
c[with] matting ^ the vessel ... slowly turned on the
wheel Both the mattmarks marks of matting
are the produced. seen on marks all pottery .
* not as supposed by ... in their
having been shaped by matting whilst they were
in a ... soft state.

~~Early handles~~

-

~~No-spouts~~

-

Unknown No.1 [Further notes on Taikozuka kofun-gun. Gowland describes visiting
Taikozuka kofun-gun and part of the Sakuraidani kiln cluster in Toyonaka city, Osaka].

sarcophagus
the clay terracotta coffin . Sakuraidani. prov[ince] of Settsu

about 6 miles from Osaka
at Sakuraidani (about 6 miles to the W[est] of Osaka)
The sarcophagus was taken from a dolmen (chambered tumulus) in the
17th year of Meiji [1884] about at the time when the dolmen was
destroyed & its stones removed to the neighbouring temple.

was called Taikozuka & on the lower slope of

the dolmen ^ was a low ... of hills surround.....

called Senijizuka[?]

a long sample[?] of low hills ... greatly from the plain an on each side. This district has only recently brought under cultivation & many dolmen during resent years & during this from many dolmens & clay sarcophagus were destroyed. Fragments of sarcophagus & of spherical pottery are scattered in the fields.

are said to have been

I have

Some of the sarcoph(agus) were shorter than the specimen ^have flat covers but i have seen none of these. On some of the hills mounds[?] in several

the immediate vicinity I found the remains of^ anc[ient] potteries where their sites

the sepultural vessels had been made, they^ where indicated by heaps of broken & misshapen vessels uncovered c[with] masses of semifused clay & charcoal ash.

of these dolmens

As the whole of the stones had been removed by the famers non of them dolmens can have been megalithic. they are said to have all faced the S[outh]. the entrance of all the dolmens faced the south. Other locations for clay sarcophagus.

naka

near the vill[age] of Yama moto about between Nikida[?] & Yamamoto about 7 or 8 miles from sakuraidani. I found the remains of a similar of terracotta sarcophagus in a ruined dolmen small dolmen of which

accompanying are are

the follows in a diagrams with drawn to scale.

one roof stone only was megalithic. The mound had actually been a simple circular one without a moat.

I have also found fragments of a similar sarcoph[agus] in a rock ... chamber near the village of Kokuben[?] in Kawachi - about 10 miles ... from Osaka.

All (these fragments were packed in the with the sarcoph[agus] & when I next see which cover up to I will be able to identify them.)

I have not definitely made yet found any very definite opinion about the age of the sarcophagus but I think

I state

we may safely say that they dates from before the 6th 5th century of our ... & How much earlier they may be it is at present impossible to conjecture.

Unknown No.1-2 [Document was viewed and transcribed but could not be found again to be given a number.]

of the vessels. The interior of the larger vessels are however often moulded with concentric circles stamped into their surfaces but this is not intended for ornament but is due solely to the mode in which they have been made treated in order to their sides dense and for form consolidate their sides.
*These concentric markings have are called Chosens,

Chosen guruma, nami, or K[orean] wares. Because it has been supposed to have been introd[uced] from Korea. But this erroneous erroneous

I believe to be entirely without foundation . it is ... that their made of ... is much in Korea at the present day & all large

are never seen on the bare these markings but they are pottery from the anc[ient] burial m[oun]ds of that country.

The markings are prod[uced] by holding a simple wooden stamp with concentric circles cut on its head against the side inside of the vessel at the same time the outside is beaten with a wooden tool covered whilst

c(with) mating ^ the vessel being slowly turned on the wheel¹⁹. Both the markings marks of matting large ... of seen as marks all similar pottery

are this period?

* not as supposed by some that(?) these having been supported by matting whilst they were in a ... soft state .

¹⁹ Here Gowland is generally correct, but conflates the processes of large and small *sueki* vessels construction.

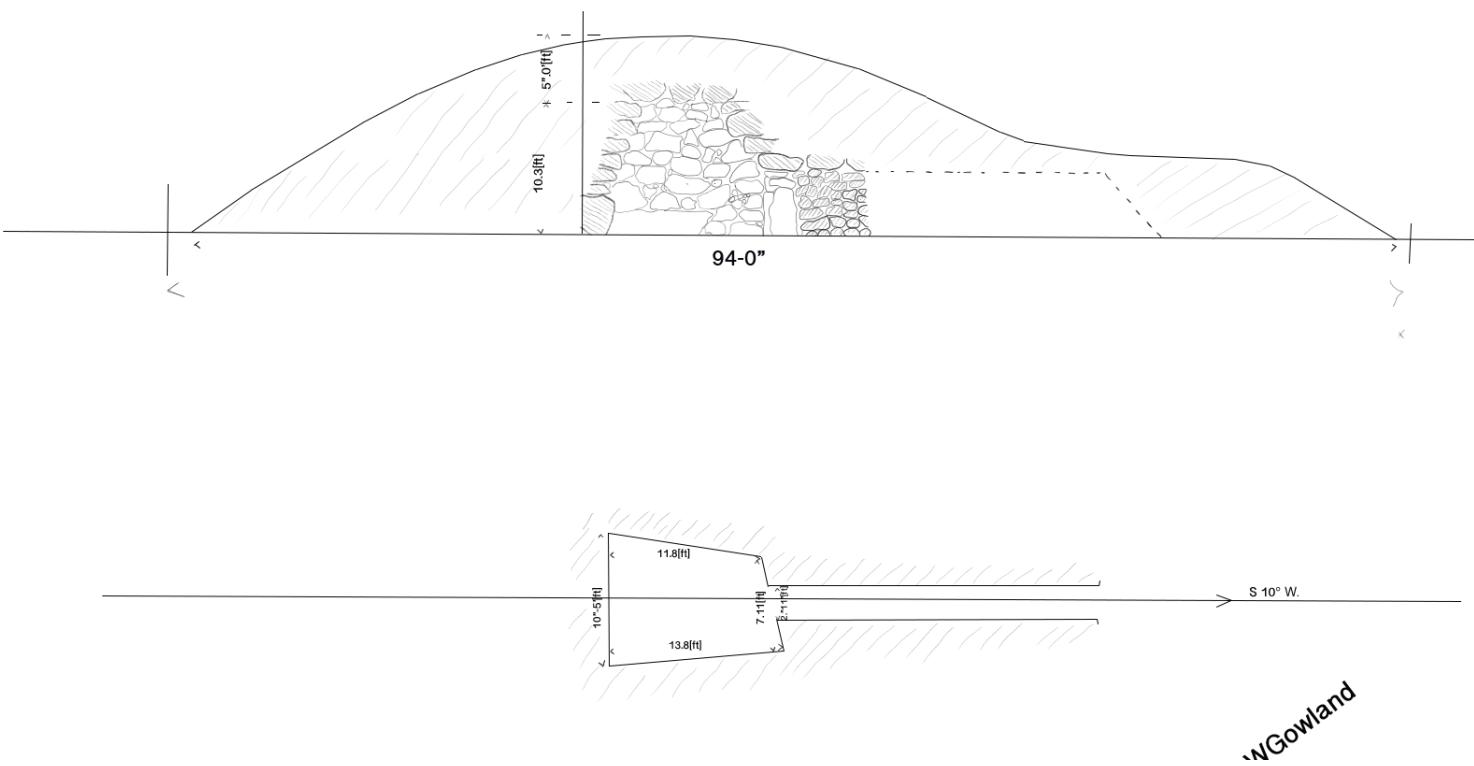
Appendix 3: Plans, excavation and objects of Shibayama kofun

[Transcriptions of BOX 4-1-1, BOX 4-2-1, BOX 4-3-1, BOX 4-17-1 to BOX 4-17-41, BOX 4-26-1 to BOX 4-26-9 and BOX 4-35-2. The BOX numbers reflect the order in which the documents were photographed and numbered by Kutsuna Keizo, between 2010 and 2015, and do not appear in the chronological order in which they were written. The documents below are unpublished materials, hand written and drawn by William Gowland regarding Shibayama kofun, aka Shiba-mura dolmen, aka Kawachi dolmen, modern Higashi-Osaka City, Osaka prefecture, and dated to post 10th July 1887. Now held between the British Museum and the Society of Antiquaries of London. Corrections, annotations of the original document are included and written in a smaller font and unreadable sections are denoted by: “.....”. My own annotations and amendments to abbreviations are written between square brackets and/or in the footnotes. The colour of text reflects the colour of pen or pencil used on the original. Where sketches appear on the original, they have been added in their approximate location in relation to the original text. Where possible the British Museum numbers, (Franks and OA+) have been added to allow the reader to access their modern records easily via the Museum website: (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)].

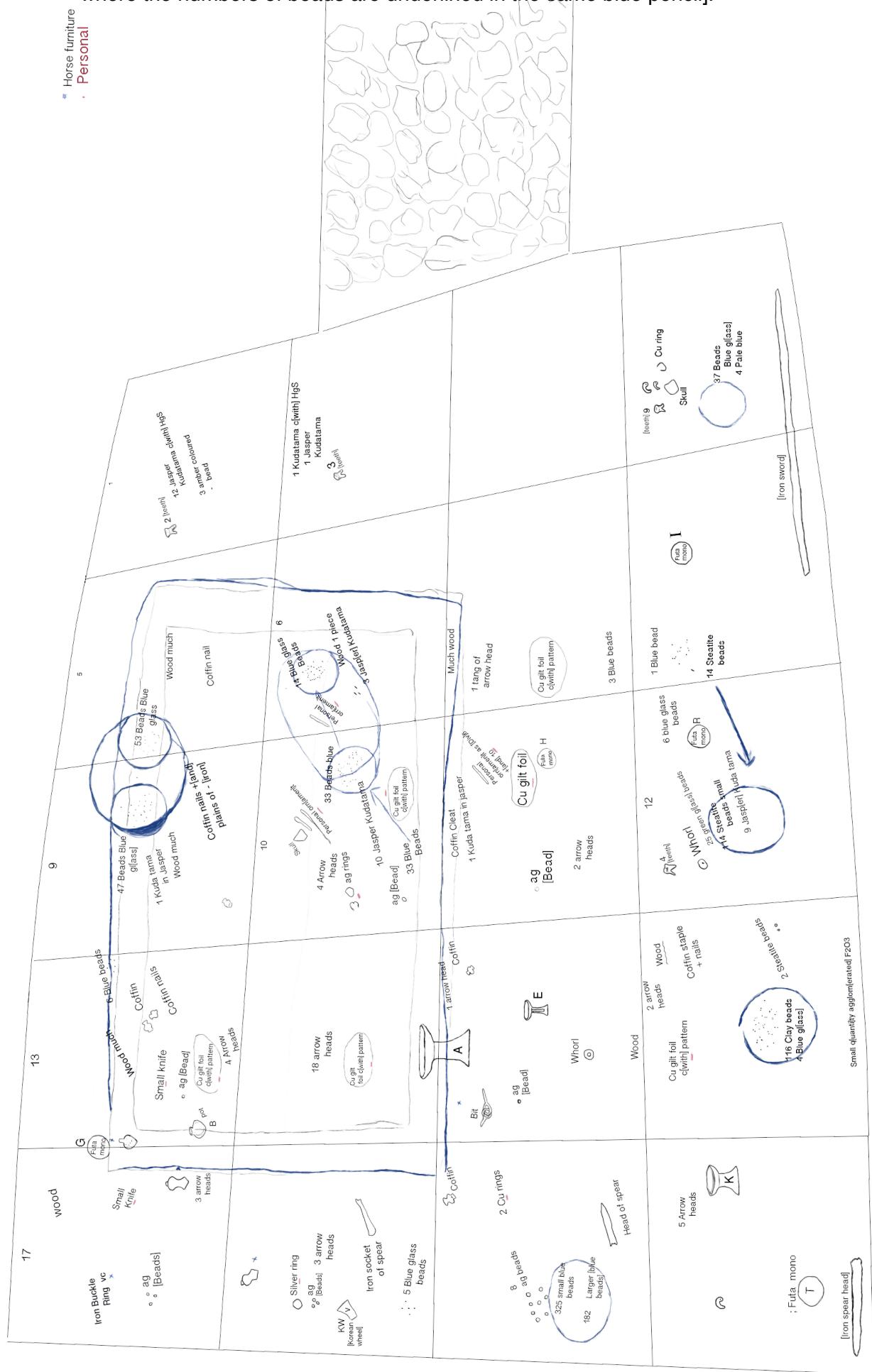
BOX 4-1-1 [Plan1] [Elevation plan of Shibayama Kofun. Faint pencil notes (not shown) are instructions on creating the larger plans of Shibayama, which Gowland used for three reproductions, two large plans, likely used for his presentation in 1897, and a small plan included in his subsequent publication the same year (Gowland 1897)].

at
Dolmen ~~at~~ Shiba mura Kawachi
explored 29 & 30 Dec 1887.
[scale] 1/8" = one foot [Reconstruction not to this scale]

WGowland



BOX 4-2-1 [Plan 2] [Pictorial floor plan of distribution of objects, 99 total entries. Blue circles indicate the coffin and groups of beads; these are referenced in BOX 4-17-44, where the numbers of beads are underlined in the same blue pencil].



