supervisor of monks rather than of nuns (p. 176). And as far as I know, reports concerning Fujinoki Kofun have indicated that two male figures were buried there, not a man and a woman as Kidder suggests (p. 192).[9]

I also noticed some omissions from the bibliography. My own work on early kingship, which goes over some of the same ground as does Kidder, offers the reader alternate perspectives on sixth- and seventh-century history, as do works published by William Wayne Farris and Bruce Batten.[10] And readers interested in treatments of other important Buddhist temples might be directed to Mimi Yiengpruksawan's *Hiraizumi* (Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), Donald McCallum's *Zenkōji and Its Icon* (Princeton University Press, 1993), and my own dissertation on "Tōdaiji and the Nara Imperium," completed at Stanford University in 1987.

In sum, I am glad we have this good book. It contains much valuable material not found elsewhere and it enriches considerably our growing library in the field of classical Japanese historical studies.

Japanese Prehistory: The Material and Spiritual Culture of the Jōmon Period. By Nelly Naumann. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2000. xiv, 273 pages. €64.00.

Reviewed by
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Without doubt the Jōmon tradition possesses some of the most rich and complex symbolic artifacts from anywhere in the prehistoric world. The pots, figurines, and ritual objects produced by the Jōmon people amaze by the sheer invention and imagination behind the artifacts and, at the same time, overwhelm because of the difficulty in developing rigorous analyses of the belief system expressed in the symbols. There have been several discussions of this material published in English over the years, but in this book

9. The announcement was made by the Nara Prefecture Kashiwara Kōkogaku Kenkyūjo in June 1990. See *Mainichi shinbun (Ōsaka),* June 2, 1990, or *Gekkan bunkazai hakkutsu shutsudo jōhō,* August 1990, pp. 135–36.

10. William Wayne Farris, *Sacred Texts and Buried Treasures* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998); Bruce Batten, "Foreign Threat and Domestic Reform," *Monumenta Nipponica,* Vol. 41, No. 2 (1986), pp. 199–219. For those who read Japanese, a series of televised lectures by two historians concerning Prince Shōtoku was accompanied by a publication for general readers that includes helpful glosses of historical records, archaeological reports, and bibliography. See Suzuki Yasutami and Tōyama Mitsuo, *Shōtoku Taishi to sono jidai,* 2 vols. (Tokyo: NHK Bunka Seminā, 1995).

the late Nelly Naumann provides an interpretation of Jōmon religion that is far more detailed and sophisticated than any previous work.

Nelly Naumann (1922–2000) was one of Germany's leading Japanologists, well known for her work in mythology and pre-Buddhist religion. The book under review here is an excellent example of Naumann's basic approach to the study of Japan, using a comparative ethnological analysis of the symbols of Jōmon art to understand the history and heterogeneous origins of Japanese mythology and culture. Far from limiting herself—as do many Japanese scholars—to comparisons with later Japanese myths and customs, Naumann brings a wide geographical range of parallels to her study of Jōmon religion, thus providing an effective and distinctive critique of the myth of Japanese uniqueness. Naumann's approach to *Japanologie* has been well summarized in two obituaries published in *Asian Folklore Studies,* and anyone attempting to read the present volume who is unfamiliar with Naumann's work would benefit from first reading these.[1]

The first substantive chapter of *Japanese Prehistory* provides an overview of the material culture of the Jōmon period. This chapter is entitled "The Material Background: The Findings of Archaeology." (The chapters are not numbered and will be referred to here by their titles.) Although necessarily selective, this chapter is a useful and up-to-date summary of the fantastically rich material remains that derive from Jōmon sites. Unfortunately, however, the sections on historical linguistics and biological anthropology in the chapters titled "Introduction" and "General Remarks" are less impressive. The overview of the biological evidence for the population history of the islands given at the beginning of the book represents the state of the field in the 1980s before new research in the 1990s revolutionized the field. Naumann is especially critical of the state of research on the early history of languages in the islands, but the few works she cites are hardly representative of the field as a whole.

