The Evolution of Curved Beads (Magatama 勾玉/曲玉) in Jōmon Period Japan and the Development of Individual Ownership



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#### ABSTRACT

Curved or comma-shaped stone beads known as magatama (勾玉/曲玉) are often considered to have been used as amulets, talismans, or ritual items in ancient Japan. They are connected with beliefs in the magical power of various symbolically represented animals and the celestial world, the moon, or the soul and spirit. Throughout the Jomon period, magatama were embedded within common household objects and tools as well as ritual items and they were used, lost, or discarded within houses. The specific functions and meanings of the magatama found in Jomon houses are not clear, but these beads were consistently present for thousands of years in everyday settings where daily household activities were carried out. In Late Jomon, however, some magatama beads were included in grave goods in northern Japan (Tōhoku and Hokkaidō). This transformation in their role occasionally spread to central parts of the main island of Japan, such as Hokuriku and Kanto. Other bead types made of talc or jadeite had already been buried in tombs since Early Jomon, but it was not until Late Jomon that magatama became regularly buried in tombs, apparently being worn by or given to the deceased at the time of entombment. The dramatic increase in the production of these small curved stone beads and their deployment in clusters of grave pits in cemeteries suggest that this was a personalization process leading to more individualized ownership of the magatama. After Late Jomon, much smaller and more varied magatama shapes began to occur in graves along with other personal items such as combs, pendants, and earrings. The increased production and individual ownership of these body ornaments suggest that the Jomon people enjoyed relative material comfort in northern Japan. KEYWORDS: magatama, comma-shaped beads, grave goods, material comfort, contextual analysis, Jomon.

#### INTRODUCTION

THE CHARM OF THE COMMA-SHAPED BEADS known as *magatama*, found throughout the Japanese archipelago and the Korean peninsula, has long attracted much interest from archaeologists, prehistorians, and the general public. These cashew-shaped stone beads are usually about 2–5 cm in length, and have a perforation through the larger, bulging end for hanging on a cord and wearing as a single pendant or as a chain necklace or bracelet interspaced with other kinds of beads (Ōtsubo 2015:29–30) (Fig. 1). Mizuno

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(b)









(e)

Fig. 1. Slit earring and *magatama* beads: (a) slit-earring, Kagota site, Early Jōmon period (image from Iijimamachi Kyōiku Iinkai 1978); (b, c) standard-type *magatama*, Yayoi-Kofun periods (images by University of Pennsylvania, December 2016); (d) standard-type *magatama*, Early Kofun (artifact owned by Izumo City Cultural Properties Division, image from Taishamachi Kyōiku Iinkai 2004); (e) U-shaped *magatama* beads, Kyūshū, Final Jōmon period (artifact owned by Beppu University, image from Matsumoto 2000: frontispiece 5).

(1992:58–62) postulated that the ancient Japanese wore stone beads as talismans since they might have believed in the magical power of gemstones in general.

Ōtsubo's (2015) recent comprehensive investigation of the stone body ornaments during the Jōmon period (ca. 14,000–300 в.с.), primarily in Kyūshū, reflects the continuing interest among scholars in ancient body ornaments including *magatama*. *Magatama* beads in particular excite enduring popular interest because, after having served as important ritual paraphernalia in the Kofun period (ca. A.D. 250–600) this type of stone bead was exalted to the status of one of the Three Imperial Regalia (*sanshu no jingi* 三種の神器) in Japan. As our knowledge of Jōmon *magatama* in Kyūshū continues to accumulate, it is important to systematically investigate the emergence and development of these peculiar beads in the eastern and northeastern parts of Japan. Particularly necessary is a detailed study of the precise archeological contexts from which these beads were recovered during excavation. Clarifying the artifacts and features associated with these beads may elucidate the emergence and evolution of *magatama* beads during the Jōmon period.

By illuminating the contexts of the find-spots of these peculiar stone beads, this study aims to disentangle a transitional process that occurred in Late Jomon (ca. 2400-1200 B.C.) in northern Japan, during which some magatama seem to have transformed from being collectively owned to personal items associated with individuals. Since their first appearance, magatama were consistently associated with dwelling areas. In Late Jomon, however, some magatama beads began to serve as grave goods in northern Japan (Tōhoku/Hokkaidō). This trend occasionally spread to the central parts of the main island such as Hokuriku and Kantō (Fig. 2). New significance may be attached to these beads when they are found as funerary goods in the more ritualistic and formalized contexts of burials. Magatama were not discernibly associated with mortuary contexts until this transitional period, even though other body ornaments made of various gem stones, such as slit-earring beads and large jadeite pendants, had already been employed as grave goods since Early Jomon (ca. 5000-3500 B.C.). The divergence in meaning and function did not occur for all magatama, however; many of them remained household items throughout the Jomon period.

Some scholars have previously put forward the idea that ancient people interred *magatama*, particularly those made of jadeite, in graves as a symbol of high status or wealth (Sakaguchi 2011). The transition from ordinary household good to funerary good was not caused by an increase in status or wealth differences, however. Instead, this evolutionary step coincided with and was probably enabled by expanding trade networks and an increase in the production of smaller stone beads. There was a dramatic increase in the production of small stone beads and their deployment in clusters of grave pits in cemeteries during Late Jōmon. It appears that *magatama* became personally-owned items during this period, as indicated by their association with single burials along with increased use of other personal items such as combs, pendants, and earrings as grave goods. After Final Jōmon (ca. 1200–300 B.C.), however, various types of both utilitarian and ritual objects, including pots, stone tools, stone rods, and  $dog\bar{a} \pm t$  (clay figurines), were increasingly mixed with personal items in graves.

By placing body ornaments in individual burials, such objects could no longer reenter circulation and their ownership could no longer be transmitted to others. It is not known when the body ornaments in tombs became associated with the tomb

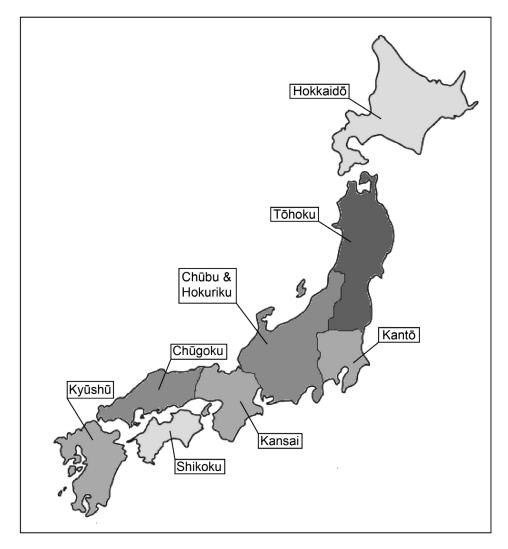


Fig. 2. Map of Japan showing the different regions (base map Davidson 2017).

occupants in terms of the use-life of the objects, however (Gosden and Marshall 1999). The objects may have been given by the living to certain individuals at the moment of their deaths or they may have been used by the grave occupants while they were still alive, perhaps as intimate, personal items.

The development of ownership of personal ornaments in antiquity is a topic that has not received much attention in archaeological discussions. The anthropological theme of property for the most part addresses the ownership of land or people; much is still to be learned regarding collective or individual possession of portable objects. Given the strong interest in material culture studies in anthropology, understanding the development of group or personal ownership of artifacts, particularly personal items like body ornaments, would shed light on the various forms of attachment between persons and things (Brightman et al. 2016:11). The use of body ornaments can be connected with various aspects of status, identity, and ritual. For instance, when the use of body ornaments is not widespread, it may be that individual ownership is restricted to particular segments of the society. Such unequal access to objects may entail the artifacts as symbols of status and wealth or as markers of group affiliation. It is also often difficult for archaeologists to determine whether body ornaments in ancient societies functioned only as decorative items or as amulets and talismans. Harunari (1997), for example, postulates that body ornaments were believed possessed of magical power in addition to serving as symbols of successful hunting and abundant harvest. Since body ornaments can serve as shamanistic and ceremonial items, their unequal social distribution can be studied as an aspect of the emergence and changing nature of religious specialists (Santos-Granero 2009).

Interpretations of the shift or overlap between collective and individual ownership of ornamental objects may extend beyond status, identity, and ritual. The change from collective to individual ownership may indicate a concomitant shift in the meaning, function, and context of use of body ornaments. For example, a stronger association of certain types of body ornaments with individuals rather than with social segments such as family, household, kin, and so on may suggest a wider circulation and greater availability of the material or rising popularity of the items. It may also indicate a general increase in wealth or in the overall material culture of the people who owned and used the ornaments.