BOX 4-3-1 [Plan 3] [List floor plan of Shibayama Kofun, with lists of objects found in each division. 152 total entries].

[Div] 17	[Div] 13	[Div] 9	[Div] 5	[Div] 1
1 Hebard shaped horse ornament iron Cu gilt 1 Buckle [tang wanting] 1 small knife 1 arrow head 1 piece decayed wood 1 iron objects 3 silver beads 1 iron buckle [imperfect] 1 iron ring 3 pieces iron ring as [Div] 3 4 Piccas pottery 2 of [Pot] K 2 of [Pot] G	1 heart shaped iron horse ornament 4 Iron arrow heads 1 iron small knife or dagger 1 "iron" ring 6 beads Blue glass 2 Half vase shaped Cu gilt ornament as piece copper gilt puffed hollows Cu gilt pattern 2 nails short stout Cu gilt heads 1 Sediment in flat iron ring 1 Silver head 2 Burnt clay beads 7 Fragments of pot B, 2 of [Pot] G, 1 of [Pot] H Several pieces iron found Cu gilt small nails	1 Jasper Kuda tama Cu gilt vermilion 47 Beads Dark blue glass 1 iron nail as in Div 7 4 Rectangular plain of iron Cu gilt in corner stand middle 2 sediment of plain of iron with band of metal 2 pieces of flat iron ring 1 small vase shaped thin copper ornament	Fragments of enamel of both 53 Beads Dark blue glass 1 Broken iron nail with Lozenge shaped head Pieces of decayed wood	12 Kuda tama Jasper Cu gilt adhesive vermilion 3 Double beads (amber glass) 2 teeth 1 Fragments pottery
[Div] 18	[Div] 14	[Div] 10	[Div] 6	[Div] 2
[Div] 19	[Div] 15	[Div] 11	[Div] 7	[Div] 3
[Div] 20	[Div] 16	[Div] 12	[Div] 8	[Div] 4

BOX 4-17-1. [Explanation of Gowland's investigation of the tomb. BOX 4-17-1 to BOX 4-17-5 consists of an explanation of Gowland's investigation of Shibayama kofun, dated to after Gowland's return to England, see footnote 3].

Diary

-

[[I] Had once been caught by a policeman inside the tomb of a province[.] I had had to promise not to do any more digging without his permission. During the last years of my residence whenever recently I visited any of the districts where there were important tumuli I found shortly after my arrival a man stationed on or near each.

Shiba mura¹ dolmen²

I heard of this dolmen from one of my servants who was a native of one of the neighbouring villages & who had been told that there were many broken pots & pieces of rust iron rust in its interior.

An apprec[iation] to the gov[ernor] of the prov[ence]⁴ who was an intimate friend of mine for permission to explore it[.] He informed me that he had no perm[ission] to grant this but that as he deemed the matter one of urgency he would appoint me as an expert to assist his officials in its exam[ination].

The dolmen had undergone a superficial exam[ination] by some gov[ernmen]t officials in 1874⁵ who took away one or two pieces of pottery & the farmer on whose ground it was

which

inlaid had also taken out some things but there I [was] allowed [to] purchase from him, yet its chief contents being protected by a layer of earth (from 6" to 10" in the interior which had penetrated through the crevices⁶) were left[,] altho[ugh] they had been much damaged.

¹ Gowland originally refers to the tomb as Shibamura dolmen, as it was located near the village of Shibamura, *mura* (村) meaning village. However, this was not the official name, at the time it likely did not have one and Gowland did not use this name in his published work, referring to the tomb as "*Shiba dolmen*" or "*the dolmen near the village of Shiba*". Thus here the modern name is used, Shibayama kofun.

² Gowland uses the term dolmen to refer to the stone chambers or the entire site of Kofun period burial mounds. This is a problematic term, as it is a specific monument designation for European and Mediterranean sites. But, not commonly used to refer to sites in Japan, the modern term being *kofun*. Gowland most likely adopted the term dolmen when after it was used by Edward Sylvester Morse in 1880 to refer to Japanese burial mounds, taking after John Lubbock who referred to similar sites from Ireland to India as dolmen (Lubbock 1865; Morse 1880: 593).

³ From the text written on the left margin of the page, we can see that the word diary has been crossed out. This would appear to have originally been a reference to Gowland's diary, but then struck it off and wrote the relevant section in below. From the phrase "During the last years of my residence in Japan" it is likely that BOX 4-17-1 to BOX 4-17-5 were written after Gowland's return to England post February 1889.

⁴ Named Nakagawa Shoji in BOX 4-17-38.

⁵ BOX 4-26-1, written earlier, gives a less accurate date of between 1874 and 1875.

⁶ Referring to the gaps between the three large stones that made the ceiling of the main chamber.

BOX 4-17-2 [Continuation of Box 4-17-1. Discusses how the excavation was approached and the divisions. Includes many details which were later used in Gowland's 1897 paper (Gowland 1897: 451-453; 477)].

Shiba mura dolmen made the
In this exploration of the dolmen I left several
following arrangements
precautions for the determination of the position
of any objects which in might contain. The
floor was divided into 20 compartments by
manner of a bamboo frame work. Each compartment
a large & small one
was numbered & had a special two baskets[^] having
its number assigned to it, with which the
objects found in it were placed. after
This bamboo framework was laid upon the
earth which covered the floor. Each division
The earth in
was
each division was then carefully scraped away
Until the paved floor was reached[.]
in layer⁷ ^ sieved first through coarse & then
through a fine sieve to ensure that nothing
however small might escape detection, * This
was continued until the hard floor was reached
I hope by these precautions to the abb[above] to find
original each object in
the exact ^ position of all the contents of the dolmen[.]
but I soon found from realised the irregular

BOX 4-17-3 [Continuation of Box 4-17-1. Discusses the distribution of some of the objects].

distrib[ution] of some of the beads, parts of the skull &
& per[ha]ps of pottery
of teeth ^ that in several places but not in all[.]
the remains had been disturbed. Yet this
disturbance fortunately was not suff[icient] to prevent
position
the original loca[tion] of the principle objects
ascertained
from being determined. The position of the objects
found is shown in the diagram⁸.
Diary
A large quantity of decayed wood in powder and fragments
spread over an area of about 7'6 x 4'-0[ft] showed that
the dolmen had contained a wooden sarcophagus
diagonally
of pine boards placed on its floor ^ about 1ft

⁷ This refers to the earth having been scraped away in a uniform manner, rather than having been excavated stratigraphically. As there was only one layer, that had fallen in from gaps in the stone chamber's ceiling as Gowland describes above. See BOX 4-17-1.

⁸ Referring to Plan 2. See BOX 4-2-1.

from the W[est] East & 3ft from the N[orth] wall & that these boards had a thickness of about 2"1/2 it had been of they had been fastened together c[with] nails with fragmentary lozenge shaped heads & other iron fittings pieces portions of which had been were found. metals & many beads Personal ornaments of some beads of many beads & about 36⁹ arrows c[with] Iron heads had been placed in the sarcophagus¹⁰ with the body. the But

BOX 4-17-4 [Continuation of Box 4-17-1. Continues the discussion of the distribution of objects].

the

The greater number of the beads seem to have been placed on the outside the coffin & between it & the W[est] wall.

straight iron

a ^ sword & also a part of a spear¹¹ was found lying longitudinally near front altogether f this wall[,] the former near the mouth & the latter near the back of the chamber. another imperfect spear was found against the back wall a horse bit & several iron apparatus & fittings of horse trappings were all lying within 3ft of the back wall, chiefly in the N[orth]E[astern] part of the dolmen

two the large tazza & several vessels of sepulchral pottery¹² were placed between the sarcophagus & the W[est] wall.

the occurrence of the beads in such large numbers outside the sarcophagus thus for in

⁹ BOX 4-17-36 includes an extra half an arrow from Div.13 (see BOX 4-17-22), the total given is 40 in BOX 4-17-36.

¹⁰ The use of the word sarcophagus is problematic, but Gowland does use this term interchangeably with the more correct term coffin.

¹¹ The two spear heads which Gowland refers to here were found in Div.19 and 20. There is a third object described as a socket of a spear found in Div.18, see Plan 2 BOX 4-2-1. However, this is described as possibly being a sword handle in BOX 4-17-27, Gowland may have changed his opinion of what the object was by the time his note was written, explaining why it is not mentioned here.

¹² Sepulchral pottery, pottery which had been buried in tombs, referring to *sueki* (須恵器) stoneware.

BOX 4-17-5 [Continuation of Box 4-17-1. Continues the discussion of the distribution of objects].

507 glass beads
8 silver "[beads]
118 burnt clay beads
128 Steatite
2 spindle whorls

} near the back wall
all behind the sarcoph[agus]
& the W[est] wall
W[est] of the sarcoph[agus]

It is very puzzling & I can't I must confess I
to give a sati[sfactory] of it be
am unable to explanation . It may have
said

been that the wife of the warrior was laid here
but in that case the I thought the distrib[ution] of
the beads would have been different[,] they would
have been placed on the body as they were worn
& their possessions are incompatible with this.

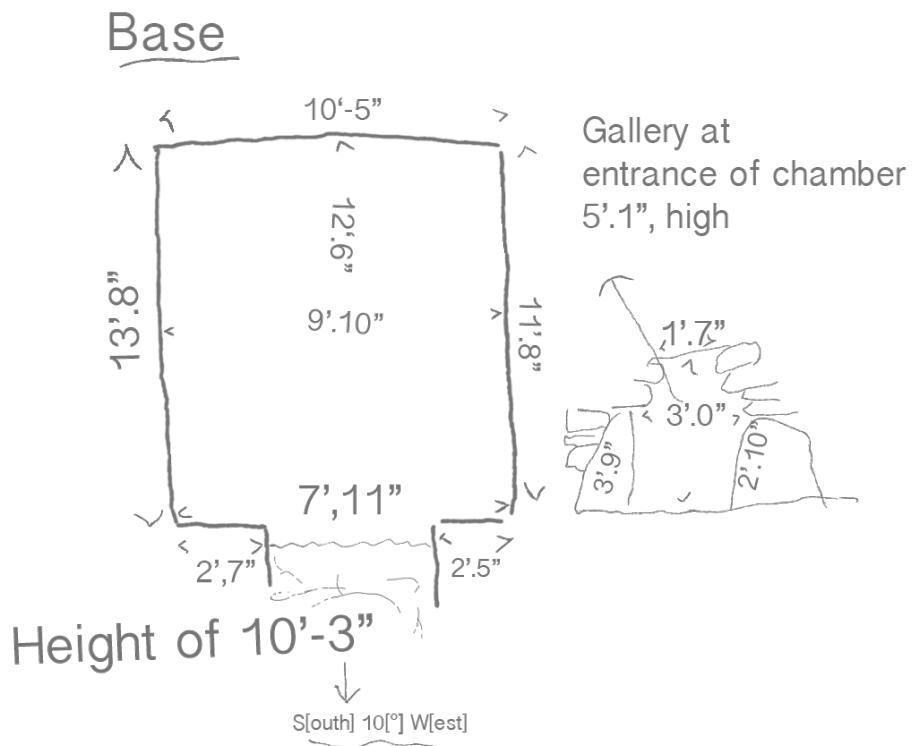
On the other hand the occurrence of spindle whorls
of steatite in this part of the dolmen would be in[-]
form of this supposition as they can hardly have
formed part of the equipment of a warrior¹³.

A complete list of the remains with the position in
(appendix ?)
which they were found in given below

supposed
& this occurrence some
comparison in the positions
of two spindle whorls.

¹³ Referring to OA+.1202 and OA+.2674. The spindle whorls do not necessarily imply that a woman was buried here, as Gowland suggests, and may have been included as burial good purely for symbolic purposes. This passage also suggests Gowland was not aware that Late Kofun period tombs could contain multiple burials of women and men.

BOX 4-17-6 [Notebook pages, description of the chamber. BOX 4-17-6 to BOX 4-17-7 would appear to have originally consisted of pages from a small notebook. It may have been used at the time of Gowland's excavation rather than his first visit. As he refers to there being no special pavement below the coffin, and he would perhaps only have become aware of the floor surface under the area of the coffin upon undertaking his excavation].



