

Wrapping the Stone Age body: Clothing Jōmon *dogū* ceramic figures from the prehistoric Japanese archipelago

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Zusammenfassung

Die Verhüllung des steinzeitlichen Körpers: Die Bekleidung von Jōmon *Dogū*-Tonstatuetten aus dem prähistorischen Japan

Dieser Beitrag gibt einen Überblick über einige Funde von Kleidung aus der Jōmon-Zeit (ca. 12 500–500 v. Chr.) der japanischen Vorgeschichte. Die in dieser Zeit hergestellten *Dogū*-Tonstatuetten zeigen Darstellungen von aufwendiger Kleidung, während an einer Reihe von Feuchtbodenfundstellen Reste von Pflanzenfasern erhalten blieben, von denen einige zu Stoffen gewebt waren. Die Menschen der Jōmon-Zeit schmückten ihren Körper wahrscheinlich auch mit kunstvollen Frisuren, Tätowierungen, Zahnfeilungen und Zahnentfernung sowie mit persönlichen Accessoires wie Halsketten und Perlen. Lackobjekte und Korbwaren zeugen ebenfalls von der Verwendung pflanzlicher Materialien. Die umfassenden Studien von Ozeki Kiyoko zu erhaltenen Jōmon-Stoffen werden erstmals in englischer Sprache vorgestellt. Es werden detaillierte Beschreibungen der Kleidung gegeben, die auf den Körpern von fünf *Dogū* zu erkennen ist, die kürzlich als Nationalschätze ausgewiesen wurden, die höchste kulturelle Auszeichnung in Japan, (Chobonaino, Kazahari I, Nakappara, Nishinomae und Tanabatake). Die große Anzahl außergewöhnlich gut erhaltener Körbe aus Higashimiyō wird vorgestellt, ebenso wie die exquisiten Lackwaren aus Karinba. Der Artikel schließt mit einer kurzen Betrachtung darüber, wie Jōmon-Kleidung heute dargestellt wird und in Diskurse über das kulturelle Erbe eingeflossen ist, beispielsweise in die Aufnahme von 17 Jōmon-Fundstätten in Nordjapan in die UNESCO-Welterbeliste. Es wird argumentiert, dass Kleidung in den Jōmon-Gesellschaften der Steinzeit eine wichtige Rolle bei der Darstellung und Schaffung von Identitäten spielte.

Schlagwörter *Dogū*, Jōmon, Lack, Korbflechterei, Darstellung

Introduction

Display is an important behaviour for fully modern human beings (Wilson 1988). Human bodies and the ways in which they were wrapped and presented, both during their lives and after death, offered many opportunities for such display. This was the case in the prehistoric Japanese archipelago, just as it was elsewhere. Although the recently published Cambridge Global History of Fashion (Breward et al.

Summary

*This paper reviews some of the evidence for clothing from the Jōmon period (c. 12 500–500 BC) of Japanese prehistory. The *dogū* ceramic figures produced during this period bear representations of sophisticated clothing, while a number of waterlogged sites preserved remnants of plant fibres, some of which were woven into cloth. Jōmon peoples also likely ornamented their bodies with elaborate coiffures, tattoos, tooth filing and ablation, as well as personal accessories including necklaces and beads. Lacquer and basketry also attest to the use of plant materials. The comprehensive studies of surviving Jōmon threads by Ozeki Kiyoko are introduced for the first time in English. Detailed descriptions are provided of the clothing represented on the bodies of five *dogū* recently designated as National Treasures, the highest cultural designation in Japan (Chobonaino, Kazahari I, Nakappara, Nishinomae and Tanabatake). The large numbers of exceptionally well-preserved baskets from Higashimiyō are introduced, along with the exquisite lacquerware from Karinba. The paper closes with a brief consideration of the ways in which Jōmon clothing is depicted today and has been incorporated into heritage discourses such as the UNESCO World Heritage inscription of 17 Jōmon sites in northern Japan. It is argued that clothing played an important role in the display and creation of identities in the Stone Age Jōmon societies.*

Keywords *Dogū*, Jōmon, lacquer, basketry, display

2023) does not deal with prehistory, the theme of the introductory chapter on ›the history of fashion without origins‹ (Chen 2023) makes the point that people throughout history have made statements through the fashions that they chose to wear. In this regard, the diversity of clothing on display in Japanese prehistory suggests that clothing, along with other forms of bodily ornamentation and material culture, was an important way for people to signal their identity, consciously deciding how to dress being a clear expression of agency.