### EXPLANATIONS REGARDING MAGATAMA

Due to the association of *magatama* with elite mortuary customs and Shintō rituals as early as the mid-first millennium B.C. in Japan, many scholars have previously proposed theories that focus on their use in religious rites and possible underlying beliefs in an attempt to account for the meaning, symbolism, and function of these artifacts. These explanations can be divided roughly into two groups. The first group sees the meaning and function of *magatama* as derived directly from their unique shape and asserts that these beads represent a specific object. The second group asserts that the comma-shape has nothing to do with the meaning and function of the beads. Both representational and non-representational theories have tended to focus on possible cultic and religious purposes of *magatama*.

Takioto (2012) lists some well-known theories in both groups. Representative accounts treat the *magatama* shape as emulating a bear- or wolf-fang, fish or fish-hook, animal liver, crescent moon, constellation, or fetus, spirit, or soul. As well as suggesting a specific referent for the *magatama* symbol, these accounts explore connections with beliefs in the magical powers of symbolically-represented animals, the moon or the celestial world, or the soul and spirit. Non-representational accounts suggest that the meaning of *magatama* is not patterned after any specific shape, but that people may use *magatama* for specific purposes, such as to possess their magical powers, contact and pacify gods and the dead, exorcise evil spirits, restore youth, pray for a safe journey or good harvest, or securely attach the soul to the body.

When scholars discuss the evolution of these beads from the Jomon to the succeeding Yayoi period (ca. 300 B.C.–A.D. 250), some have emphasized their different uses and meanings between these two periods. Kinoshita (2000) considers Jomon *magatama* to be individual body ornaments used by the living as necessary magical devices for preserving life by hooking the soul. The general absence of these items in

burials in the Kyūshū region during the Jōmon period supports this idea, since the function of *magatama* as life-preserving charms would have ended with death. She further proposes that this magical function was lost at the turn of the Yayoi period when *magatama* transformed into status-oriented body ornaments for elites.

Fujita (2013), on the other hand, links the different uses of *magatama* to subsistence strategies, stating that Jōmon examples represent wild animals and hunting game, while those in the Yayoi period served as group ritual objects connected with agrarian village life. Fujita proposes that the ownership of *magatama* became collective as these items began to play a role in communal rites in farming villages during the Yayoi period. In the same vein, Kawamura (2010) suggests that, whereas the Jōmon people wore *magatama* on an individual basis, the Yayoi people wore them as collectively-owned objects, representing their familial and other group affiliations in social relations. The use of these objects is, according to Kawamura, linked to the expression of identity in cultural and social interactions with immigrants from the Korean peninsula at the onset of the Yayoi period.

# THE EVOLUTION OF MAGATAMA

Curved, ornamental stone beads in their archaic forms and materials first appeared at the beginning of Early Jōmon (ca. 5000–3500 B.C.) and became widespread by Late Jōmon (ca. 2400–1200 B.C.) in the Japanese archipelago (Esaka 1989; Fujita 2013; Suzuki 2004*a*). According to Takioto (2012:13), the earliest *magatama* are often made of talc and appear in a dogleg-shape (Type A in Table 1) or C-shape (Type B in Table 1). The dogleg shape is commonly understood as representing a canine tooth, while the C-shape is thought to be a recycled half of a slit (*ketsujō*) earring (Fig. 1a).

During Middle Jōmon (ca. 3500–2400 B.C.), considerable technological improvement led to manufacturing beads out of jadeite. The highest quality hard stone comes from the Itoi River region in Hokuriku; this area has been the source of jadeite for *magatama* since the Jōmon period. In Late and Final Jōmon, not only did the variety of materials used for *magatama* production significantly increase to include jadeite, nephrite, serpentine, agalmatolite, quartzite, and slate, but the shapes of the beads also became more variable (Esaka 1989; Fujita 2013; Kawamura 2010; Suzuki 2004*a*). For example, L-shaped *magatama* (Type D1 in Table 1) appeared often in eastern Japan, while Ushaped ones became common in Kyūshū (Matsumoto 2000:131) (Fig. 1e). During these times, *magatama* began to be buried in tombs, largely in eastern and northern Japan.

Ōtsubo (2015:3) systematically presents the emergence of a "Kyūshū brand" of stone beads used in body ornaments and describes its spread from Kyūshū to eastern Japan during Late and Final Jōmon. The Kyūshū style was created when small comma-shaped (*magatama*), cylindrical, and round beads were circulating widely throughout the island. The style involved combining *magatama* with cylinder beads made of fuchsite (a variety of the mineral muscovite) into sets for bodily ornamentation. Unlike earlier ornamental bead types that evolved in eastern Japan and were exported westward to Kyūshū, Ōtsubo contends that this "Kyūshū brand" represents the transmission of influence in the reverse, eastward direction.

*Magatama* that were standardized in terms of form and material became a major component of grave goods in Kyūshū during the Yayoi period (ca. 300 B.C.–A.D. 250). At this time, the jadeite stone type was incorporated into preexisting morphological traits from the preceding Jōmon period (Kawamura 2010:21). According to Kinoshita

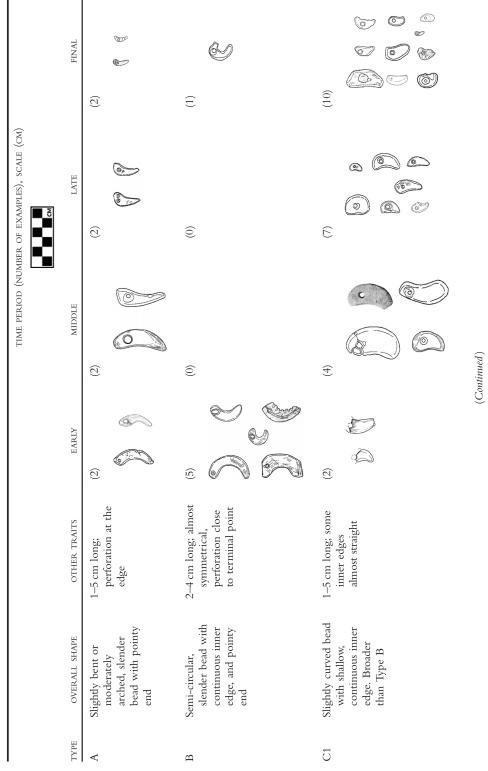
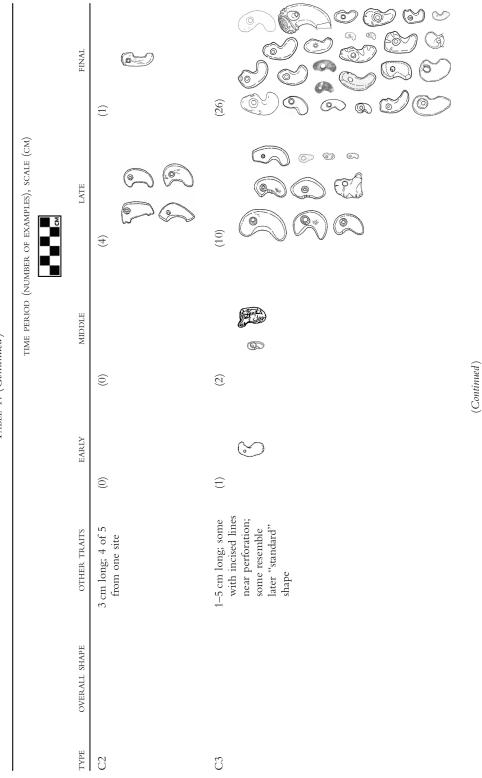
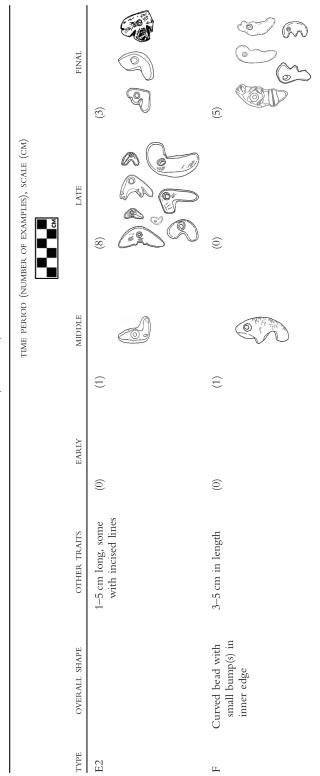