Curious square¹⁴

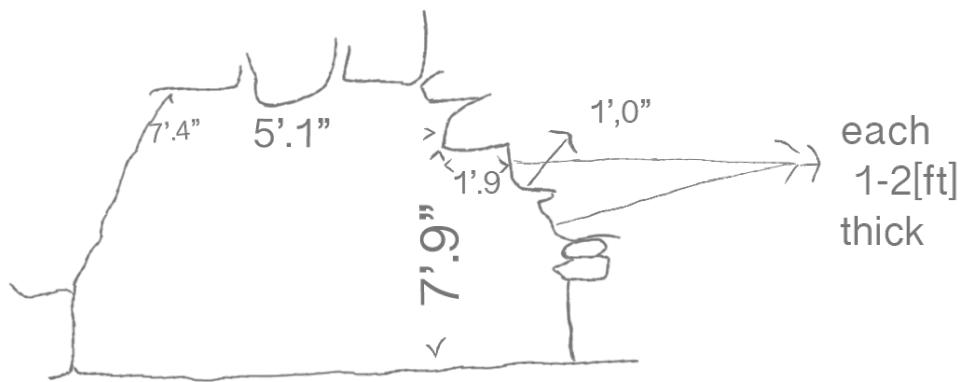
Paved c[with] irreg[ular] shaped stone , flat surfaces apparently not very , no special pavement below coffin . Largest stone bottom of back wall 7 ft long by 3[ft] high . Granite bottom not seen but N[orth] E[ast] its base [is] 7 x 1.8 "[ft] "[long] v

2415

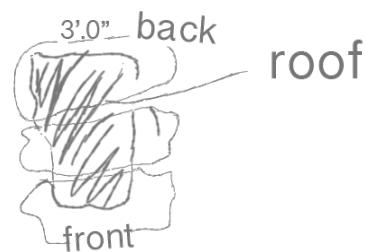
¹⁴ Referring to the irregular shape of the chamber.

¹⁵ No apparent reason for the number 24 to be written here.

BOX 4-17-7 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-7, discussing the stones which made up the chamber].



Sides very irreg[ular] stones, all converge to roof[.]
Beneath of roof



No plaster, but ... when nearly
1 foot square filled c[with] small stones.
Stones mostly 2x1[ft] 1.1/2x1[ft], 2.1.1/2x1[ft]
ether excepting base stones which are
somewhat larger see above.
Stones of upper gallery also large 3.1/2x1.1/2[ft]

BOX 4-17-8 [Description of the site. BOX 4-17-8 to BOX 4-17-36 are marked as Shibamura 1 to 27. BOX 4-17-8 to 12 discuss the excavation. 13 to 29 discuss the objects found in each division, 30 to 35 the ceramics and 36 the arrow heads. However, there are some inconsistencies between these notes. They reference the previously existing notes from Gowland's first visit, see footnote 16. He also makes an error of the date in these notes, see footnote 17].

Shiba mura 1.

Dolmen in the hill called Matsuyama in Shiba mura
Kawachi See note book C page 1¹⁶.
Exploration on 29th +[&] 30th of Dec[ember] 1888¹⁷.

The chamber of the dolmen which has the form +[&] dimensions shown in the diagram is in an excellent state of preservation. It was entered through a hole just below its roof found by the displacement of two stones near the northern end of its western wall; its true entrance is by the gallery

covered c[with] earth

at its S[outh] end is deeply buried in the tumulus x[&] at the

the point where entr[ance] joins the chamber it was blocked up with stones to a thickness of five feet

into the floor

On descending by a ladder the floor of the chamber¹⁸

was seen to be covered with earth, the layer being about in

but three inches thickness at the sides but in the middle where there had been a slight fall of debris from the roof[,] it was about 8"-10" [deep].

Near the middle of the chamber longitudinally v[&] about one foot or whereabouts from the eastern wall there was a large quantity of fragments of decayed wood¹⁸

4

scattered over an over an area of about 7[ft]. 1/2' x 3[ft]. 1/2' or remains of the

this could seem to have been the ¹⁹ sarcophagus in which the body was interred . In similar dolmens I

have frequently found stone sarcoph[agi]. But have never seen one of or heard of any of wood. *¹⁹

any of the
* The coffin was not placed adjacent [to] the walls but near the middle of the chamber +[&] nearest the
[East] wall then to the West. +[&] in a North +[&] in a South direction.

¹⁶ Appears to refer to BOX 4-26-1, from the page numbers present on that entry. This post-dates this document to after BOX 4-26-1 had been written.

¹⁷ The date is given 1887 elsewhere. See BOX 4-1-1 and BOX 4-17-39. The date 1888 appears have been made in error, perhaps as the excavation ended on the day before new years eve 1887, and Gowland may have been making these notes sometime after the event, which may explain this mistake on his part.

¹⁸ Wooden coffins were likely much more common in the Kofun period but are not often found due to poor preservation. The use of iron nails to construct the coffin would imply a higher status than one constructed of only wood (Hishida Testuo 2016 pers.comm).

¹⁹ Referencing the red text written vertically up the side of the page.

BOX 4-17-9 [Continuation of BOX 4-18-8. Discusses the structure of the tomb].

Shiba mura no 1 a.

As will be seen from the fig[ure]²⁰ the chamber is not only irregularly rectangular[,] the eastern side being 2 feet shorter than the eastern side +[&] the back 2-6[ft] broader than the front. About the middle of its front or south wall it is joined by the gallery or true entrance is seen about 5ft in height +[&] 3ft in width at its widest. this was filled with stones carefully piled up to a thickness of about 5 feet. When the exploration of the chamber had been completed these stones were removed with the intention of clearing out the entr[ance]-gal gallery to ascertain its dim[ensions] ... also whether any pottery was contained in it, but on this removal the S[outh] wall began to crack +[&] the work could not be continued without danger of the whole structure collapsing.

The walls of the chamber are built of stones of very irreg[ular] shape v[&] size v[&] all converge towards the roof so much that this does not measure more than 2-6[ft]- 3-0[ft] x 5-0[ft]. There are three stone in the roof but none very large, the largest is the stones being at the bottom of the back v[&] of the E[ast] wall but these only measure 7x3[ft]. [and] 7x1.1/2[ft] visibly . None of the stones bear chisel marking[,] but are for the most part just as they have been taken from the mountain side. Possibly a few may have

been

BOX 4-17-10 [Continuation of BOX 4-18-8. Discusses the structure of the tomb].

Shiba mura 1 b.

been broken c[with] a hammer but wedges have not been used in splitting there. No plaster is used to fill the ... They are very rudely fitted together [with the] situation of nearly a foot square occurring

gaps

here v[&] there v[&] these as well as the smaller ^ are carefully filled with small stones, no plaster being used any where.

The mound had been much cut away v[&] altered so that its exact shape v[&] size can't be well made out. Its top rises about five feet above the inner side of the roof of the chamber +[&] twelve feet above the slope of the mountain on its eastern side. Its narrow ; c[with] E[ast] +[&] W[est] dimen[sion] is 23ft v[&] its total length in N[orth] +[&] S[outh] dimension is 94ft. The back wall of the chamber being 35 feet from its northern base

²⁰ Perhaps referring to the plan and elevation, BOX 4-1-1.

terracotta

Haniwa²¹ frag[ment]s occur upon it v[&] one piece of this potter[y]
 was found in the dolmen²².
 if the mound is a double²³ one but this is very doubtful the
 its
 gallery runs towards the square end²⁴.

BOX 4-17-11 [Continuation of BOX 4-18-8. discusses the objects removed by Shinsuke and the appearance of iron oxide]

shiba mura no 2

numerous fragments of pottery were strewn over the whole
 in
 of the surface of the earth covering the floor being most
 greater quantity near the northern end v[&] of these most were
 portions of a large tazza²⁵. the whole of the fragments
 were all carefully collected before the layer of earth was
 disturbed. Pieces of the same vessel in all cases were
 found far apart having widely been strewn about
 by the persons who had previously entered the dolmen.
 No entire vessel was seen there[,] having been recovered
 by the farmer Shinsuke from whom I afterwards purchased them.
 The sides v[&] floor of the chamber were covered with a red
 powder Hg ferric oxide²⁶ containing no vermillion appearing
 as if they had been dusted with it. The floor of which
 was rudely paved was also with stones of irreg[ular] size
 v[&] shape was similarly covered. This powder contained
 no vermillion altho[ugh] a similar substance coating the
 inner surface of a covered pot²⁷ contained large proportions
 of this pigment. Clumps of the red oxide free from Hg²⁸ were
 found near the sword in no 4 divi[Div 4].

²¹ *Haniwa* (埴輪), earthenware cylindrical sculptures of various shapes which decorate the exterior mound.

²² Referring to Pot X (see BOX 4-17-35).

²³ Gowland refers to keyhole shaped mounds as “double mounds”, a translation of the archaic Japanese term *futa-go yama* referred to in his 1897 paper (Gowland 1897: 458). He most likely adopted this term from the site name of Mae-Futagoyama kofun in Ernest Satow’s 1880 publication (Satow 1880: 314).

²⁴ Here Gowland is unsure if the tomb was keyhole shaped or conical. Gowland depicts the kofun as a keyhole shaped tomb in section in Plan 1, BOX 4-1-1 which was reproduced in his 1897 paper (Gowland 1897: 452). However, throughout the paper, he calls it a simple or conical mound (Gowland 1897: 516). Contrary to this it has also since been referred to as a keyhole shaped tomb in other publications (Kondo 1992: 255), this would appear to be the case, and Gowland was mistaken. It should be noted, that in very large keyhole shaped passage tombs, it is common for the entrance to be situated at the back or side of the circular section.

²⁵ Referring to Pot A. See BOX4-17-30.

²⁶ Iron rust.

²⁷ Referring to Pot I. See BOX 4-17-33.

²⁸ Gowland was likely able to identify iron oxide with the use of the magnet he mentions in BOX 4-17-40 as vermillion, being derived from mercury (Hg), does not carry a strong magnetic charge whereas the iron does. But, here Gowland makes reference to having checked the chemical composition of a sample to show it did not contain any vermillion/cinnabar. Showing that he was also conducting chemical tests.

After the broken pottery had been collected the floor
rectangular
was decided into twenty equal²⁹ ^ divisions as in
sketch by means of a bamboo with their projecting
areas were marked out whilst the exam[ination] was
going on³⁰. The debris in each division were was
carefully taken out from one division at a time
and

BOX 4-17-12 [Continuation of BOX 4-18-8. Discusses the use of sieves and Div. numbers].

shiba mura no 3

and sifted through a sieve having³¹ divi[des] it the
[of] a liner inch , v[&] when smaller objects were found
to be present a sieve of divides to liner inch
was used. the articles found in each rectangle
a
were placed in bucket marked with the number
such
of each rectangle. During this examination it
but not every where
was seen that in several places ^ the debris had
been disturbed by treasure seekers, the stones which
formed the pavement of the floor were having been
is seemingly
superficial- displaced. Hence the occurrence of beads
in-so-many-is widely scattered +[&] of pottery fragments
dug in the debris corresponding with those found on
being
the surface forming indeed parts of the same vessels .
Yet the disturbance of the remains had not been
suff[icientl]y
the great to prevent the original position of
the priceable objects from being obtained.

²⁹ The total length of each wall was divided equally to create the 20 rectangles, 5 rows north to south and 4 rows east to west. However, due to the irregular shape of the walls, this did not produce equal rectangles.

³⁰ Describes how the bamboo frame was moved during excavation. Due to the lengths of bamboo mentioned in BOX 4-17-40 being too few and too short to create the entire grid, it would seem a small frame was constructed inside the tomb and moved as the excavation took place.

³¹ Gowland appears to have intended to fill in these gaps with the measurements of the holes in the sieves but never did. BOX 4-17-40 describes them as having a mesh of 1/4" and 3/8".

BOX 4-17-13 [Division List. for Div. 1. The content between BOX 4-17-13 and BOX 4-17-29 consists of Gowland's list of 185 entries of objects found in each of the twenty divisions of Shibayama kofun. This list appears to have been made soon after the excavation had concluded as some objects, such as the silver beads are listed as "metallic" and the clay beads as "doubtful materials", while at other times having corrections made later in different coloured pens. But these objects are listed with their correct materials in Plans 2 and 3, which would imply the plans were produced later].

Shiba mura 4

List of the contents of the dolmen
the numbers indicate the division in which the articles were
found.

pierced longitudinally .