The three main analytical chapters of the book follow on from the overview of the archaeology, but the reader would be advised to begin with the "Conclusions" where the author sets out her ideas in a clear and concise form. Naumann's central argument is for the presence of a Jōmon moon cult that symbolized death and rebirth. This cult was, Naumann proposes, particularly developed in the Katsusaka culture of the Middle Jōmon of central Honshu and in the Kamegaoka culture of the Tohoku Final Jōmon. Naumann bases these conclusions on a comparative analysis of symbolic and mythological motifs that draws examples from China, Europe, and Pre-Columbian America, as well as from Japanese mythology. Her approach differs from that commonly employed within Japanese archaeology in the complexity of

1. Maria-Verena Blummel and Klaus Antoni, "In Memoriam: Nelly Naumann," *Asian Folklore Studies,* Vol. LX (2001), pp. 135–46.

her reconstruction. Japanese scholars have typically developed only very broad and simplistic interpretations of Jōmon ritual as representing "fertility cults" and the like. Naumann is extremely critical of all the leading Japanese archaeologists who have written on prehistoric ritual, including Harunari Hideji, Kanaseki Hiroshi, and Mizuno Masayoshi. In some cases these criticisms are warranted and I agree with Naumann that the structure of Jōmon religion is likely to have been far more complex than is usually perceived.

At the same time, however, Naumann appears to show little understanding of the importance of the *context* of archaeological finds. Writing about clay figurines, for example, she states that "Much speculation, mostly based on the fact that nearly all the figurines seem deliberately to have been broken, has been ventured, but such guesses can lead us nowhere" (p. 223). For archaeologists, though, it is precisely such contextual details that are regarded as informative about the *use* of ritual objects and a contextual approach is central to most archaeological approaches to prehistoric religion. Within her symbolic interpretation of Jōmon figurines, for example, Naumann never explains why so many were broken as part of their ritual use. As Junko Habu recently noted in a discussion of prehistoric figurines, "Iconographic analyses will prove to be most convincing when used in combination with other lines of evidence."[2]

A major focus of Naumann's analysis is a Katsusaka figurine from the Tōnai site in Nagano Prefecture. This figurine has a saucer-like face, a coiled snake on its head, and two incised lines sloping down the cheek from the left eye. Naumann takes a hint here from the analyses by Carl Hentze of similar prehistoric objects with snakes on the head from Yangshao China, Mesopotamia, Iran, and Turkey and argues that the "Tōnai figurine depicts a moon deity in possession of the water of life" (p. 134). This symbolism is linked to the renewal of life in Jōmon society: "The small figurine from Tōnai and the vessels with crawling and coiling serpents are parts of a long and widespread tradition that speaks of the undying wish and hope of mankind for a new life after death. The guarantor for this hope is the ever-renewing moon, testified by the serpent that partakes of the water of life in possession of the moon and thus rejuvenates itself by shedding its skin" (p. 140). This and the other interpretations made in this book are probably best viewed as hypotheses for further testing. One of the strengths of the volume is that Naumann tells us in some detail how she reaches her conclusions; this contrasts with the sweeping, unsubstantiated assumptions that tend to characterize much of the Japanese literature.

2. Junko Habu, Comment on O. Sofer et al., "The 'Venus' Figurines: Textiles, Basketry, Gender, and Status in the Upper Paleolithic," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 41 (2000), pp. 525–26.