Table 1. Morphological Types of Jõmon Magatama



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	TIME PERIOD (NUMBER OF EXAMPLES), SCALE (CM)	LATE	(3) (2) (3)	(2) (2) (3) (3) (3) (3)	( <del>1</del> ) (()) (()) (()) (()) (()) (()) (()) (
<b>I</b> ABLE 1. (COMMMEN)	TIME PERIOD (NUMB	MIDDLE	(2) (2) (3) (3) (3) (3) (3) (3) (3) (3) (3) (3	(0)	5
TABLE		EARLY	0	(0)	ē
		OTHER TRAITS	1–7 cm long; many with incised lines near perforation	1-4 cm long	2–5 cm long, some with incised lines
		OVERALL SHAPE	Sharply curved bead with V- or L- shaped notch in inner edge and pointy end	Same shape as D1, with broader and less pointy end	Curved bead with small, angled notch in inner edge
		TYPE	10	D2	E1



(2000:197–198), the "standardized" version of the bead typically has a spherical head with a tapering hook (see Fig. 1b, c, d). Standardized *magatama* are often green in color, over 3 cm in length well-polished, and have grooves radiating from the perforation. Unlike in eastern and northeastern Japan, the inhabitants of Kyūshū did not put *magatama* beads in tombs prior to the Yayoi period (Matsumoto 2000:139; Ōtsubo 2006:152). However, by late Yayoi, *magatama* had become a component of sumptuous funerary offerings, including bronze mirrors and bronze daggers that were deposited in mounded elite tombs.

Theories concerning the evolutionary sequence of *magatama* are manifold. Scholars are particularly in disagreement regarding the continuity or discontinuity of this bead type in the transitional phase between the Jomon and the Yayoi periods. After Mori (1980) defined and classified magatama types into these consecutive time periods, a number of scholars argued for there having been continuity from the earlier to the latter types (Fujita 2008, 2013; Kawamura 2010; Kinoshita 1987, 2000, 2003; Koyama 1992). The claim that Yayoi magatama developed out of the Jomon model was based largely on similarities of shape and other morphological traits, such as incised lines radiating from the perforation (see incised lines in Fig. 1b, c), as well as on continuities in manufacturing techniques. Suzuki (2004a:25), for instance, treats the "Jomon *magatama*" as a transitional type between the curved stone beads of Middle Jomon to the more standardized Yayoi model. Kawamura (2010) argues that the Yayoi style emerged when jadeite stone imported from the Itoi River region was used to make beads in the same shapes as preexisting Jomon models. While treating this as a unique local development in northern Kyūshū, Kawamura admits there may have been influences from the Korean peninsula, including a newly introduced manufacturing technique used in bead production.

Kōmoto (1992) and Matsumoto (2000) disagree with Kawamura in attributing the emergence of Yayoi stone beads including *magatama* in Kyūshū to greater cultural influence from the Korean peninsula. Considering a variety of stone types and ritual uses of the stone ornaments, Ōtsubo (2007, 2010) concludes that these stone objects evolved under strong influence from eastern Japan during late Late Jōmon (ca. 1800–1500 B.C.), but that these beads changed to peninsular types along with the transmission of agricultural rituals from the peninsula during the succeeding late Late to Final Jōmon (ca. 1500–300 B.C.).

Comma-shaped beads are called *gogok*  $\boxplus \pm$  in Korean; a number of arch-shaped or half-moon-shaped beads made of amazonite stone have been found associated with dolmens and pit burials in the Korean peninsula dated after the eighth century B.C. (Esaka 1989:47; Fujita 1992:142; Kodera 2006:1; Ōtsubo 2001:fig. 2). It is not clear if these incipient models evolved to become the much later types found in the royal tombs of the Three Kingdoms era (ca. A.D. 300–668). A considerable number of *gogok* are known, primarily from mounded elite tumuli of this era across the southern regions of the Korean peninsula (Douglas et al. 2002; Lee 2012; Park 2008; Yi 2009). Based on the chronological distribution of these beads and on the absence of production centers and jadeite sources in relevant areas of the peninsula, Park (2008:129–131) argues that the latter types found in royal tombs were imported from the Japanese archipelago. As is the case with contemporary *magatama* in Japan, the production of these beads largely employed jadeite, most likely from the Itoi River region in Japan, but they also utilized other semi-precious stones, including agate and quartz (Kawamura 2014). Dozens of these beads were used to decorate gold crowns found in elite tumuli such as the Gold

Crown Tomb, the Great Tomb at Hwangnam, and the Heavenly Horse Tomb, all of which are located in Kyongju, the capital of the Silla Kingdom (ca. A.D. 300–668) (Kadota 2005). The use of *gogok* ornaments in the southern parts of the peninsula declined after the sixth century A.D. (Kadota 2005).

In the Japanese archipelago, the increase in production and use of both jadeite and nonjadeite *magatama* starting in Late Jōmon culminated in large quantities and standardized forms of these beads being produced during the Kofun period (ca. A.D. 250–600). Many archaeological studies have centered on Yayoi and Kofun examples excavated from workshops (Katō and Yanagiura 2011), residential areas (Sakurai 2004), and elite burials (Nago 2002; Takioto 2012; Tatsumi 2003, 2006). Their frequent inclusion as grave goods in mounded elite tombs strongly suggests that owning and wearing these stone ornaments became associated with the expression of high status, prestige, and power.

In addition to their use as expressions of status and power, there is little doubt that by the fifth century A.D., religious or ritual specialists also used these beads in funerary arrangements. The evidence comes from *haniwa* figurines in Kofun tombs that are adorned with *magatama* worn around their necks on a single strung pendant or as a multi-bead chain necklace, often interspaced with beads of different shapes (Fig. 3). Both male and female *haniwa* figures are depicted wearing these beads, but they appear more frequently on so-called "shamaness" or "shrine maiden" figurines wearing formal attire (Fujita 2008:99–100; Saitama 1998:69). Shamaness *haniwa* are often simultaneously equipped with other cultic paraphernalia such as small cups, circular mirrors, and flat, square-shaped hair ornaments. Examples include *haniwa* in Tochigi Prefecture (Gunmaken 1980; Tochigi 2013:35). Unlike such clay *haniwa* figurines, the *dogū* figurines produced during the Jōmon period do not exhibit *magatama* beads. Different uses and ideas attached to *dogū* figurines may explain their absence.

The bronze mirror, bronze dagger, and jadeite *magatama* had become significant symbolic objects by the eighth century A.D. These are famously known today as the three items of Imperial Regalia and are closely associated with Shintō rituals (Inada 2008). Archaeological data has proven that Han bronze mirrors and Korean bronze daggers already had pronounced cultural significance by the mid-Yayoi period. Serving primarily as symbols of the ruling class, gift-giving networks introduced these artifacts and circulated them widely across the archipelago. Stone beads may have represented local powers, while mirrors and daggers symbolized associations with macro-regional hegemonies. According to Fujita (2000, 2008;98), a passage in the *Book of Wei (Wei-zhi* 魏志) account mentions curved beads possibly made of jadeite: "five thousand white gems and two pieces of carved jade" (白珠五千孔青大句珠二枚). This is evidence that this object type may already have begun to serve as a representative product of the land of Wa (Japan) by the third century A.D. (Tsunoda et al. 1958:9). After around A. D. 600, *magatama* were occasionally added to Buddhist statues as decorative ornaments, but, as in Korea, they gradually disappeared in Japan.<sup>1</sup>

Even though stone *magatama* went out of use, their standard shape seems to have survived in other symbolic depictions. Interlocking comma-shapes frequently appeared as religious and family emblems in ancient China and Japan, including the Shintō *tomoe* symbol. In contemporary Japan, stone *magatama* have recently regained popularity particularly among young women and children, who own and wear them as talismans, charms, or amulets.



Fig. 3. Kofun-period *haniwa* with *magatama* necklaces: (top left) "dancing shamaness" (踊る巫) and (top right) "man playing harp" (琴弾きの男子) and "shamaness offering a bowl" (坏を奉献する巫女), lizuka 31 (photographs courtesy of Tochigi Prefecture Oyama City Board of Education); (bottom left) "a girl in beautiful attire" (盛装の女子), Harayama 1 (photograph courtesy of Fukushima Museum); (bottom right) "a girl offering a cup" 坏捧げ女子, Tsukamawari 4 (artifact owned by Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan, photograph courtesy of Gunma Prefectural Museum of History).