Div no 1³². 12 green Kuda tama³³ ^ Length 17mm 22mm diam[eter] 7-9mm.
small quan[uity] of adherent vermillion powder. green jasper
3 Double beads amber coloured³⁴

1 Glass bead green 5/16" 8mm

2 "[Glass] "[bead] "[green] 5mm.

1 Frag[ment] soft pottery³⁵.

2 Teeth: molars enamel only in one example.

3 Double beads amber colo[ured] glass.  7 mm diam[eter].
Traces of vermillion adherent.

BOX 4-17-14 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 2 and Div.3]

Shiba mura 5.

Div. no 2. 3 teeth (1 a molar[]).

simple but

1 amber colo[ured] bead. ^ same as double beads of [Div] no 1. Fracture
shows that one bead had been broken off from it.

1 Green Kuda tama³⁶. same as those of [Div] no 1. & with HgS³⁷

³² Part of OA+.785 included a piece of stone with Div.1 painted on its surface, this is likely a stone from the floor of this part of the tomb, with red iron oxide adherent on its surface. But this object is not included in the division list or elsewhere in the notes on the tomb.

³³ *Kudatama* (管玉). Japanese term for a long, thin cylindrical bead.

³⁴ This entry is repeated with more detail just below on the same page.

³⁵ Not on either plan 2 or 3. May refer to a sherd of *sueki* with 1 or I painted on it, which is currently part of OA+.785.

³⁶ This entry is shown twice in Plan 3.

³⁷ Mercury sulfide, vermillion/cinnabar.

Div. no 3. 2 pieces of pottery. (1 a portion of the large tazza & A³⁸ rather fracture.

BOX 4-17-15 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 4]

Div 4	Shiba mura 6.
<p>1 Magatama 32mm. White c[with] green tinges[,] chalcedony. [OA+.1214] powder The vermillion ^ adherent in traces.</p>	
<p>1 “[Magatama] 23mm. The vermillion powder adherent. Grey mottled steatite. [OA+.1216] Several lumps agglom[erated] red powder $Fe_2O_3$³⁹. Which does not contain HgS.</p>	
<p>Personal 1 Ring⁴⁰ 15mm. diam[eter]. Copper green v[&] blue carb[onat]e encrusting a brown black iron oxide central case of Cu_2O_2 no Au or Ag⁴¹ seen visible. [OA+.1249] ^ Small iron ring copper coated [gilt]</p>	
<p>9 teeth. Portions of skull v[&] bones. 37 beads of blue glass 6 or 7mm [diameter]. 4 “[beads] “[of] “[blue] “[glass] pale 4.1/2 - 5.1/2mm [diameter].</p>	

BOX 4-17-16 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 5 and Div.6]

Div 5.	Shiba mura 7.
<p>Multi[pul] frag[ment]s of tooth. 53 Beads of blue glass 6.1/2 - 8.1/2 mm in diam[eter] no HgS adherent.</p>	
<u>Coffin</u>	<p>1 Broken iron nail (fragment 50 mm long) with head of lozenge [OA+.3072.3] 1 [iron nail] shape[d] c[with] curved side  40x30[mm]⁴²</p>

Pieces of decayed wood . 45mm thickness.

³⁸ Refers to Pot A. See BOX 4-17-30.

³⁹ Verity of reddish-orange iron oxide (iron rust).

⁴⁰ This object had been identified as an earring. 金環, *kinkan*. These objects do not pierce the ear but rather have a slit which fixes tightly over either side of the earlobe. Although the character 金 means gold, this does not necessarily mean the earring was made of, or gilt with gold, earrings made with other metals are also described with this term.

⁴¹ Gold and silver respectively.

⁴² Does not appear on plans 2 or 3.

Div. 6.

3 Kuda tama green jasper 20 - 24.1/2 mm x 6.1/2 to 7 mm
 holes in two very minute . : must have been strung c[with] very
 fine thread. not with iron as no metallic oxide found
 in any. no vermillion adherent.

14 Blue glass beads 5.1/2 - 8.1/2 mm diam[eter].

1 piece of decayed wood 65mm thick.

1 "[piece] top of tazza A⁴³ .
 Fe?
 1 "[piece] Copper cast coated wire 30 x 2 mm .(sliver of some ornament)

BOX 4-17-17 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 7 and Div. 8]

Shiba mura 8

Div 7.

Much decayed wood

1 Frag[ment] of iron (tang⁴⁴ of arrow head?)

1 "[fragment] "[of] part [of] J⁴⁵.

3 Blue glass beads [same] as [those in] Div 6.

Personal 1 piece of thin Copper or bronze sheet c[with] small piece of thin copper
 wire attached to it. Surface covered c[with] irregular pitted pattern.
 & coated c[with] gold. (wire drawing known.)

Div 8.⁴⁶

3 Fragments pot I⁴⁷, Futa mono⁴⁸

14 small beads, short cylindrical somewhat rounded . Steatite

4 mm diam[eter] 3 mm long approx.

1 Blue glass bead ordinary size as above.

⁴³ Refers to Pot A. See BOX 4-17-30

⁴⁴ Tang refers to the section of the arrow designed to fix onto the wooden shaft of the arrow.

⁴⁵ Refers to Pot J. See BOX 4-17-33

⁴⁶ Strangely, although the iron sword (OA+1245.1 and OA+1245.2) from the western wall, which crosses Div. 4 and 8 appears in both plans 2 and 3, it is not mentioned here in the notes, but only in passing at the bottom of a note concerning the beads in the tomb. See BOX 4-17-44 and BOX 4-17-11.

⁴⁷ Refers to Pot I. See BOX 4-17-33.

⁴⁸ An old name for a *futatsuki*, a form of *sueki* vessel, shallow bowl with a lid.

BOX 4-17-18 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 9]

	Div. 9.	Shiba mura	9.
	1 Kuda tama with <u>powder[ed] vermillion</u> ([o]ng ob[jec]t by) adherent. Jasper		
	47 Beads blue glass 7 - 8mm diam[eter].	coffin nail?	
<u>Coffin.</u>	1 iron nail same as Div 7. Total length 70mm,. ^ [OA+.3072.1 and .2]		
<u>Coffin.</u>	4 Rectangular plain of iron each with one ... headed nail <u>short</u> in each corner x[&] 5 in middle . Size 25mm; long x[&] probably all had been attached to a band of metal of same width. [OA+.2983.1]		
<u>Coffin.</u>	1 Do[Rectangular] Do[plain of iron] with attached band of metal 12 mm board. 3.3/4 4 3/8 x 1/8		
	1 Segment of flat iron ring 95mm long x 10x4 mm		
	Fragment of decayed wood 40mm thick x 60mm thick.		
	1 Thin globular (irreg[ular]) piece of metal ⁴⁹ . [Part of OA+.1244.1]		

BOX 4-17-19 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 10]

	Div. 10.	Shiba mura	10.
	[Either OA+.2997. 1 or .2 and OA+.2997.31]		
<u>Personal.</u>	1 Complete ring v[&] part of another - diam[eter] 20x8mm. Metal brittle crystalline , brill[iant] .white fract[ure] (Ag) coated c[with] white encrust[ation] 1 Frag[ment] of skull.		
	4 iron arrow heads, 1 alm[ost] . complete 135mm long. Barbed. Vermillion incrust[ed] traces . 3 fragmentary all barbed. slender narrow		
<u>Personal</u>	3 Frag[ment]s copper or Bronze gilt ^ rod with ^ spatula like termination 181mm long.		
	10 Kuda tama green jasper 17-22mm long 5.1/2 - 7 1/2 diam[eter]. v 150 “[Kuda] “[tama] “[green] “[jasper] 26 x 9 mm . vermillion adherent 33 blue glass beads 7-8mm diam[eter]. 151 Green opalescent “[glass] “[beads] 5 m m 4 Beads glass pale green coated c[with] a pale brownish enamel		

⁴⁹ *Miwadama* (三輪玉). These objects have been identified as thin, hollow copper or bronze sword ornaments, called *miwadama*. They would have originally decorated the guard of a sword's handle, purely for decorative effect as they are very fragile. They are now under the museum number of OA+.1244.1 which consists of 10 objects, which cannot be identified by Div number individually. Only 4 were found during excavation, as follows: 1 in Div.9, 2 in Div.13, 1 and 1 fragment in Div. 15 and 1 in Div. 19. The another “4 or 5“ were purchased from the farmer Shinsuke, as seen in BOX 4-26-3. As this gives a total of 9 or 10 depending on whether Gowland purchased 4 or 5 objects from Shinsuke, it is not clear if the fragment mentioned in Div. 15 is part of OA+.12441 or not.

⁵⁰ Does not appear on plans 2 or 3.

⁵¹ Does not appear on plans 2 or 3.

resembling litharge⁵².

W⁵³

3⁵⁴ pieces pottery (^ 2 being fragments of a futa mono[.].]

1 metallic bead 5mm ag [OA+3037.2]

Personal 1 piece metal. foil gilt c[with] pitted hollows as in Div 7.

BOX 4-17-20 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 11]

Div 11⁵⁵.

Shiba mura

11.

1 Jasper Kudatama ord[inar]y⁵⁶

2 Blue glass beads ord[inar]y

4 Small steatite cylindrical beads 4 mm diam[eter] 1.1/2 - 3 mm long.

Personal 1 short piece of silver (Cu green carb[onat]e. encrust[ed]) of ornament.

1 metallic bead Sn or Sn+Pb⁵⁷ [OA+.16055]

1 Specimen of coiled iron ring . 9mm x 25mm .

Coffin Fragment of iron cleat 130 mm long . [OA+.3877]

portion of two arrow heads adherent. iron .

“[portion] “[of] tang of “[arrow] “[iron].

Personal Small frag[ment] of copper foil gilt.

1 Fragment of horse orn[amen]t [] iron c[with] studs. 36 x 21[mm].

2 Pieces pot H⁵⁸

1 “[Pieces] “[pot] A⁵⁹.

BOX 4-17-21 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 12]

Div 12.

Shiba mura

12.

4 Teeth

25 Pale green glass beads 3 - 4 mm diam[eter].

114 steatite beads rounded cylindrical 3 - 4 mm diam[eter] 1.1/2 - 3mm long

2 Beads earthly[earthenware] soft 7 mm diam[eter].

— — — 1 Spindel whorl ; steatite. 35 x 12 mm. Incised pattern . [OA+.1202]

⁵² Litharge, PbO, lead monoxide, used as a pigment in some glass and ceramics.

⁵³ Refers to Pot W. See BOX 4-17-35.

⁵⁴ Does not appear on plans 2 or 3.

⁵⁵ OA+.16083 and 3072.6 and 3072.7 Collection of small fragments of iron, recorded as Div.11 on their packaging (two sections of the same object, appear to be coffin nails, but do not appear in the division notes unless Gowland had mistaken them for arrow heads. OA+.3077.

⁵⁶ “Ordinary” Likely in reference to very similar appearance of these beads to the beads listed above.

⁵⁷ Tin and Lead. Although Gowland lists these metals here, this is referred to as a silver bead in Plan 2 BOX 4-2-1 and BOX 4-17-43. This could just be a preliminary observation, but the inclusion of these metals could also be in reference to a test he performed finding small amounts of the two metals. See BOX 4-35-2.

⁵⁸ Refers to Pot H. See BOX 4-17-33.

⁵⁹ Refers to Pot A. See BOX 4-17-30.

1 Segment of iron ring 65 x 7 mm. twisted as Div 11.
 Large iron fragment of horse orn[emen]t c[with] iron hook attached



[OA+.3077]

Coffin?

traces only

8 Large kuda tama jasper green 19 - 23mm long 6.1/2 - 8[mm] diam[eter] ^ vermillion
¹⁶⁰ Small “[kuda] “[tama] “[jasper] pale “[green] 17 x 4.1/2mm [diameter] .
 6 5 Blue glass beads 7-9mm [diameter] .
 1 “[Blue] “[glass] “[bead] 4.1/2[mm] “[diameter] .
 8 Pottery frag[ments] { 1 base of K⁶¹. 3 frag[ment]s of R⁶².
 4 frag[ments] of unknown vessel⁶³.
 2⁶⁴ iron fragments

BOX 4-17-22 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 13]

Div. 13.

Shiba mura

1 Heart shaped check piece of horse bit ? iron . 112 x 118mm [OA+.1250.2]
 horse perhaps for ornament for horse trappings⁶⁵ as fragment
 of woven fabric adherent to under surfaces .
 4 Arrow heads 1 complete barbed 158 mm long. - 4 tangs⁶⁶ -
 1 piece of metal c[with] studs coated c[with] copper carb[onate] 150 x 20 mm

○ 1 Imperfect Knife or dagger c[with] ring on haft portion - iron -
 110 mm long .