The bibliography of this volume demonstrates that Naumann had read many works on Japanese archaeology, both in Japanese and English, and her use of this material is generally accurate and balanced. It would be pedantic to make too much here of the minor inaccuracies that have crept in, but I would like to mention some problems of interpretation. One relates to the use of alcohol in prehistoric Japan. Naumann argues that "alchoholic beverages passe[d] for the earthly substitute of the water of life" in Jōmon society and she assumes that the Jōmon people had the technology to produce wine from berries and perhaps even from nuts and grass seeds (pp. 140–43). This assumption is shared by most Japanese archaeologists who, in my experience, find it difficult to conceive of life without alcohol. The production of wine by hunter-gatherers such as the Jōmon cannot, however, be taken for granted. No hunter-gatherers studied in the twentieth century were observed making alcoholic beverages, and alcohol production may only have become commonplace after the agricultural revolution.[3]

As noted already, the work of the leading Japanese archaeologists working on ritual comes in for heavy criticism throughout the book. Naumann is especially critical of the idea proposed by Mizuno and Kanaseki (among others) that bird-shaped objects found at Yayoi sites such as Ikegami were placed on top of wooden posts and used in shamanistic ceremonies. According to Naumann, such explanations "rest on nothing but imagination, kindled by some fortuitous knowledge of a custom practiced by an unrelated ethnic group somewhere else in the world" (p. 63). As I have discussed elsewhere, however, this particular interpretation is supported by the *Kojiki* account of mourners dressed as birds and by ethnohistoric examples from the Korean Peninsula. Furthermore, the wooden birds from Yayoi contexts have central holes that may have been used to fix them onto wooden poles.[4]

A more basic point of correction relates to the distribution of the bear in Japan. We are told that "Nowadays bears still live only in remote parts of northern Honshu" (p. 67), but, as well as brown bears in Hokkaido, black bears are still found in almost all prefectures south of Hokkaido except for Okinawa. The bear is, however, highly endangered through much of the country.

This volume will be of most interest to archaeologists, art historians, and scholars in religious studies. The sheer detail of the analysis means the book will not be an easy read for most undergraduates. However, the overview of Jōmon archaeology at the beginning of the book could serve as

3. S. Boyd Eaton and Stanley B. Eaton III, "Hunter-Gatherers and Human Health," in R. B. Lee and R. Daly, eds., *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 449–56.

4. Mark Hudson, "Rice, Bronze and Chieftains: An Archaeology of Yayoi Ritual," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies,* Vol. 19, Nos. 2–3 (1992), pp. 139–89.

a useful reading in an introductory course on the history of Japan. The text is also made more accessible by 112 illustrations, mostly photographs of figurines and pots. These illustrations are a major contribution in themselves since Naumann managed to bring together a wide range of extremely interesting and unusual Jōmon artifacts.

Ultimately, of course, there are only very limited ways we can go about testing the hypotheses presented in this book and, as the author herself admits, we have only "small hope of gaining more than a fragmentary picture of the spiritual side of Jōmon culture" (p. 221). Nevertheless, in my view, the importance of this volume lies in its admonition to archaeologists to think in more complex and structured ways about prehistoric religion. As by far the most extensive treatment of its subject in English, this book will become the point of departure for future studies of the ritual and religion of the Jōmon period outside Japan.

The Historical Demography of Pre-Modern Japan. By Akira Hayami. University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo, 2001. viii, 191 pages. $48.00.

Reviewed by
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This book by an eminent pioneer in the field consists mainly of translated lectures and previously published scholarship emphasizing more the craft than the substance of Japanese historical demography. The first of six chapters provides a general introduction to historical demography delivered in the chatty tone of a lecture. Chapter two is an essay on the development of the field of historical demography in Japan, with strong autobiographical overtones. Chapter three provides an account of the development of survey and census work in modern Japan as well as an overview of Tokugawa and Meiji population trends. Chapter four, based on an earlier book in Japanese,[1] utilizes micro data from the *shūmon aratame chō* (religious faith investigation registers) in a study of Suwa *gun,* of Shinano Province, in the Tokugawa period. Chapter five, based on a more recent book in Japanese,[2] also uses Tokugawa-period registers to analyze the demography of Nishijō *mura,* Anpachi *gun,* Mino Province. In the final chapter the author sketches a blue-

1. Hayami Akira, *Kinsei noson no rekishi jinkōgaku-teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shinpōsha, 1973).

2. Hayami Akira, *Kinsei nōbi chihō no jinkō, keizai, shakai* (Tokyo: Sobuncha, 1992).