### THE MAGATAMA TRANSITION IN LATE JOMON

When *magatama* first emerged during Early Jōmon, their numbers were quite limited. Their scarcity and sporadic presence in domestic contexts suggest that they were owned at the household level rather than by individuals. *Magatama* are rarely found in graves from Early to Middle Jōmon, despite the fact that other types of stone beads

were buried with the deceased. Many archaeological sites including Kuwano and Negoyadai show the inhabitants having been interred with large jadeite pendants as well as cylindrical, spherical, and slit-earring beads (Asano 2004:31). *Magatama* show little association with the realm of the dead during those periods; instead, they consistently appear in domestic contexts within the framework of everyday activities in residential areas.

Starting in Late Jōmon, the use of some *magatama* deviated from this long-term household tradition and they became fundamentally associated with mortuary rituals. They were added to funerary items such as other stone-bead types and combs to accompany certain deceased individuals, as had long been the custom in northern Japan. This new development linking *magatama* to funerary rituals seems to have immediately spread to other regions including Hokuriku and Kantō, but it was not as widely practiced there as in northern Japan. Furthermore, the transition in meaning and function of *magatama* did not apply to all of them; many *magatama* continued to appear in the same household settings as before, suggesting that they remained family items at the same time as they became included in ritual funerary contexts. A concomitant increase in the production of small stone beads, including *magatama*, may have facilitated their becoming personalized possessions. As personal possessions, that they became mortuary goods accompanying individuals in the more formalized contexts of funerals can be interpreted that the Jōmon people began to consider these beads as personal possessions used by the owners while alive.

# CONTEXT OF MAGATAMA DURING THE JOMON PERIOD

To understand this transitional process, this study focuses on the circumstances and types of *magatama* excavated at Jōmon sites located in the eastern half of the Japanese archipelago, including the Hokuriku, Chūbu, Kantō, Tōhoku, and Hokkaidō regions (Fig. 2). The "archaic" *magatama* of Early and Middle Jōmon are concentrated at Jōmon sites in these regions. Changes in forms and usage of *magatama* seem to have originated in northern Japan in Late Jōmon and gradually spread west and southwest after Final Jōmon into the Yayoi period.

Ornaments are categorized as *magatama* if they have one end that is slightly larger than the other end, and if there is a clear contrast between an outer convex edge and in inner concave edge between the two rounded ends. Excluded from these examples are a number of stone beads with circular or semi-circular shapes that were clearly recycled slit earrings (Fig. 1a).<sup>2</sup> Slit earrings are often the most common stone-bead types of Early and Middle Jōmon. However, these beads are not included in this study since they were initially made for different purposes and it is not clear how they are situated in the evolution of early *magatama*.

This study also excluded a large number of samples for any of the following five reasons: (1) the beads were made of non-stone materials such as clay or amber; (2) the shapes of the reported beads could not be confirmed as *magatama*; (3) their find-spots were still unclear or their contextual information has been completely lost; (4) they were acquired from surface collections; or (5) their time periods were not precisely established and therefore stretch between sub-periods (e.g., Late–Final Jōmon). Thus, the examples presented here do not represent a comprehensive dataset and data collection is still ongoing. More examples with precise contextual and chronological information are needed to further illuminate the evolution of Jōmon *magatama*.

Archaeological finds of stone *magatama*, especially in their initial stage of occurrence, are not numerous and those unearthed in direct association with archaeological features are rarer still. Suzuki (2004*a*:26) and Fujita (2013:77) put together some representative examples dating to Early and Middle Jōmon. Their lists exhibit some well-known cases, but the contextual information for each of these pieces is largely missing. Their figures demonstrate the difficulty of compiling a comprehensive list of early *magatama*, due mostly to the uncertainty about dating and ambiguity in classifying the shapes of beads as *magatama* from these early time periods.

Nevertheless, a total of 157 *magatama* with known proveniences and time periods were retrieved from published excavation reports. These include ten examples from ten Early Jōmon sites, 17 examples from 11 Middle Jōmon sites, 43 examples from seven Late Jōmon sites, and 87 examples from 23 Final Jōmon sites. Even though many of the examples are described simply as coming from cultural layers without clear association with specific features, the data provide general patterns regarding time periods, find-spots, forms, and stone types of these bead ornaments.

Based on morphological traits, I classified the 157 examples into six types (A–F in Table 1). Morphological traits include: lines and notches in the inner edges of each bead, thickness length, and perforations. Type C was divided into three subtypes, C1, C2, and C3, based on the shape of the inner edge. I also classified types D and E into two subtypes each (D1, D2, E1, E2). Type D2 has a less pointy end and is broader overall than Type D1, so it exhibits a boot-shape rather than the hook-shape of Type D1. The difference between subtypes E1 and E2 is the location of the perforation. The lengths of the beads were measured and the range in length among the bead examples for each type was noted.

More examples of Type A and Type B occur during Early (ca. 5000–3500 B.C.) and Middle (ca. 3500–2400 B.C.) Jōmon, while Type C1 is consistently seen throughout all Jōmon sub-periods. Similar in shape to C1, C2 and C3 became common during Late Jōmon (ca. 2400–1200 B.C.). Type D1 emerged in Middle Jōmon and its variant Type D2 after Late Jōmon. E1, E2, and F also became numerous only after Late Jōmon. Overall, all types, except Types A and B occurred much more frequently in Late and Final Jōmon (ca. 1200–300 B.C.) than in earlier periods. Regardless of morphological type, Jōmon *magatama* became larger during Middle Jōmon (ca. 4–7 cm in length). After Late Jōmon, there was a clear reduction in size (ca. 1–4 cm in length) across morphological types, but their numbers progressively increased for many of the types.

### Magatama During Early and Middle Jomon

Among the 27 examples excavated from the Early (ca. 5000-3500 B.C.) and Middle Jōmon (ca. 3500-2400 B.C.) sites, nine examples were reported from pithouse contexts (Tables 2, 3). *Magatama* first appeared in Early Jōmon. These early examples were unearthed in house contexts that are described as within pit-houses or in the fills of pithouses. While these early examples were often associated with other types of stone ornaments such as slit earrings, they were also always found embedded among a variety of both utilitarian and ritual objects in domestic settings, including pots, dishes, pounders, scrapers, spoons, arrowheads, axes, weights, stone rods/swords, and  $dog\bar{u}$  figurines.

	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS	None (?)	Sherds, stone blade	Sherds, stone pounder, round stones	None (?)	Possibly dogā	Arrowheads, weights, scrapers, spoons, axes, dishes, miniature pots, stone rods, clay discs, cores, flakes, circular stone object
JUU-JJUU B.C.)	SCALE (CM)	$\mathbb{S}$					
TABLE 2. EXCAVATED MAGATAMA FROM EAKLY JOMON SITES (CA. 2000-2200 B.C.)	MATERIAL	Mudstone	Serpentine	Talc	Talc	Chalcedony	Serpentine
CAVALED MAGATAMA FRO	SHAPE	Type C3	Type B	Type B	Type B	Type B	Type B
IABLE 2. EX	CONTEXT OF FIND	Pit	Cultural layer	Fill of a pithouse	Cultural layer	Cultural layer	Fill of a pithouse
	site name (prefecture)	Hakodatekūkō (Hokkaidō)	Hebinai (Hokkaidō)	Yumitehara A (Fukushima)	Happōzuka A (Fukushima)	Motomachinishi A (Fukushima)	Nakanoyamatsubara (Gunna)

TABLE 2. EXCAVATED MAGATAMA FROM EARLY JOMON SITES (CA. 5000-3500 B.C.)

		101113		SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED
SILE NAME (PKEFECLUKE)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAFE	MALEKIAL		AKTIFAC15
Nīborihigashigengahara (Gunma)	Cultural layer	Type A	Talc		Sherds, beads, miniature pots, clay discs, earrings, stone tools
Ogakuchi (Nīgata)	Cultural layer	Type A	Talc	8 6 ~	Not clear
Matsunokida (Nagano)	Pithouse	Type C1	Talc	Q,	Arrowheads, weights, stone spoon, polished ax, stone dishes
Matsubara (Nagano)	Cultural layer	Type C1	Talc or serpentine		Earrings, beads, axes, weights, knives, stone dishes, arrowheads, sherds, pots

Bunka Sentā Iseki Chōsaka (1998); Happōzuka: Fukushimaken Bunka Sentā (1999); Motomachinishi: Fukushimaken Bunka Shinkō Jigyōdan (2002); Nakanoyamatsubara: Annakashi Kyōiku linkai (1998); Niiborihigashigengahara: Sanbu Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (1997); Ogakuchi: Ogakuchi: Iseki Hakkutsu Chōsadan (1979) and Niigataken Kyōiku linkai (2006); Matsunokida: Naganoshi Kutsubara: Sanbu Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo (1997); Ogakuchi: Ogakuchi: Iseki Hakkutsu Chōsadan (1979) and Niigataken Kyōiku linkai (2006); Matsunokida: Naganoshi Kyōiku linkai (1998); Matsunokida: Naganoshi Kyōiku linkai (1998); Matsubara: Naganoken Maizō Bunkazai Sentā (1998).