Personal 2⁶⁷ pieces⁶⁸ Slender r[ou]nd copper carb[onate] coat[ing]. 88 mm v[&] 28mm .
 1 iron ring rounded rect[angle] 23 x 28mm.
 6 ord[inar]y blue glass beads. 7-9mm [diameter].
 2 pieces red haniwa⁶⁹

⁶⁰ Does not appear on plans 2 or 3.

⁶¹ Refers to Pot K. See BOX 4-17-34.

⁶² Refers to Pot R. See BOX 4-17-35.

⁶³ This vessel is not referred to on the list of ceramics, and it is yet unknown if these sherds are represented in the collection.

⁶⁴ Does not appear on plans 2 or 3.

⁶⁵ This object is an ornamental horse pendent, 杏葉, *gyōyō*. In particular, a heart shaped horse pendent *shinyōgatagyōyō* (心葉形杏葉). Similar to the object depicted in BOX 4-26-3.

⁶⁶ BOX 4-17-36 refers to these as three and a half tangs of arrow heads.

⁶⁷ Does not appear on either plan 2 or 3.

⁶⁸ Referring to 2 of the *miwadama* [part of OA+.1244.1 to .10].

⁶⁹ Does not appear on either plan 2 or 3. Refers to Pot X. See BOX 4-17-35.

Coffin 2 imperf[ect] Copper gilt - vase like orn[amen]t, one filled c[with] decayed wood.
 X halves only. 43mm high. [part of OA+.1244.1]

1 Frag[ment] of decayed wood.
 along

pattern  lag edges⁷⁰ [OA+.3030.4]

Personal { 1 Piece metal band c[with] incised ^ 60mm x 19mm.
 carb[onate]incrustation.&

^ square flat end

? Coffin or { 2 strai[gh]t short nail c[with] heads copper gilt 22x26[mm].
 saddle { 1 segment flat iron ring 78x9[mm] .

Coffin {Sm[all] pieces of thin narrow iron band c[with] small nails
 1 metal bead [Part of OA+.1244⁷¹]
 2 beads doubtful material
 many small frag[ment]s of pottery 7 of B⁷². 2 of G⁷³, 1 of H⁷⁴, 8 unknown⁷⁵.

BOX 4-17-23 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 14]

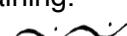
Shiba mura

14

Div 14.

18 Iron arrow heads 1 complete 161mm long.

All prob[abl]y barbed , most c[with] barbs remaining.

Personal 1 piece ... copper gilt band 75x22[mm]. Pattern  [OA+.3030.3]

"[Personal] Several small pieces copper gilt.

horse Sundry frang[ment]s of iron . portion of [horse] bit?

3

3 Beads unknown material doubtful⁷⁶

4 pieces foot B⁷⁷

5 "[pieces] "[foot] A⁷⁸ . Large tazza

⁷⁰ Gowland believed these objects to be personal ornament which were sewn into "ceremonial or official robes", as some showed remains of hemp fabric attached to them (Gowland 1987: 480). They have since been identified as fittings for one or possibly two quivers, dating to the late 5th or early 6th century, contemporary with the tomb (Tsuchiya 2015: 10). The pattern appears around the outer edge of the surface and can be used to identify these objects against Gowland sketches.

⁷¹ The entry OA+.1244.6 consists of 12 silver beads which have been restrung together. Within Gowland's notes this is represented as 1 bead in Div 13, 1 in Div 15, 3 in Div 18 and 8 in Div 19, for a total of 13, leaving one bead unaccounted for. However, Gowland preformed destructive tests by meting metal objects down in acid to assess their chemical composition, which may explain the ultimate fate of the single missing bead.

⁷² Refers to Pot B. See BOX 4-17-31.

⁷³ Refers to Pot G. See BOX 4-17-33.

⁷⁴ Refers to Pot H. See BOX 4-17-33.

⁷⁵ BOX 4-17-35 claims that Pot U, consisting of one fragment, was found in Div.13. There are also another 9 fragments listed under OA+.760 inside a wooden box claiming they came from Div.13, not listed with the other ceramics.

⁷⁶ Referred to as burnt clay in BOX 4-2-1, Plan 2.

⁷⁷ Refers to Pot B. See BOX 4-17-31.

⁷⁸ Refers to Pot A. See BOX 4-17-30.

3 unknown
 Sundry pieces ^ of cov[ered]? pot ^ one c[with] ⁷⁹Kor[en] wheel.

7 Beads blue glass.

BOX 4-17-24 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 15]

Div 15⁸⁰.

Shiba mura 15.

1 arrow head⁸¹ incomplete. v[&] parts of stems of others . [OA+.2980 and 2980.2]
 Horse parts of horse bit ?  [OA+. 3015.72]
 "[Horse] 3 Segments of iron twisted ring [OA+2793]

Coffin x 1 Half-vase-shaped orn[amen]t⁸² copper gilt v[with] frag[ment]s of another.
 [Part of OA+.1244.1]

Personal 1 plain Steatite [spindle] whorl. 32mm diam[eter] 13mm thick. [OA+.2674]
 1 metallic ? bead⁸³ . [Part of OA+.1244]
 1 ord[inar]y blue bead. 7mm. 3 do[mm diameter] 4mm [thick].

4 Pieces pottery A⁸⁴.
 2 "[pieces] "[pottery] E⁸⁵. 2 pieces small tazza
 Horse small pieces halberd shaped?⁸⁶ horse orn[amen]t ?

BOX 4-17-25 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 16]

Div 16

Shiba mura

16

Metal bands & beads found near side of West wall. a
 small q[uant]ity agglom[erated] red powder Fe₂O₃
 Pieces of decayed wood 50x 27mm.

⁷⁹ What Gowland calls 'Korean wheel marks' are *ategukon* (当て具 根) a concentric circular pattern left on the inside surface of the ceramic made during construction with the paddle and anvil technique. This entry is not listed with the other ceramics.

⁸⁰ Wood fragments mentioned in this division in BOX 4-2-1, Plan 2. OA+.2980, collection of fragments of iron, recorded as Div. 15 on their packaging.

⁸¹ BOX 4-17-36, claims there was one large and one small arrow head found within this division.

⁸² Refers to one of a collection of bronze sword ornaments [OA+2144].

⁸³ Plan 2, BOX 4-2-1, states that this bead was made of silver.

⁸⁴ Refers to Pot A. See BOX 4-17-30.

⁸⁵ Refers to Pot E. See BOX 4-17-32.

⁸⁶ *kenbishigatagyōō* (剣菱形杏葉). Sword-point shaped horse ornament. There are two objects from Shibayama within the collection, but several fragments mentioned throughout these notes which cannot be yet accurately identified, as both have been reconstructed. One is now OA+.3038, and the second object consists of OA+.2963.1, 2963.2 and 3008.

2 pieces pot K⁸⁷ a large tazza .
 c[with] studs nails

3⁸⁸ 1 piece iron copper gilt band flat ^ 147 mm x 21.  pattern

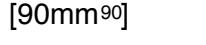
2 “[pieces] “[iron] “[copper] “[gilt] “[band] “[flat] imperfect

2⁸⁹ 1 “[pieces] “[iron] “[copper] “[gilt] “[band] curved 145 mm “[imperfect] “[patterned]

== II All these had been attached to some woven fabric portions of which
 are slight[ly] adhering cov[ered] ? not Fe₂O₃ hydrate.

2 Imperf[ect]. arrow heads iron [OA+2977.5 and OA+2977.2]

Coffin 1 Iron staple like object 55x53[mm]  [OA+.2977]

“[coffin] 1 “[iron] “[staple] “[like] “[object]  [90mm⁹⁰]

Horse 1 “[iron] ring from buckle ? 22x26[mm].
 1 piece thin whole metal repoussé⁹¹ work curved.

Horse 2 “[piece] iron ring twisted, large.
 Sundry pieces [of] iron . [Coffin nail OA+2977.2] [OA+.2977]

116 101 beads curious earthly material [clay] 6-7 mm diam[eter] . 15 in Frag[ment]s.
 2 “[Beads] blue glass ord[inar]y size, 2 do[blue] do[glass] 5 v[to] 3mm. 1 small⁹² steatite

1

BOX 4-17-26 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 17]

Div. 17.	Shiba mura I	17.
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Horse 1 Fragment. Halberd shaped orn[amen]t iron copper, gilt. 140mm. long
 “[Horse] Portion of another.
 “[Horse] 1 Buckle , tang wanting. iron 45x30[mm]. [possibly OA+.2970]
 a large tazza
 4 pieces of pottery { 1 of K⁹³ . . 2 of G⁹⁴. Futamono
 missing
 1 Knife shaped object, point wanting , 92mm long.

⁸⁷ Refers to Pot K. See BOX 4-17-35.

⁸⁸ Likely refers to this objects being found as three pieces which fitted together, the object has since been repaired (OA+.3015.6)

⁸⁹ As in the above footnote, this object was found broken into two pieces but has since been repaired. (OA+.16022.)

⁹⁰ The sketch of the object drawn of the left hand side of the page would indicate that the length of this object was 90mm.

⁹¹ A process of hammering a piece of metal into a relief.

⁹² Both Plan 1 and 2 say there are 2 steatite beads in this division.

⁹³ Refers to Pot K. See BOX 4-17-34.

⁹⁴ Refers to Pot G. See BOX 4-17-33.

Coffin	1 arrow head v[and] 3 tangs ⁹⁵ . iron .
	1 piece decayed wood.
	1 iron object
	 [OA+.2970.1]
	96 
	3 Beads metallic shells. [OA+.16052. 3002 and 16053]
	1 Iron object, large buckle imperf[ect].
	1 “[iron] “[object] “[large] ring “[imperfect].
	1 “[iron] “[object] knife like “[imperfect]. [OA+.3044.2] ⁹⁷
	1 “[iron] “[object]
	2 segments iron ring flat { 80mm diam[eter] 1 piece of same in 13 div.
	iron pieces various [OA+.2990.18, 2990.19, 2990.20, 2990.29, 2970.29 and 3044.3 identified by museum no. so far.]

BOX 4-17-27 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 18]⁹⁸

	Div 18 ⁹⁹ .	Shiba mura	18.
	1 piece Pottery B ¹⁰⁰		
	4 “[pieces] “[pottery] {2 of K ¹⁰¹ .)		
	or sword handle		
Horse	1 Iron socket of spear ^ ? 52 x 42 mm. [Possibly OA+.3009 ¹⁰²] small pieces of halberd shaped orn[amen]t.		
“[horse]	3 arrow heads imperf[ect]. 4 tangs.		
Personal	1 Short piece of iron 90mm long ¹⁰³ . [Coffin nail, OA+.3015.117 and 16084] 1 Ring whole metal 20 mm diam[eter] . Ag [either OA+.2997. 1 or .2] 3 Metallic beads . Ag [Part of OA+.1244] 5 Bl Blue glass beads ord[inar]y		

⁹⁵ This entry consists of 3 objects total.

⁹⁶ A small pencil drawing of a bronze arrow head. No apparent reason for its inclusion here. Does not resemble the iron arrow heads.

⁹⁷ This object has since been identified as a fragmentary fitting for the reigns of a horse.

⁹⁸ an object, found to be a *gashira* (頭), a pommel fitting of a sword was located by a tag reading Div 18 found with but unattached to the object, its not clear if this tag could have been placed with it in error.

⁹⁹ Packing from the objects found in the museum collections includes a label which reads “Div. 18. Head of nail” (OA+.3006). However, there is no nail head present in these notes.

¹⁰⁰ Refers to Pot B. See BOX 4-17-31.

¹⁰¹ Refers to Pot K. See BOX 4-17-34. As Gowland originally misidentified these sherds as parts of the *kidai*, Pot A, it would appear that Gowland believed Pot K to also be a *kidai*. Gowland also depicts this object as a *kidai* in plan BOX 4-2-1. But it is questionable whether this object was a *kidai*, as only fragments of a pedestal were collected.

¹⁰² Gowland records this object in Plan 2 as a socket of a spear, this is most likely OA+.3012, which has now been identified as a socketed axe head.

¹⁰³ Not mentioned on either Plan 2 or 3. The object has now broken into two parts.