I AISLE 3	ABLE 3. EXCAVATED MAGATAMA FROM IVIIDDLE JOMON SITES (CA. 2200-2400 B.C.)	FROM IVIIDLE	JUMUN JILES (CA.	0000-2400 B.C.)	
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF HND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
Hamachō A (Hokkaidō)	Fill of a pithouse	Type F	Jadeite		Stone spearheads, arrowheads, stone spoons, scrapers, points, axes, hammer stones, stone rods, sherds, flakes, bors
Hagigaoka (Hokkaidō)	Cultural layer	Type C3	Jadeite	6	Clay and stone tools, etc.
Miyato 4 (Hokkaidō)	Cultural layer	Type D1	Serpentine		Only the magatama
Izumiyama (Aomori)	Grave pit	Type E2	Jadeite	P D J	Only the <i>magatama</i>
Sannaimaruyama 6 (Aomori)	Cultural layer	Type C1	Talc or tuff		<i>Dogn</i> , miniature pots, pendants, clay discs, stone arrows, earrings, pieced stone
	Cultural layer	Type A	01		00) 6578

Table 3. Excavated Magatama from Middle Jömon Sites (ca. 3500–2400 b.c.)

site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
	Cultural layer	Type E1	<u>۰</u> .		
	Cultural layer	Type C1	۰.		
Kamiyonai (Iwate)	Pithouse	Type D1	Tuff	6)	Sherds, clay discs, stone arrowhead, pierced clay object. flakes
		Type D1	Chalcedony		
		Type E1	Chart	٩	
Tanabatake (Nagano)	Fill? of a pithouse	Type D1	Talc		Pendant, pots, stone drill, arrowhead, axes, knife, stone spoon, flakes
		(Constitute)			

site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF HND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
Nizayamashin (Toyama)	Cultural layer	Type C1	Serpentine		Axes, hammers, grinding stones, stone weights, arrowheads,
Teraji (Nīgata)	Cultural layer	Type D1	Talc		Not clear
Meijiyakkadaigaku (Tōkyō)	Pithouse	Type C3	Serpentine	Ð	Pot, axes, stone dish, pendant, flakes
Ōtsukurodanomori (Ishikawa)	Cultural layer	Type A	Talc	0	Pots, arrowheads, spoons, axes, drills
*Late Middle Jõmon to early Late Jõmon	Cultural layer	Type C1	0.	6	Pots, clay discs, dogū frags, arrowheads, axes, scrapers, drills

Kyōiku Iinkai (1976) and Aomoriken Maižō Bunka Šentā (1996); Samaimáruyama: Aomoriken Kyōikuchō Bunkazai Hogoka (2009, 2013); Kámiyonai: Iwateken Bunka Shinkō Jigyōdan Maizō Bunkazai Sentā (19954, 19956); Tanabatake: Tanabatake Hakkutsu Chōsadan (1990); Nizayamashin: Toyamaken Kyōiku Iinkai (1973); Teraji: Omichō (1987); Meijiyakkadaigaku: Meijiyakkadaigaku Iseki Chōsakai (2000); Ōtsukurodanomori: Ishikawaken Kyōiku Iinkai (2002).

During Early and Middle Jōmon, *magatama* may have occasionally been buried in tombs, but it seems to have been very rare and they do not seem to have been buried with other grave goods. For Early Jōmon, one from Hakodatekūkō was reported from a pit located within a cluster of pit-houses, but this pit showed no sign of having been a tomb (Hakodate Hakubutsukan 1977:328–329). The Izumiyama site reports the first and only example of a *magatama* coming from a grave pit dated to Middle Jōmon (Aomoriken Kyōiku Iinkai 1976:44, 163). Besides the *magatama* bead, nothing else was found in this grave pit, so there is uncertainty even regarding defining the pit as a grave pit. However, this *magatama* dates to the very end of Middle Jōmon. It likely represents an early example of the transitioning usage of some *magatama* starting in Late Jōmon. As noted above, the custom of depositing stone beads to accompany the deceased had existed since Early Jōmon for non-jadeite beads and since Middle Jōmon especially for jadeite ones throughout the archipelago, but *magatama* were mostly not part of the funerary beads of Early and Middle Jōmon.

Unfortunately, the remaining 16 examples came from cultural layers without clear association with specific features. Nonetheless, at least half of their find-spots are located within residential areas, mostly in close proximity to pithouses or to pits that may have been pithouses. One clear exception to this is the example that was unearthed in a wet-field at Miyato in Hokkaidō (Hokkaidō Maizō Bunkazai Sentā 2003:150).

A variety of morphological types of *magatama* is present during Early and Middle Jōmon. Many of the Early Jōmon examples have shapes that resemble a half of a slit earring or a canine tooth. These shapes became much less common after Middle Jōmon. Early Jōmon *magatama* also tend to be slender in shape, compared to the broader ones of the later sub-periods. The location of the perforation tends to be at the furthest end of the "head" (broadest part), but this pattern seems to have disappeared after Middle Jōmon.

The Middle Jomon examples show a greater variety in morphological types, including the first appearance of the comb-, animal-, hook-, J-, and L-shapes, as well as lines in the head. Particularly noticeable during this period is the large size of some of the beads. This clearly reflects the widespread trend during Middle Jomon of producing large pendants (taishu 大珠), many of which were over 5 cm long. The large stone pendants produced during this time period were made primarily of jadeite, along with some of talc, mudstone, or serpentine.<sup>3</sup> Their forms include leaves, triangles, axes, and magatama (Kurishima 2004; Suzuki 2004b). Kawarabuki (2004) collated data on over 250 such large beads reported from graves, pit-houses, stone structures, and pots buried in the ground. Many of the large pendants came from graves. In some instances, their precise positions in relation to skeletal remains indicate that the deceased had them on their bodies at the time of inhumation (Fujita 2006; Kawarabuki 2004). Table 4 shows a list of Early-Middle Jomon sites where large pendants were reported from both grave pits and pithouses. The equal presence of the large pendants in both mortuary and domestic contexts differs from the situation of contemporary magatama in the same regions that came almost always from houses, not from graves. The large pendant type gradually fell into disuse during Late Jomon, as though the magatama being produced in larger quantities had taken over the role of the large pendants in accompanying the deceased.

Like the large pendants, Early and Middle Jōmon *magatama* were made of various stone types, including serpentine, talc, chalcedony, jadeite, and green tuff. There is a degree of uncertainty in the determination of the stone types in some cases, but

	I ADLE 4. LANGE I		IU HAVE DEEN EACAVALE	LARGE FENDANIS NEFORIED TO HAVE DEEN LACAVATED FROM URAVE FIIS AND FILHOUSES
JÕMON SUB-PERIOD	SITE NAME	PREFECTURE	STONE TYPE	SOURCES
Grave Pit				
Early	Tenjin	Yamanashi	Jadeite	Yamanashiken Maizō Bunkazai Sentā 1994
Middle	Sakaehama 1	Hokkaidō	Jadeite	Yakumochō Kyōiku Iinkai 1987
Middle	Fugoppe 2	Hokkaidō	Jadeite	Hokkaidō Maizō Bunkazai Sentā 1991
Middle	Yamabuki 1	Aomori	Jadeite	Aomorishi Kyōiku Iinkai 1991
Middle	Nishida	Iwate	Jadeite	Iwateken Kyōiku Iinkai 1980
Middle	Hariyama	Iwate	Jadeite	Tõnoshi Kyõiku Iinkai 2006
Middle	Iwanohara	Nīgata	Jadeite	Nagaokashi Kyōiku Iinkai 1981
Middle	Umataka	Nīgata	Jadeite	Nakamura 1966
Middle	Uekido	Nagano	Jadeite	Naganoken Maizō Bunkazai Sentā 1988
Middle	Shichirōuchi C	Fukushima	Jadeite	Fukushimaken Bunka Sentā Iseki Chōsaka 1982
Middle	Hōshōjiri	Fukushima	Jadeite	Fukushimaken Bunka Sentā Iseki Chōsaka 1991
Middle	Miyaushiro	Ibaraki	Jadeite	Ibarakiken Kyōiku Zaidan 2002
Middle	Tsuboiue	Ibaraki	Jadeite	Ōmiyamachi Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan 1995
Middle	Kitatsukaya	Saitama	Jadeite	Saitamaken Maizō Bunkazai Chōsa Jigyōdan 1983, 1985
Middle	Shijimizuka	Shizuoka	Diopside/Actinolite	Hamamatsushi Kyōiku linkai 1962
			(Continued)	