BOX 4-17-28 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 19]

	<u>Div 19.</u>	Shiba mura	19.
Personal	2 Rings one plain . Coated c[with] copper cast. 72 mm diam[eter]. [OA+1231 and 1232]		
	5 pieces Tazza A ¹⁰⁴ .		
	1 “[piece] stand small Tazza ¹⁰⁵		
?	1 Square pieces of band c[with] 4 stud nails . Iron, copper, gilt.		
Copper x	1 piece Half-vase shaped object copper gilt. [part of OA+.1244.1]		
	1 “[piece] Iron spear head 85 x 30[mm]. [OA+.3015.122]		
	1 Segment “[Iron] Twisted ring. [OA+.2983.6]		
	1 Small ring 18-20 mm diam[eter] .[OA+.3015.76]		
	8 Metallic Beads . [Part of OA+.1244]		
325	162 Small pale v[&] dark green beads.		
	182 Large ordy[inar]y blue glass beads.		

BOX 4-17-29 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-13. Division notes for Div. 20]

	Div 20. ¹⁰⁶	Shiba mura	20.
5	4 3 pieces base of Tazza A. K ¹⁰⁷ .		
	5 Tangs of arrow heads. [OA+.3015.116]		
	bottom		
	1 Covered pot cover only. found upside down. T ¹⁰⁸ .		
	1 Spear head in corner. [OA+.3010]		
	1 Magatama [Possibly OA+.1213]		
	Beads.		
	Pottery various[,] unimportant [non-diagnostic] ¹⁰⁹		

¹⁰⁴ Refers to Pot A. Also listed in Plan 3, despite BOX 4-17-30 giving a description of the entirety of this object the sherds from Div.19 are not listed among their number.

¹⁰⁵ It is not clear which ceramic this is referring to and is not listed in the ceramics list BOX 4-17-30 to BOX 4-17-35, but it is listed in Plan 3.

¹⁰⁶ Strangely although the iron spear head OA+.3010 appears on both plans 2 and 3 and here, its measurements are only shown in another document. The sword also appears in both plans, yet it does not appear within the division notes at all. The only mention of it is the length at the bottom of a page describing the beads. This may indicate that Gowland did not excavate it, but purchased it and placed it in his plans based on the description of Shinsuke.

¹⁰⁷ Refers to Pot K, See BOX 4-17-34. It is notable that Gowland appears to have originally mistaken it for part of the *kidai*, Pot A.

¹⁰⁸ Refers to Pot T. See BOX 4-17-35.

¹⁰⁹ Gowland likely meant that there were sherds of pottery present but were too fragmentary to be identified. It is possible that these sherds were not collected, at the time of writing, they have not been found to be represented in the collection.

BOX 4-17-30 [List of ceramics (found at Shibayama kofun). BOX 4-17-30 to 4-17-35 lists the sherds appearing in the different divisions, while others are numbered and listed as being from on top of the surface of the soil layer and others purchased. From this, we can see that the location of the ceramics depicted in Plan 2, BOX 4-2-1 are estimations of their true location made by Gowland.]

Shiba mura 21.

Articles from the Shiba mura Dolmen.

Pottery.

Mark¹¹⁰.

[Franks.2234.b]

[Pot]A. A large tazza . Several pieces of the upper dish
No [J]100.¹¹¹ shaped part were purchased from the farmer [Shinsuke] mentioned previously, the whole of the fragments forming the stand v[&] some of [the] upper dish were taken out by me. They were found principally on the surface of the material covering the floor near the middle of the northern end, about feet¹¹² from the back wall.
 the other pieces were found as follows. 1 piece in div 11; 5 pieces in [Div.]14; 4 in [Div.]15, 1 in [Div.]3¹¹³

Tot[al] . H[igh]t 20.3/4[inches]

H[igh]t of pedestal 14"

Diam[eter] of dish 15.1/2"

BOX 4-17-31 [Continuation of Box 4-17-30]

Shiba mura 22.

Pottery

[Franks.2234.a]

[Pot] B¹¹⁴ . irregular unsymmetrical globular vessel with narrow mouth, which is placed eccentrically.
 Fragment found on the surface of the debris v[&] in the following divisions :- 6 7 pieces in div 13; 4 in [Div]14; 1 in [Div]18.
[J.]99 Hard burnt , with fired enamel like coating in striates in several places caused by the fusion & running of some material (¹¹⁵) from

¹¹⁰ Referring to the alphabetical letter marks which Gowland painted onto the inside surface of the sherds to differentiate between vessels. These letters also appear on plan 2, BOX 4-2 and two note books; one currently held by the British Museum BOX 4-8-1 and the other by the Society of Antiquaries of London (Takemura 2015a), both contain less information than present in these notes.

¹¹¹ Refers to J. numbers, 'J' standing for Japan, which appear to have been used to differentiate the objects upon their arrival in the museum, but have also been later applied to Gowland's notes and the collection ledger.

¹¹² Gowland left this blank, apparently intending to fill it later.

¹¹³ Although BOX 4-17-29 records 5 sherds from Pot A in Div. 19, they are not mentioned here.

¹¹⁴ Gowland appears to be describing a *hiraka* here, but the object is, in fact, a *daisukitsubo*, a pedestaled jar. The object was originally very damaged, and its pedestal is entirely missing. It was likely only reconstructed after it entered the British Museum collections and could be an explanation as to why Gowland misidentified it.

¹¹⁵ Gowland left this blank, apparently intending to fill it in later.

the intense heat. This glaze¹¹⁶ doubtless ^ accidental result of high firing.

[Franks.2234.h]

BOX 4-17-32 [Continuation of Box 4-17-30]

Shiba mura 23.

Pottery continued

[Franks.2234]

[Pot]D. Tazza unbroken purchased from farmer.

[J.]130 100 mm high 116 mm board . No ornament excepting a simple
encircling
raised line surrounding ^ stand x[&] one around the exterior
of the dish. Stand not pierced.

[Franks.2234.d]

[Pot]E. Tazza .

[J.]131 height 112mm. Breadth 83mm.

Ornament around bottom of dish interior formed of incised lines made up of short dashes.

narrow alm[ost]

Stem pierced with these long [^] rectangular slits .

found on surface of debris. v[&] fragments in follows :- 2 pieces in 15 div.

[OA+.791]

[Pot] F. Tazza. Bottom imperfect. Purchased from farmer.

[J.]132 114 mm high. Ornamentation +[&] diam[eter] resembling E

¹¹⁶ Gowland refers to the ash glaze found on many examples of *sueki* vessels and accurately explains how it was caused. Although Gowland crosses out “high firing” he is correct. Likely the result of his visit to similar Korean kilns in 1884.

BOX 4-17-33 [Continuation of Box 4-17-30]

Shiba mura 24.

Pottery continued

[OA+.795]

[Pot]G. Covered pot Futamono. Cover only. Purchased from farmer.

149mm Diam[eter]. 40mm high.

Frag[ment]s found in div 13 +[&] 17 two in each.

[Franks.2234.c3 and J.141]

[Pot]H. Futa mono. Cover only. imperfect. Purchased from farmer.

Fragment found in div 13. Size about same as [Pot]G [40mm high] .

2 “[fragments]” “[found]” “[in]” “[Div.] 11.

[Franks.2234.c and J.134]

[Pot] I. Futamono. Bottom parts purchased, parts found as below.

Coated with vermillion.

53mm high. 126mm inner diam[eter].

3 pieces found in div 8.

[Pot]L subsequently decided [to] form its cover¹¹⁷.

[Franks.2234.g]

[Pot] J. Futa mono. Bottom. Perfect. Purchased from farmer¹¹⁸.

113 - 123mm diam[eter] interior. 54mm high.

BOX 4-17-34 [Continuation of Box 4-17-30]

Shiba mura 25.

Pottery continued

[2 sherds OA+.788, 1 sherd OA+.793 and 7 unnumbered sherds]

[Pot] K. Fragments of a large tazza¹¹⁹ very incomplete ;

some purchased , some found as [follows] :- 1 piece in 12 div; 1 in [Div.] 17;
2 in [Div]16

2 in [Div]18; 5 in [Div.] 20, ^ some on surface debris.

[Same museum number as Pot I]

[Pot] L. Futa mono Cover of [Pot]I. purchase[d] as from farmer .

53 mm high +[&] 152 mm diam[eter] .

[Franks.2234.c1 and J.138]

[Pot]M. Futa mono. bottom. Perfect. Purchased from farmer.

44mm high 95 diam[eter].

Cover not obtained.

[J.]139 [Pot]N +[&] [Pot]O. Futa mono complete. Purchased from Farmer. [Franks. 2234.c2]

Bottom 128 mm interior diam[eter] 62 mm high. Top 155mm exterior diam[eter] 64 high.

¹¹⁷ Pots I and L were subsequently given the same museum number.

¹¹⁸ According to BOX 4-17-17 and Plan 1, one fragment of Pot J was found in Div.7.

¹¹⁹ From the description “large tazza”, the image which appears in Div 20 of plan 2, BOX 4-2-1 and the original misidentification of 5 shards of Pot K belonging to the large *kidai* Pot A, described in BOX 4-17-29 it would seem that Gowland is describing a *kidai*. Upon finding the object in the British museum’s collection it had been found to consist only of sherds of a pedestal with triangular apertures similar to the *kidai*, but it is not yet clear what form the top section of the vessel originally took,

BOX 4-17-35 [Continuation of Box 4-17-30]

Shiba mura 26

Pottery continued.

[OA+.792 and J.142]

[Pot]P. Futa mono. in fragments. Cover only. Parts purchased.
pieces found on surface.

[part of OA+.785]

[Pot]Q. Futa mono. Half bottom only purchased.
Diam[eter] interior 135mm approx[imately].

[Franks.2234.c4]

[Pot]R. Futa mono. Cover in Frag[ment]s. Parts purchased. Parts found in
Surface of debris +[&] 3 pieces in no 12 div.

[Franks.2234.e]

[Pot]S. Futa mono. Bottom only. Purchased from farmer.
Diam[eter] 116 - 122mm . 45mm deep.

[Pot]W-T small fragment of bottom of futa mono from div 10. [part of OA+.785]

[Pot]U “[small] “[fragment] “[of] “[bottom] “[of] “[futa] “[mono] “[from] “[Div]13.[part OA+.785]

[Pot] V “[small] “[fragment] of Korean wheel pottery¹²⁰ “[from] “[Div] 18. [OA+.794]

[Pot]T. Small futa mono . Bottom only . Broken. Found [upside down¹²¹] in div 20
slightly buried in the debris against Western wall. [Franks.2234.f and J.136]

[Pot]X. Two pieces red haniwa¹²² from div. 13. [OA+.790A]

¹²⁰ This refers to *ategukon*, circular markings on the interior surface of *sueki* vessels formed from the use of a carved wooden anvil, employed during formation with the paddle and anvil technique. So named as in the 19th century some Korean ceramics were still made in this fashion. This technology and style of ceramic was derived from Korea as the name would imply, but the *ategukon* marks were not, and appeared in Japan first just as Gowland found in his research (Hishida Testuo 2016 pers.comm).

¹²¹ According to description given in BOX 4-17-29.

¹²² This consists of two fragments of earthen ware *haniwa*. These objects would have decorated the outside surface of the tomb, rather than being placed inside. The two sherds were originally one whole sherd which broke in two. It may have been tracked in from the outside the tomb from the hole through which the tomb was entered by or fallen in with the soil from the ceiling, at some time prior to Gowland's visit. Importantly he notes that no *haniwa* were found in situ in BOX 4-26-8 and they were not included in plan 2, BOX 4-2-1. Perhaps was because he knew they shouldn't have been found inside the tomb.

BOX 4-17-36 [Table of arrow heads, by division].

Shiba mura

-23

Arrow heads taken from dolmen .

27

Div	head parts	Stem portions	Tangs	Complete	
10	4	3	1		
11	2		1		
12		1			
13	1	3	3.1/2	1	
14	14 15	11 small	14	2	
15	1 large 1 small	5	2		
16	1"[small]	3"[small]	1		
17	1	1	2		
18	3	5	4		
19		2	1		
20	2 small	5	6	Small heads ?	
Sweepings	5		1		
Total	36	[39]	36.1/2		3

Total 40¹²³.

¹²³ Total would appear to show the number of complete arrow heads Gowland believed there to have been based on the sections which were found, rather than the total of objects listed in the above table.

BOX 4-17-37 [Note on owners of the tomb. This entry consists of a small piece of *washi* (和紙, Japanese paper) with *kanji* in pencil and English in blue pencil, “[?]” indicates a single undistinguished *kanji*].

[?] [?] 河
山 [?] 小 [?] 内
口 [?] 寺 [?] 国
[?] [?] 亦 河
[?] [?] 三 内
[?] 郎 郡¹²⁴

Owner[s] of dolmen
ground . Boundary
of their ground passes
through middle of
dolmen

BOX 4-17-38 [Note on local governor of the area. This entry consists of a small paper note].

Kucho¹²⁵ of
Shiba mura

河¹²⁶
中 内
川 郡
芝
Naka gawa Shouji 正 村
治 六
十 番
北

¹²⁴ Handwritten *kanji*, unlikely to have been written by Gowland, gives the names and provenience of the two individuals that owned the land either side of Shibayama kofun, Yamaguchi and Kodera Saburo. These two names are also mentioned in BOX 4-17-40. The blue pencil note is likely written by Gowland, again discussing the ownership of the tomb, perhaps to remind himself of what the above *kanji* described.

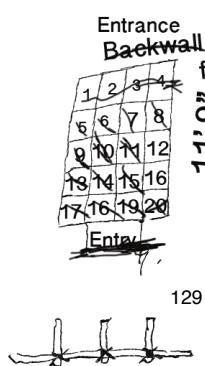
¹²⁵ *Kucho* (区長). Head of a ward/ local administrator. Referring to Nakagawa Shouji, the local governor who is mentioned in BOX 4-17-1.

¹²⁶ [Translation] “Kawachi-gun Shiba-mura No.60 north”. Appears to be Nakagawa’s address.

BOX 4-17-39 [Notes on preparations for the excavation. BOX 4-17-39 to 41 give information about the preparations for the excavation].

- Dip into mound at entrance.
- Pick off frag[ment]s of pottery from entrance.
- Note depth of rubbish before starting. [And what] Kind of rubbish .
- Stones of local [origin], or not [?].
- Place bamboo [frame] in pos[ition], take off soil layer by layer noting articles found.
- 1st day. Interior compar[tment]
- 2nd [day] freeing mouth do[compartment].

BOX 4-17-40 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-39].



29th. Dec[ember] 1887

Apparatus vc[& et cetera] for explora[tion] of [the] dolmen at Shiba mura 80 feet thin twine. Copper scrap[er] . Geol[ogical] hammers. 20 small baskets labelled 1- 20 Bamboo c[with] hook. Straw baskets for hauling up soil. Thick twine[,] newspapers. Sieves 1/4" mesh also 3/8" mesh. 2 usushiro¹²⁸. Coil of rope Bamboo 8ft long c[with] 3 aroun[d] 2ft long¹³⁰. Bak magnet[ic] horse shoe small bags. W.M. Bles. > vasculum¹³¹ 1 workman, small Kuwa¹³²,, Straw bags. Ladder

Accompanied to Shiba mura "Dai Ruji" v[&] mound by Mr. Maida v[&] Mr. Nakagawa Far off Osaka[,] I met at Shiba mura the Kucho Mr. Nakagawa Shoji

¹²⁷ Small sketch made in the page margin, working out the numbers of each division, which he appears to have originally drawn in backwards, but switched so that the low numbers were near the entrance. They seem to have been crossing out in order, perhaps during the work. Also, shows that the interior was 11.9ft long.

¹²⁸ 薄白? Whitish, or thin white, not clear what this refers to. Perhaps a white sheet?

¹²⁹ This sketch shows how the bamboo was tied together. From the description on the page of an 8ft long pole with 3 around 2ft long it is very possible that this shows the entirety of what Gowland's physical grid would have looked like. The structure itself being moved as each line of divisions was complete. As described in BOX 4-17-11.

¹³⁰ This would not appear to be enough bamboo to create the complete grid, and indicates that the grid was moved around the inside of the tomb during the excavation. Also described in BOX 4-17-11.

¹³¹ A botanical box, used to store small samples, usually of plants, but Gowland was likely using it to take the samples of iron oxide, beads and other small objects. W.M. Bles, perhaps referring to the make or owner?

¹³² Kuwa (耨). A variety of hoe.

v{&} an officer from the Yao Gun¹³³ yaku sho¹³⁴ in which district the village is situated. The dolmen is situated partly in the ground of Yamaguchi v[&] partly in that of Yodera (Kodera) both of this village. Some of the articles were taken out of it several years ago¹³⁵ by a farmer .. named Shinsuke, v[&] these I brought back with me to Osaka.

BOX 4-17-41 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-39].

The red powder adherent to broken futa mono was found to contain small quantities of ver[milion] cinnabar but is contained chiefly FeO₃.

The red powder in aforementioned clumps found in div 4. was did not contain Hg.

The kuda tama in some cases were faintly marked with red spots which appeared to be Cinnabar from these colour , but suff[icient] [samples] could not be collected for analysis to verify this.

BOX 4-17-42 [Notes on the locations of the beads (From Shibayama kofun). BOX 4-17-42 to 44 give information on the number and location of beads within the tomb].

Coffin space

Shiba mura dolmen the coffin area

Beads

	mm	
Div. 5. Globular. Blue glass	6.1/2 - 8.1/2 diam[eter].	53.
"[Div] 6 "[Globular] "[Blue] "[glass] 5.1/2 - 8.1/2 "[diameter].	14.	
"[Div] 9 "[Globular] "[Blue] "[glass] 7 - 8 "[diameter].	47	152 Blue glass
"[Div] 10 "[Globular] "[Blue] "[glass] 7 - 8 "[diameter].	33	170
		5 Green "[glass]
"[Globular] Green "[glass] 5 "[diameter]	5	1 Ag
"[Globular] Silver 5 "[diameter]	1	5 Clay[+]
"[Div] 13. "[Globular] Blue glass 7-9 "[diameter]	6	[=]181
Baked clay	2	19 Jasper
"[Div] 14 "[Baked] "[clay]	3	
Blue glass 7-8	7	

147

in the S[outh] half of the sarcoph[agus] these were 15 147 blue glass beads 5.1/2 - 8 in diam[eter]. 5 green glass 5 mm diam[eter] v[&] 1 side bead 5 mm diam[eter]. Also 19 cylindrical beads of Jasper

¹³³ Yaogun (八尾郡). Modern Yaoshi is south of Higashi where Shibayama Kofun was located. Both in modern Osaka prefecture.

¹³⁴ Yakusho (役所). Government or public office.

¹³⁵ Here Gowland indicates that Shinsuke had taken the objects purchased from the tomb "several years ago". In BOX 4-26-1, he claims one of the owners of the land the kofun was situated on, opened the tomb again in June 1887, just a month before Gowland's first visit. This is discussed in footnote 142.

In the N[orth] 17 - 26mm long.

only

In the N[orth] half these were[^] 13 beads of blue glass, 5 of baked clay & 1 of silver.

The total no[number] being 171 glob[ular] beads & 19 cylindrical, Outside the coffin at its S[outh] end these were 13 cylind[erical] beads coloured

of jasper & 3 double glob[ular] beads of amber ^ glass, v[&] in the epp[ersite] corner 41 of blue glass.

Cylindrical beads of Jasper

Div 6	20 - 24.1/2 mm long.	3
"[Div] 9	"[20] - "[24.1/2] [mm long]	1 19
"[Div] 10	17-22 "[mm] [long]	14
	mm	
	26 [long]	1

BOX 4-17-43 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-42].

Shiba mura dolmen .		
Div 17.	Beads globular Silver	3
"[Div]18.	"[Beads] "[globular]" "[Silver]"	3
	"[Beads] "[globular]" Blue glass ord[inar]y	5
"[Div] 19.	"[Beads] "[globular]" "[Blue glass ordinary]"	182
	"[Beads] "[globular]" "[Blue glass] small	325.
	"[Beads] "[globular]" Silver	8
"[Div] 20.		
		187 ord[inar]y Blue glass
		325 small "[blue]" "[glass]"
		14 Silver. [+]
		[=]526

Near back wall

Space between the coffin & the W[est] wall.		
"[Div]4	1-mag[atama] mm	
"[Div] 4	Beads glob[ular] blue glass 6-7.	41
[Div] 7	"[Beads] "[globular]" "[Blue]" "[glass]" [6-7mm]	3
"[Div] 8	"[Beads] "[globular]" "[Blue]" "[glass]" [6-7mm]	1
	"[Beads] Short cylind[rical] somewhat steatite 4x3[mm] 14	Blue glass 59
	rounded,	
"[Div]11	"[Beads] "[Short]" "[cylindrical]" "[somewhat]" "[steatite]" "[4x3mm]" 4	Green "[glass]"
25		
	"[Beads] Silver	1
	"[Beads] Blue glass ord[inar]y,	2
118		Silver 2
	"[Beads] Jasper cyl[indrical]	Baked clay
"[Div] 12	"[Beads] green glass 3 - 4[mm]	1
"[Div 12]	"[Beads] cylind[rical] . steatite as above	133
"[Div 12]	"[Beads] baked clay be[ads]	Jasper 10[+]
	Jasper cyl[inderical].	[=]447
	Blue glass	
[Div]15	"[Blue]" "[glass]"	1
	Silver	1
[Div]16	Baked clay	116
	Blue glass	4
	Steatite	1

BOX 4-17-44 [Continuation of BOX 4-17-42].

Beads in Shiba mura dolmen¹³⁶

	Amber. Blue glass amber small [OA+. 1228]	Blue Glass Large [See footnote 137]	Green glass [OA+. 2969. only 23 remain]	Silver [OA+. 1244, 3037, 16055, 16052. 16053 and 3002]	Baked clay [OA+. 2966.1-9. only 91 remain]	Steatite [OA+. 1225]	Jasper [OA+. 1141. 2968 and 1224. 39 remain]	Total
Coffin space S[outh] half		170 147	5	1	5		19	172
Do [coffin] Do [space] N[orth] half		13			5			18
S[outh] end outside [coffin]	3	187 large 325 small		14			12	15
Back wall		187 large 328 small		14				526
Space between coffin v[&] W[est] wall.		59	25	2	118	133	10	347
[Sub total]	3v	7-44 [7]31	30	17	123	133	41	
[Total]								1078

The blue glass¹³⁷ beads within the S[outh] half of the coffin space were chiefly in 3 distinct lots of ... 53 of blue glass, 47 Do[blue] Do[glass] & 47 Do[blue]Do[glass] c[with] 14 cyl[indrical] jasper beads. grouped

The others were mostly found as follows .

41 in In the space below the W[est]. wall v[and] the coffin

1 group Blue glass 1 lot of 41¹³⁸

Green "[glass] 1 "[lot] "[of] 25." with 114 Steatite .

1 Group of 116 backed clay.

Against the back wall

1 lot of 14 silver beads.

¹³⁶ "Coffin space south half" refers to Div. 5, 6, 9 and 10. "Coffin space north half" refers to Div. 13 and 14. "South end outside coffin" refers to Div. 1 and 2. "Back wall" refers to Div. 17, 18, 19 and 20. And "Space between coffin and west wall" refers to Div. 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15 and 16.

¹³⁷ According to Victor Harris, only 361 of the dark blue beads remain (Harris 2003: 85). This would appear to include OA+.2967.1-268 (268 beads).

¹³⁸ The numbers underlined in blue pencil refer to the groups of beads visible in Gowland's plan of the tomb marked out with the same blue pencil. See Plan 2, BOX 4-2-1.

1 "[lot] "[of] 507 Blue glass beads large v[and] small,

1078 beads mostly in 8 lots.

Sword total [length] 41"¹³⁹
spear [head] 10'

BOX 4-26-1. [BOX 4-26-1 to BOX 4-26-9 describe Gowland's first visit to the tomb in July 1897 and the objects bought from a local farmer, Shinsuke. Before the excavation see BOX 4-26-6].

See also detailed notes¹⁴⁰

1141

Dolmens of the prov[ence] of Kawachi
continued from Book Five.

Dolmen of Shiba mura

The dolmen about to be described is in the village
the village of
district of shiba (mura). Which is situated at the
base of the Ikoma toge. The dolmen is distant
about a mile from the village & about a
called
third of a mile south of the temple ^ Dai senji
& on that to the lower slope of the Ikoma
range. The local name of the mound is
matsu yama. About one third of the mound has
for cultivation
been dug away to form a (cultivated) terrace ^ .
On the inner side of which a few of the stones
of the side of the roof of the chamber are
enfaced. These were removed v[&] the chamber

1874 1875

was entered in the 7th or 8th year of Meiji by
some officials from the Sakai kencho¹⁴² who examined
it v[&] took away some pottery. It was thought
of little importance by them v[&] the owner was told
he might do what he liked with it.
Af[ter] & The chamber was entered again in June
1887 by the owner of the land on which it

¹³⁹ Strangely the only reference to the iron sword blade at all within this list, and appears to have been added later in pencil to this note recording the beads. Although the sword is visible in plan 2 and 3 and mentioned briefly in BOX 4-17-11, it is not mentioned in the division notes. However, fragments are mentioned as being bought in BOX 4-26-2. As this is such an unusually admission, this may indicate that the sword was purchased and located on the plan with descriptions from Shinsuke, not excavated by Gowland.