Table 4. Large Pendants Reported to have been Excavated from Grave Pits and Pithouses

JÕMON SUB-PERIOD	SITE NAME	PREFECTURE	STONE TYPE	SOURCES
Pithouse				
Early	$T\bar{o}buhachimanbara$	Nagano	Jadeite	Ikusakamura Kyōiku Iinkai 1999
Middle	Aonae	Hokkaidō	Jadeite	Okushirichō Kyōiku linkai 1978; Sato and Yamada 1979
Middle	Herokaruusu	Hokkaidō	Jadeite	Hokkaidō Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 1987
Middle	Nishinagane	Aomori	Jadeite	Hachinoheshi Kyōiku Iinkai 1995
Middle	Futatsumori	Aomori	Jadeite	Aomorikenritsu Kyōdokan 1984; Tenmabayashimura 1981
Middle	Natsumoto	Iwate	Jadeite	Iwateken Bunka Shinkō Jigyōdan Maizō Bunkazai Sentā 1989
Middle	Teraji	Nīgata	Pagodite	Ōmimachi 1966; Teramura et al. 1987
Middle	Yamayashiki 1	Nīgata	Jadeite	Jõetsushi Kyõiku Iinkai 1978; Jõetsushishi Hensan Iinkai 2003
Middle	Banbayama G	Toyama	Jadeite	Toyamaken Maizō Bunkazai Sentā 1985, 1987
Middle	Masinoshinkiri	Nagano	Nephrite	Naganoken Kyōiku linkai 1972
Middle	Shimohirooka	Ibaraki	Jadeite	Ibarakiken Kyōiku Zaidan 1981
Middle	Kajidai	Ibaraki	Jadeite	Kashimamachi Kyōiku linkai 1990
Middle	Shimazu	Ibaraki	Jadeite	Shimazu Iseki Chōsakai 1998
Middle	Tsutsudo A	Ibaraki	Jadeite	Ibarakiken Kyõiku Zaidan 1984

serpentine and talc are the most common minerals, particularly during Early Jōmon. In addition to the various stone types seen in Early Jōmon, *magatama* examples made of jadeite and tuff also emerged in Middle Jōmon. The jadeite examples do not show any difference from other contemporary *magatama* types in terms of their location of find. In general, there is no correlation between stone types and their contexts of find.

## Magatama During Late and Final Jomon

A few notable sociocultural trends clearly demarcate Late-Final Jōmon from preceding Early-Middle Jōmon. For example, the Early-Middle Jōmon centers of prosperity were located in central Japan. They moved to two separate regions, one centered in northern Tōhoku and another in central Kyūshū, during the Late and Final Jōmon (Imamura 1996:111–125). Late and Final Jōmon also witnessed the production of small beads including *magatama* in progressively larger quantities across the Japanese archipelago (Esaka 1989; Esaka and Watanabe 1998). This tendency was probably a result of expanding trade networks. As a result of a climatic change during this time period, hunter-gatherer-fishers began actively participating in supra-communal interactions (Uchiyama 2008). Another socio-cultural change was the physical separation of burial and ritual locations from mundane living spaces in Late-Final Jōmon settlements in northern Japan (Nakamura 2009). According to Nakamura (2009), a pronounced social differentiation was expressed in mortuary practices in association with this physical distance.

To compare with the general trends observed among the Early-Middle Jōmon *magatama* and understand the transitional process through which these artifacts became integrated into the realm of the deceased, this study also investigated the circumstances of find and types of *magatama* dating to the Late (ca. 2400–1200 B.C.) and Final (ca. 1200–300 B.C.) Jōmon periods (Tables 5, 6). Demarcation between these sub-periods is often unclear in the reports. They are often presented as a single subperiod (e.g., LateFinal) for many of the sites. As was the case with the clustering of Early and Middle Jōmon examples in northern Japan, the distribution of the Late and Final Jōmon samples are also predominantly seen in the northern regions.

Burying *magatama* in graves became radically salient in Late Jōmon. This practice is especially associated with clusters of burial pits in cemeteries. These burial pits were generally not very large and, when skeletal remains are preserved, usually contained only one individual, sometimes two, in a flexed position. Among the 130 examples of *magatama* from Late and Final Jōmon sites, 92 have been unearthed from grave contexts. This new location of find for *magatama* developed in Late Jōmon and became prevalent during Final Jōmon. Many of the Late–Final Jōmon sites where *magatama* were found in graves are located in northern Honshū and Hokkaidō. The practice of entombing these stone items with corpses seems to have burgeoned in these northern regions of Japan.

Unlike the few Middle Jōmon *magatama* found in grave contexts, *magatama* excavated from Late Jōmon burials are often found together with other body ornaments, including combs, beads, pendants, and earrings. *Magatama* in grave pits continued to be buried with other ornamental items toward the end of the Jōmon period, but were also accompanied by more practical objects including pots, scrapers, axes, knives, and arrowheads. Concomitant with this development was the inclusion of

	IVDLE J. LACAN	אין איז איז איז איז איז	TABLE J. LAVANTED MAGALAMA FININ FALLE JUMON JILES (UN. 2700-1200 B.C.)	A. 2700-1200 B.C.)	
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
Karimba 3 (Hokkaidō)	Grave pit	Type E2	Talc?	66	Combs, pendants, beads
		Type C1	Talc?	୍ଦ୍ର <del>ପ</del>	
	Grave pit	Type A	Talc?		Combs, fragment of lacqure container, beads
	Grave pit	Type C2	Talc?		Beads
		Type C3	Talc?		
	Grave pit	Type C2	Talc?		Beads
		Type C2	Talc?		
	Grave pit	Type D1	Talc		Comb, beads, axe, sherds
		Type E2	Talc		
		))	(Continued)		

Table 5. Excavated Magatama from Late Jömon Sites (ca. 2400–1200 b.C.)

		IABLE	IABLE 3. (Continuea)		
SITE NAME				SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED
(prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL		ARTIFACTS
		Type C1	Talc		
		Type C1	Talc		
	Grave pit	Type E2	Talc?	66	Comb
	Grave pit	Type C3	Talc?		Bead
		Type E1	Talc?	6	Not clear
	Grave pit	Type C3	Talc?		Beads, comb, stone tools
		Type C3	Talc?		
	Grave pit	Type C1	Talc?		Shell bracelets, comb, beads
	Grave pit	Type C1	Talc		Combs, head ornaments, earrings, bracelets, beads

		TABLE	TABLE 5. (Continued)		
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
		Type C2	Talc		
		Type A	Talc		
		Type E2	Talc		
	Grave pit	Type C3	Talc		Earrings, combs, bracelets, beads
		Type E1	Talc		
		Type E2	Talc		
		Type C3	Talc		
		0)	(Continued)		

			(		
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
		Type E2	Talc	2013	
Yagi B (Hokkaidõ)	Stone tombs	Type D2	Jadeite	S I S	Beads
Korekawanakai (Aomori)	Pithouse	Type E2	64	Ĩ	Pots, arrowheads, stone hair ornaments, flakes, scrapers, axes, dogū fragments, stone discs
Kazahari 1 (Aomori)	Grave pit	Type C1	Jadeite		Beads, sherds
	Grave pit	Type E1	01	67	Not clear
Mawaki (Ishikawa)	Cultural layer	Type C3	Jadeite	906	Sherds, others not clear
Chiyoda (Chiba)	Pithouse	Type C3	Jadeite	E	Sherds, fragment of dogū, clay earrings, stone swords
Motoyashiki (Nīgata); *Late Jõmon to the beginning of Final Jõmon	Stone tomb	Type D2	Jadeite	R R	32 beads, small stone tool

		× .			
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF HND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
	Stone tomb	Type D2	Jasper	٢	16 beads, stone rod
		Type C3	Jasper	୍	
		Type E2	Jasper	٣	
	Stone tomb	Type D2	Jadeite	R R	68 beads
	Stone tomb	Type C3	Quarts schist	Ì	Not clear
	Stone tomb	Type D1	Talc	S I S	Not clear
	Stone tomb	Type C1	Jadeite	6	Not clear
	Stone structure	Type D2	Jadeite	C D	Not clear
	Stone structure	Type E1	Jadeite		Not clear
	Cultural layer	Type D1	Tuff	Ś	Not clear

	IABLE 0. EXCA	VALED MAGALAMA I	TABLE 0. EXCAVATED MAGATAMA FROM FINAL JOMON SITES (CA. 1200-400 B.C.)	1. 1200-400 B.C.)	
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
Bibi 4 (Hokkaidō)	Grave pit	Type C1	Talc		Sherds, knives, scraper, axes, chips, flakes
	Cultural layer	Type C1	Peridotite	616	Beads, clay object, stone tools
		Type C1	Peridoute		Not clear
		Type F	Peridotie		Not clear
		Type C3	Peridotite		Not clear
	Cultural layer	Type F	Peridotite		Beads, stone tools, stone rods, earrings
Ōkawa (Hokkaidō)	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	ත්	Grave goods include stone swords, ear
	Grave pit	Type D1	Jadeite	E S	Fuels, co.
			(Continued)		

TABLE 6. EXCAVATED MAGATAMA FROM FINAL JOMON SITES (CA. 1200–400 B.C.)

			I WILL U. (COMMAND)		
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	Ċ	
	Grave pit	Type D1	Jadeite	To Co	
	Grave pit	Type D1	Jadeite	2016	
	Grave pit	Type E1	Jadeite	8-9-6-5- 7-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-	
	Grave pit	Type D1	Jadeite	e S	
	Grave pit	Type D1	Jadeite	S.C.	
Sawamachi 5 (Hokkaidō)	Grave pit	Type D1	Serpentine or talc		None
	Grave pit	Type B	Talc	C13	Miniature pot, stone objects
	Grave pit	Type C1	Jadeite		Arrowhead, sherds
			(Continued)		

		I ABLE 0	TABLE 0. (COMMURA)		
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite or serpentine	0000	Sherds, pendants, beads
	Cultural layer	Type E1	Jadeite	RHS	Not clear
Misawa 1 (Hokkaidō)	Grave pit	Type A	0.	6	Sherds, earrings
		Type C3	۰.	C D	Not clear
	Grave pit	Type C1	0.	¢	Comb, beads, sherds
	Grave mound	Type A	0.	Ś	Sherds, beads
	Grave mound	Type D2	0.	Ś	Sherds
Shadai 1 (Hokkaidō)	Grave pit	Type D2	Jadeite?	3	Sherds, beads
		Type D2	Jadeite?	8	
	Grave pit	Type C3	Nephrite		Pot

		TABLE	TABLE 6. (Continued)		
sitte name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
		Type D1	Nephrite	ie [] (?	
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite?	(*) (*) (*)	Pots, arrowhead, beads, sherds
Korekawanakai (Aomori)	Discard area	Type F	Mudstone	65	Sherds, stone tools, wooden objects
		Type E1	ο.	ର	Not clear
Genjōtai (Aomori)	Grave pit	Type C1	Jadeite	٢	Arrowhead, pendant
Izumiyama (Aomori)	Cultural layers	Type F	Jadeite		Not clear
		Type D2	Green tuff	Ĩ	
		Type C1	Green tuff		
		-	(Continued)		

		TABI	TABLE 6. (Continued)		
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
		Type C2	Shale		
Asahiyama 1 & 2 (Aomori)	Grave pit	Type E1	Jadeite	I Contraction of the second se	Pendants
	Grave pit	Type D1	Jadeite		Arrowhead, stone object
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	6)	Not clear
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	©	Not clear
	Grave pit	Type C1	Jadeite	6)	Sherds
	Grave pi	Type E1	Jadeite	R	Not clear
	Grave pit	Type E1	Jadeite	E) O)	Pendant
			(Continued)		

		TABL	TABLE 6. (Continued)		
sitte name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	scale (cm)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
		Type C3	Jadeite	6	Not clear
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	Cr)	Pendant
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	6	Pendants
	Grave pit	Type E1	Jadeite		Pendant
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	G)	Pot
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	None (?)
		Type C3	Jadeite	6	
			(Continued)		

		TABLE	TABLE 6. (Continued)		
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	scale (cM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
Akedo (Aomori)	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	Ì	None (?)
Kamiobuchi 1 (Aomori)	Grave pit	Type E2	Jadeite or Green tuff	Z	Beads
		Type D2	Jadeite or Green tuff	9 9	Not clear
		Type D1	Jadeite or Green tuff		Not clear
	Grave pit	Type E1	Green tuff	68 68 69	Sherds, beads
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	66	Sherds, beads
		Type E1	Jadeite	6	Not clear
		Type C3	Jadeite	9 f @	Not clear
Ishigame (Aomori)	Pit (thought to be a pithouse)	Type F	Tuff	Ŵ	None (?)
		)	(Continued)		

site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	scale (cm)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
Nowaki (Aomori)	Ditch	Type D1	Jadeite		Beads, sherds, clay discs, etc.
		Type C1	Green tuff		Not clear
Õhinata 2 (Iwate)	Pithouse	Type C1	Jadeite	9 4 9 1 9	Sherds, dogū fragments, clay discs, arrowheads, stone disc, stone tools
	Grave pit	Type C3	Jadeite	Dj@	Beads, stone dish, sherds, clay object
	Cultural layer	Type E1	Jadeite		Various stone and clay objects
		Type C3	Jadeite	<b>\$</b>	
		Type C3	Green tuff	0	
Hiraka (Akita)	Discard area	Type E1	Jasper	(a) (b)	Sherds, arrowheads, scrapers, axes, beads, spoons, dogū fragments, stone tools, beads, pendants

(Continued)

			TIME O. ( COMMAND )		
site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
Yudeno (Akita)	Grave pit	Type E1	ο.	Ō	None
	Grave pit	Type D2	Jadeite	9	Beads, arrowhead
		Type D2	Jadeite	٢	
Kamishinjō (Akita)	Grave pit	Type D2	Green tuff	0	Beads
	Grave pit	Type D2	Jadeite	(size unclear)	Bead
	Grave pit	Type D2	Jadeite	(size unclear)	Bead
	Grave pit	Type E1	0.	(size unclear)	Bead, sherds
	Cultural layer	Type E2	τ.	9 <b>8</b> 9	Various stone and clay objects
Mushinai III (Akita)	Grave pit	Type D1	Jadeite		Stone sword, bead, pendant, stone weight

(Continued)

site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ASSOCIATED ARTIFACTS
Honden (Ibaraki)	Fill of a pithouse	Type C3	Jasper		Sherds, clay discs, stone dishes, flakes
	Pit	Type C3	Sandstone		Sherds, flakes
	Cultural layer	Type C3	Sandstone		Sherds, stone tools, clay objects, cores, flakes
Hosoike (NIgata)	Pithouse	Type E2	Talc		Sherds, axes, stone rod, stones
Teraji (Nīgata)	Stone structure	Type E1	Blue quartz		Dogū fragments, clay discs, ear plugs, axes, stone swords, arrowheads, stone
Shimohuda (Tokyō)	Pit	Type C3	Jadeite	(*) (*)	weights, stone rods, stone dishes, beads, flakes, cores Sherds, stone dish
			(Continued)		

site name (prefecture)	CONTEXT OF FIND	SHAPE	MATERIAL	SCALE (CM)	ARTIFACTS
Kinsei II (Yamanashi)	Pithouse	Type D1	Jadeite		Sherds, clay earrings, dogũ fragments, axes, arrowheads, pounder, stone rod/sword,
	Stone structure	Type D1	Jadeite	Ċ	polished stones Sherds, dogū fragments, earrings, arrowheads, axes,
	Cultural layer	Type C3	Jadeite	Ĩ	stone swords, etc. Dogū fragments, arrowheads, earrings, axes, stone swords,
		Type E1	Chalcedony	Ì	stone rods, etc.
		Type D1	Jadeite	Ì	

Ishigame: Aomorikenshi Hensan Kōkobukai (2013), Watanabe and Minami (1997); Nowaki: Aomoriken Kyōikuchō Bunkazai Hogoka (1993), Õhinata: Iwateken Bunka Shinkō Jigyōdan Maizō Bunkazai Sentā (1995a, 1995b); Hiraka: Akitaken Maizō Bunkazai Sentā (1983); Yudeno: Akitaken Kyōiku Iinkai (1978); Kamishinjō: Akitashi Kyōiku Iinkai (1980, 1992); Mushinai: Akitaken Maizō Bunkazai Sentā (1994); Honden: Ibarakiken Kyōiku Zaidan (2009); Hosoike: Itoigawashi (1986); Teraji: Õmichō (1987); Shimohuda: Edo Tōkyō Tatemonoen (2015); Kinsei: Yamanashiken Kyōiku Iinkai (1989). Asahiyama: Aomoriken Maizō Bunkazai Chōsa Sentā (1993); Akedo: Aomorikenshi Hensan Kōkobukai (2013); Kamiobuchi: Aomoriken Kyōiku Iinkai (1988); 5

ritualistic objects such as stone rods/swords, miniature pots, and  $dog\bar{u}$  figurines, but these types of objects were not abundant in burial pits.