¹⁴⁰ This would appear to refer to the other notes on the tomb, but as it is written in blue pencil, it was likely added later to this document as Gowland continued his study of the site and its objects.

¹⁴¹ Numbers on the corners of BOX 4-26-1 to BOX 4-26-9 are printed on pages, of what was originally a note book. Appears to be the note book referenced in BOX 4-17-8 as "Note book C".

¹⁴² Kencho (県庁), prefectural office.

is situated¹⁴³ . he took out some fragments of

BOX 4-26-2 [Reverse side of BOX 4-26-1]

2

one of the small vessels (a¹⁴⁴) was seen near the back wall.

BOX 4-26-3 [Continuation of BOX 4-26-1. Gives a list of objects purchased from a local farmer Shinsuke]

frag[ment]s halberd shaped
some swords, some ^ [of] horse ornaments ^[,] four or five
a145

3

small copper gilt ornaments as sketch[^] about 1 1/4" long

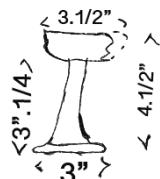
a

八

10

A detailed line drawing of a heart-shaped seed pod. The pod is pointed at the bottom and has a small, rounded cap at the top. The surface of the pod is covered with numerous small, dark, circular spots. The drawing is labeled with the number 14 in the top right corner.

I explored the chamber superficially only on 10th July 1887¹⁵¹ - as I did not wish to disturb the contents more



¹⁴³ This is perhaps referring to Kodera or Yamaguchi who were the owners, as BOX 4-17-40 indicates that the aforementioned farmer, Shinsuke, had removed object "several years" prior to Gowland's investigation. But in this entry refers to having bought the objects from the owner, so it maybe that the tomb was opened and objects removed on the first occasion, by Shinsuke and the second by one of the owners in June 1887 which prompted Gowland's July visit. But on the second occasion Gowland only purchased objects from Shinsuke, so it would appear nothing had been removed by the owners.

¹⁴⁴ Referring perhaps to Pot A, see BOX 4-17-30. However, Gowland describes it as a small vessel despite it being a large *kidai*, significantly larger than the other vessels. As this numbering system was not used until after the excavation, and this document was written before (see BOX 4-26-1) its possible that this letter refers to a different system and ceramic. Importantly Gowland appears to be attempting to locate objects in the tomb, even before he excavated it, based on Shinsuke's descriptions of where they were found.

¹⁴⁵ In reference to the sketch of a *miwadama* at the left side of the page.

¹⁴⁶ Referring to Pot C, see BOX 4-17-31.

¹⁴⁷ Referring to Pot F, see BOX 4-17-32.

¹⁴⁸ Most likely referring to Pots M, N, Q and S, see BOX 4-17-34 and BOX 4-17-35.

¹⁴⁹ Most similar in appearance to OA+.1250.2. Also the only complete of the heat shaped bagu that shows no gilt bronze.

¹⁵⁰ Referring to Pot D, see BOX 4-17-32.

¹⁵¹ The original packaging of the collection is still held by the museum from this event. Only removed during the survey which occurred in the 1990s. The newspaper used to wrap the objects upon Gowland first visit to the tomb was dated 25th June 1887. In particular an arrow head (OA+.3006). And a sample of the iron oxide scraped from the floor near the back wall of the chamber was also taken at this date, which is currently unaccounted for in the collection, but can be seen in a figure from: (Harris 2003: 93).

they had already been disturbed .

^ hoping at some future time to be able to examine
+[&]securing them systematically at some future time .

Near

at the N[orth] end of the chamber there was but little earth on the floor v[&] here it was seen to be rudely paved with flat stones. Several inches of earth had accumulated over the remaindence of the floor

BOX 4-26-4 [Continuation of BOX 4-26-1. Reverse side of BOX 4-26-3].

4

- * Some of the frag[ment]s of the upper portion of the large vessel bore the simple waved line marking
- The Kuda tama v[&] beads seemed to be mostly near the S[outh] end of the wood frag[ment]s v[&] the arrow heads near the middle.

Inquiry[:] Why should the Kuda tama be associated c[with] vermillion.?

BOX 4-26-5 [Continuation of BOX 4-26-1].

5

But three feet from the the N[orth]: wall floor were many frag[ment]s of a large tazza, some on the surface , some imbedded in the earth. Also frag[ment]s of a large cylindrical vessel . The pedestal of the tazza had 4-or 5^ rows of triangular apertures , v[&] was masked also with the comb wave pattern^ the of the bottom of the tazza bore faint Korean wheel markings. the only piece of pottery so marked.

continuing away

*From near the back be wall for about three feet or more there was a considerably quantity of frag[ment]s of decayed conifer wood . this wood seemed to be scattered in a N[orth] v[&] S[outh] direction nearer the E[ast] than the W[est] side covering about 3`x1.1/2" area of floor ; on turning over slightly these frag[ment]s seven or eight Kuda tama c[with] adherent vermillion , several small tama, part of a futa mono coloured c[with] vermillion, many iron arrow heads , v[&] several small portions of cooper gilt ornaments were seen. Also a frag[ment]s of terra cotta resembling haniwa. And near the N[orth] end of the wood frag[ment]s a portion

of copper gilt iron halberd horse ornament .
the frag[ment]s of wood were in some cases about 3.1/2" in
thickness but most were broken up into coarse

BOX 4-26-6 [Continuation of BOX 4-26-1. This document can be dated due to the line reading "there was no trace of bone" and "No mirrors or magatama were seen" (footnote 151 and 154) as after the excavation, three magatama and bone was found during the excavation. Therefore this note can be dated to after Gowland's first visit on the 10th of July 1887 and before the excavation on the 29th of December the same year].

7

powder . The horse ornament was seen 2ft from [the] N[orth]

part of

wall +[&] 2 ft from E[ast] wall. the gilt copper ornaments
decayed

were mostly in the middle of the ^ wood . ef

Frag[ment]s of pottery were scattered all ar about the floor
in the S[outh] W[est] corner there was part of a futa mono .

There was no trace of bones¹⁵².

it would seem that the sarcophagus had been of
stout matsu¹⁵³ or sugi¹⁵⁴ v[&] had been placed N[orth] +[&]
S[outh] nearer the E[ast] than the w[est] wall. The Kuda tama
arrow heads +[&] copper gilt (personal?) ornaments were
placed in it. the horse orn[amen]t perhaps near
the back wall. The large tazza v[&] other large vessel on
the W[est] side of the coffin perhaps in the middle of
the chamber. The futa mono near the entrance of
the chamber.

No mirrors or magatama¹⁵⁵ were seen.

The verity in forms v[&] the number of the vessel of
pottery is curious, all excepting one frag[ment] of terra
cotta being of ord[inar]y grey guyogi yaki¹⁵⁶ .

There was but little vermillion among the debris
of the coffin, so that there cannot have been
filled with vermillion or were contained much.

¹⁵² Upon excavation bone and human teeth were found, this indicates this document was written prior to the excavation.

¹⁵³ *Matsu* (松) pine tree.

¹⁵⁴ *Sugi* (スギ), Japanese cedar.

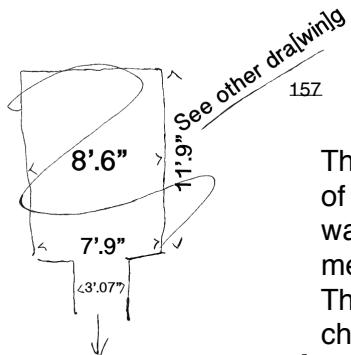
¹⁵⁵ Upon excavation, Gowland did find three *magatama*. This indicates that these notes were written before the excavation took place in December 1887, but after he had visited the tomb for the first time in July.

¹⁵⁶ Old name for *sueki*. Derived from the name of a Chinese Buddhist monk Guyogi, believed to have introduced the potter's wheel to Japan in the 7th or 8th century.

BOX 4-26-7 [Continuation of BOX 4-26-1].

9

The kuda tama v[&] vermillion may perhaps all have been contained in a futa mono.



A few points W[est] of S[outh]

S[outh] 10° W[est]

The chamber is 10['].0["] high. The roof of only three small stone. & the walls taper to the roof so that this measures only 5'.0["] x 3'.0["]

There are no large stones in the chamber walls. the structure of

these is as unusual, small stones filling the intersection between the

larger [stones] without cement. The entrance to the chamber from the gallery is closed with a rude wall of loose stones . the gallery base is 4'.10" high v[&] 3['].0["] board

but very irregular built ,

The stones of the chamber walls are all coated with a red incrustation.

The upper surface of them ... the floor near the N[orth] end are similarly covered .

The mound only rises about 5ft above the inside of the roof [of] the chamber. It exhibits doubtful traces of a terrace v[&] had been been surrounded by

BOX 4-26-8 [Continuation of BOX 4-26-1].

11

rows of haniwa frag[ment]s of which are scattered over its surface but none are to be seen in situ. This is important showing the assertion of haniwa with giyogi yaki, tama & copper gilt articles & a chambered tumulus¹⁵⁸.

No tsuka occur to the N[orth] of Shiba mura but at Kyetaki mura 5 cho S[outh]. There is a large tumulus called Otsuka¹⁵⁹ said to have not yet been opened.

¹⁵⁷ This diagram being crossed out and a regular rectangle in shape may indicate that it was drawn before that shown in BOX 4-17-6, again dating these documents to an earlier time. It is notable that Gowland only took measurements of the length of the eastern wall, the width of the middle of the chamber, the main chamber again at the entrance end and the width of the entrance passage. Fewer measurements then appear elsewhere.

¹⁵⁸ Here Gowland asserts the importance of finding the contemporaneous remains of *haniwa*, *sueki*, beads and iron with bronze gilt within the same context of a corridor style stone chambered tomb, implying they are all of the same date.

¹⁵⁹ Here Gowland would appear to be already planning different excavation, however, this was not to occur. Gowland returned to England by early 1889 having made no further excavations. While this note would appear to have been produced after his first visit to the site in July, as implied by BOX 4-26-6.

BOX 4-26-9 [Continuation of BOX 4-26-1. Reverse side of BOX 4-26-8].

12

The adjacent district [is] abound in ancient remains
the early
of the prehist[oric] archaeological ^ historic are
v[&] prehistoric periods of the greatest archaeologic
interest . =

BOX 4-35-2 [Separate document, appears to be the chemical composition of the bead which appeared in Div.13, BOX 4-17-22, as it is missing from the totals of the beads given BOX 4-17-44 or the beads notes BOX 4-17-43, but does appear in both plans 2 and 3, BOX 4-2-1 and 4-3-1].

Hollow beads of thin metal

From Kawachi Dolmen¹⁶⁰

They were coloured with a faint white incrustation
which was found to be ag LL

When cut open v[and] hammer[ed] flattened out the metal was
found to be tough v[and] harder than pewter v[and] white.

Dissolved in HNO_3 [nitric acid] leaving residue only of ag LL. which
was proved to be ag ce [silver cerium] by dissolving in ammonium sol[ution]
& then ... by HNO_3 .[nitric acid]

Ag[silver]

The sol[ution] was filtered HII added & the pp of ag II filtered
off.

Ag[silver]

{ To a portion of the sol[ution] before adding the HII. KSO_4 was
added. The asyate pp (AgSO_4 [Silver sulphate]) dissolved in
water .. absence of Pb [lead]. }
 K_2S [potassium sulphide] was passed through the filtrate from ag LL. a very
minimal pp was it was ignited with the filter
paper one drop of AnO_3 added halved v[&] then ammonium
a faint blue colour very Cu[copper]
The beads .. consist of Silver containing ^ small quantities
of Cu[copper] & perhaps traces of Pb [lead] but not more¹⁶¹.

¹⁶⁰ Gowland had a tendency to refer to sites which he saw as particularly important by naming them after the prefecture in which they were located, such as "Tamba dolmen" in the case of Rokuya, "Kaudzuke dolmen" in the case of Mae-Futagoyama and "Higo dolmen" in the case of Eta funayama kofun. Here he confusingly refers to Shibayama as "Kawachi dolmen", which is now in Osaka, despite visiting many others in the same prefecture. However, Shibayama is the only site he mentioned finding hollow silver beads.

¹⁶¹ This test is referred to in a statement Gowland makes about silver production from the Kofun period in his 1915 work on metal working in Japan. "...during the period of the dolmen builders, the Japanese seem to have been skilled in the metallurgy of this metal, as silver beads of that date contain [only] very small proportions of lead and copper" (Gowland 1915: 39).

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