Although a large number of *magatama* began to accompany the deceased in tombs, they also continued to be used in household settings. While mortuary *magatama* are concentrated in the northern regions of Japan, those found in domestic settings are not clustered in any particular region. Seven examples were unearthed in pithouse contexts. As was the case in Early and Middle Jōmon, these examples were accompanied by objects that are thought to be ritualistic in nature as well as various utilitarian household objects and tools.

In Late Jōmon, two examples of *magatama* were found in stone structures at Motoyashiki.<sup>4</sup> In Final Jōmon, two *magatama* came from stone structures at Teraji and Kensei and two more from pits.<sup>5</sup> Three other *magatama* were reported from discard areas and two from a ditch. Such contexts often contain both utilitarian and ritual objects. As was also the case with many of the Early-Middle Jōmon collections, the excavation reports present a considerable number of examples (20 examples) from simple cultural layers.

An even greater variety of morphological types emerged in Late and Final Jōmon than in the previous periods. For example, some have a boomerang-shape with the perforation at the mid-point; the boot-shape (a modified version of the hook-shape) also made its appearance during the later periods. Along with comb-shape examples, the bean-shape with a semi-circular inner edge, resembling the "standard" shape of the later Yayoi and Kofun periods, also became more numerous. The large *magatama* of Middle Jōmon mostly disappeared and overall the size of *magatama* was reduced after Late Jōmon.

Changes were also made in the stone types used for *magatama* production. The jadeite *magatama* that began to appear in Middle Jōmon progressively increased in number during Late Jōmon and even more so in Final Jōmon. Other stone types (i.e., tuff, siliceous rock, peridotite, serpentine, jasper, quartz) are also abundantly present. *Magatama* made of talc continued to dominate the collections, being second in number only to those made of jadeite. As was the case with the Early and Middle Jōmon *magatama*, there is no correlation between stone types, morphological types, and contexts of find among the Late and Final Jōmon *magatama* collections.

# THE EVOLUTION OF MAGATAMA IN THE JOMON PERIOD

*Magatama* began to appear in Early Jōmon. For thousands of years, these beads were consistently found in house contexts in association with many utilitarian and ritual objects including pots, dishes, pounders, scrapers, spoons, arrowheads, axes, weights, rods/swords, and  $dog\bar{u}$  figurines. The rarity of the Early and Middle Jōmon *magatama* and their frequent association with residential archaeological contexts imply that these were shared at the household level and used in domestic settings. Not all households owned these objects, however. Even when they were present, they were few in number; it seems very rare for a household to own many *magatama*.

In Late Jōmon, however, some *magatama* began to be buried as mortuary objects. While *magatama* in household contexts continued, the cases of *magatama* findings in cemetery settings increased dramatically in northern Japan. This trend may well have been related to the using of communal cemeteries that were spatially demarcated from residential areas. Communal cemeteries developed after Late Jōmon and contained clusters of small burial pits for mostly individual use. The production of large amounts

of small stone beads and their wider circulation via expanding trade networks after Late Jōmon probably facilitated individual ownership.

# Jadeite Magatama as Status or Wealth Markers in Burials

Although magatama made of jadeite may have acted as symbols of high status or wealth, an increase in status or wealth differences probably did not cause the transition to burying magatama as grave goods. Some scholars assert that magatama were placed in graves to mark the status or wealth of the deceased while alive. Kinoshita (2000) believes that magatama began to appear in elite graves during the Yayoi period because they had become symbols of wealth for Yayoi elites. Kinoshita (2005) further argues that various magatama types were differentiated in terms of their forms, materials, and colors, and that these types were linked to different levels of status and wealth in the stratified society. While Kinoshita's supposition may be correct for the Yayoi elite burials, the Late Jomon transition in the use of magatama is not associated with elite symbols. First of all, there seems to be no association between the richness of grave furnishings, indicating wealth and high status, and the presence of these stone beads in Late Jomon burials. Their presence in tombs appears to show no correlation with the degree of lavishness of other funerary items or with any specific sex or age categories. Second, jadeite magatama are rarely found in graves before Late Jomon, even though they were already being produced in Middle Jomon. Third, jadeite was not the only material used for funerary magatama; there are also talc, peridotite, serpentine, and jasper examples (Tables 5, 6). Fourth, magatama made of jadeite continued to show up in domestic settings. As described above, jadeite examples from pithouses of Late and Final Jomon are not rare. Lastly, more than half of the Jomon magatama made of jadeite did not come from graves or houses, but from pits, stone structures, and simple cultural layers. While contextual information may have been lost due to poor preservation of the sites, this pattern nevertheless indicates that the association between magatama and graves was by no means exclusive.

## CONCLUSION

The use of *magatama* in formal mortuary rituals burgeoned in Late Jōmon. These beads began to accompany certain deceased members of households when they were buried. This custom developed in northern Japan, but may have occasionally spread to other regions in the main island. Parallel to this new development, the long-term tradition of using *magatama* in household settings continued from Early Jōmon on.

A few thousand years prior to Late Jōmon the Jōmon people had already begun to bury their dead with stone body ornaments, including slit earrings, cylindrical beads, and large pendants. However, *magatama* were not included in graves until Late Jōmon, which is also when the large pendant type gradually fell into disuse. The dramatic increase in the number of *magatama* beads after Late Jōmon shows that *magatama* became quite popular as a result of acquiring a new emphasis and meaning.

The increased production of *magatama* and other small stone beads after Late Jōmon is linked to their new role as individual grave goods. This personalization process led to more individualized ownership of *magatama*, often in sets with other body ornaments such as combs, pendants, and earrings that also served as grave goods. The abundance and the presence of these body ornaments in individual graves indicate that the Late Jōmon inhabitants of northern Japan enjoyed a relatively comfortable material culture.

After Final Jomon, household items of a more utilitarian nature, such as clay pots and stone tools, increasingly served as grave goods along with magatama. Objects that are often considered ritualistic, such as stone rods, *dogū* figurines, and miniature pots, were also found in graves, though not abundantly.

The trend in the succeeding Yayoi and Kofun periods, in which magatama became major funerary objects for elite individuals across the Japanese archipelago, thus has roots in a process that operated two millennia earlier, before magatama had become symbols of high status. This marked one of the significant early stages in the evolution of this peculiar bead type, which eventually became exalted by inclusion in Imperial Regalia.

### NOTES

- 1. The rising popularity of Buddhism among the elite coincides with and may have been linked to the decline of wearing stone jewelry such as magatama (Gina Barnes pers. comm. 8 June 2016).
- 2. A couple of examples (including from Yumitehara) fall into a gray zone. I have included them so long as published sources treat them as magatama and not as recycled slit earrings.
- 3. The examples from Hamachō, Sannnaimaruyama, Tanabatake, and Teraji can be categorized as large pendants (大珠), but only the example from Hamachō was made of jadeite. 4. The stone structures at Motoyashiki are concentrated within an area 30 m in diameter. They comprise
- about 99 stone tombs in the form of pits with circular and oval-shaped stone arrangements.
- 5. The stone structures at Teraji are distributed over an area of approximately  $16 \text{ m} \times 10 \text{ m}$ . They include a central hearth-like stone structure, rectangular- and circular-shaped stone arrangements, stone tombs, and wooden pillars. The stone structures at Kensei are in an area of approximately  $60 \text{ m} \times 10 \text{ m}$ that can be divided into several sections. Associated with these structures are rectangular- and circularshaped stone arrangements.

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