1 Shuen: Hokkaido, Final Late Jōmon; 2 Oshorodoba: Hokkaido, Late Jōmon; 3 Sannai-maruyama: Aomori, Early-Middle Jōmon; 4 Kameoka: Aomori, Final Jōmon; 5 Ishigō: Aomori, Final Jōmon; 6 Nakayama: Akita, Early Final Jōmon; 7 Sannō: Miyagi, Middle Final Jōmon; 8 Ondashi: Yamagata, Early Jōmon; 9 Arayashiki: Fukushima, Final Jōmon; 10 Arayashiki: Fukushima, Latest Final Jōmon-Beginning of Yayoi; 11 Ubagami: Yamanashi, Final Jōmon; 12 Yonaizumi: Ishikawa, Final Jōmon; 13 Torihama: Fukui, Early Jōmon; 14 Hirajō: Chiba, Late Jōmon; 15 Nabatake: Saga, Middle Final Jōmon; 16 Yamanotera: Kumamoto, Final Jōmon; 17 Asōbaru: Kumamoto, Final Jōmon; 18 Uenohara: Kumamoto, Final Jōmon; 19 Shinyashiki: Kumamoto, Final Jōmon-Early Yayoi; 20 Fukikami: Kagoshima, Final Jōmon; 21 Kaminakadan: Kagoshima, Final Jōmon; 22 Miyashita: Kagoshima, Final Jōmon; 23 Enokibaru: Kagoshima, Final Jōmon.

Fig. 1 Map showing finds of Jōmon textiles, with other key sites shown.

Abb. 1 Karte mit Fundorten von Jōmon-Textilien und anderen wichtigen Fundstätten.

In this paper, I present an overview of some of the most significant recent evidence for clothing from the Jōmon period of Japanese prehistory. I discuss the evidence for such clothing from stone and clay representations based on the shape of the human body, before briefly considering the relationship between weaving textiles and basketry, the intensification of display in the later Jōmon period, and the ways in which evidence for clothing has become important in the current heritagisation of Jōmon archaeology.

The post-Pleistocene period in Japan is termed Jōmon, roughly dating to the period c. 12 500–c. 500 BC (which in many aspects is regarded as equivalent to the final Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic elsewhere). Jōmon is a translation of 縄文, 'cord-marked', the term used by Edward Sylvester Morse to describe the distinctive form of decoration he identified on pottery sherds he excavated from the Ōmori shell mounds on Tokyo Bay in 1877, widely accepted as the first archaeological investigation in Japan, resulting in a formally published report in Japanese and English (Morse 1879). These cord marks were created using twisted plant fibres. A great variety of ways of twisting and knotting these fibres came to be used during the Jōmon period (cf. Hurley 1979), many of which were identified by the pioneering archaeologist Yamanouchi Sugao, who used this

diversity to create a chronological and regional framework for the period (cf. Kobayashi 2005; Taniguchi in prep.).

The weaving of these plant fibres into basketry and matting is evidenced by impressions on the bases of earthenware vessels, which had stood on such materials as they dried out prior to being fired in open bonfires. Such impressions were already noted by Morse in his report of his work at Ōmori (Morse 1879, 9). Although the predominantly acid-rich soils of the Japanese archipelago do not normally favour the survival of organic materials, there are certain exceptional circumstances, often relating to waterlogging and burning, when such materials do survive. An important factor in this can be the use of lacquer, the resin from the lacquer tree (*Rhus* sp.), native to many parts of Japan, which is used to create waterproof and shiny surfaces, often mixed with pigments to present an impressive and colourful effect (Matsumoto et al. 2022). From the Palaeolithic period onwards, stone tools such as scrapers were present, indicating the processing of animal skins and sinews to provide the materials needed for clothing necessary to survive in the cold conditions of the Ice Age. In the succeeding Jōmon period, with warmer conditions, people worked animal bones into pins and needles, which were important in the weaving together of plant fibres as cloth.

Some of the earliest indications for the use of clothing in the Japanese archipelago are the thin engraved lines etched into the surface of a series of small greenstone plaques from the Kami-kuroiwa rock shelter on the island of Shikoku (Aikens/Higuchi 1982, 107). These lines are interpreted by Japanese specialists such as Harunari Hideji as representing grass skirts, with other markings thought to be hair and breasts. Pottery sherds from the same layer as the engraved stones are dated to around 14 500 years ago, according to calibrated radiocarbon dates. Around the same date, tiny ceramic figures, *dogū* in Japanese, began to be made, apparently inspired by the shape of the human body, but in a very abstracted way. The *dogū* from Kami-ijiri in Mie prefecture is only 3 cm high and has no limbs or face. These objects, however, mark the start of what was to become one of the most remarkable traditions of sculptural representation from the prehistoric world, and *dogū* have become iconic emblems of the Jōmon period in the Japanese archipelago. Five of these *dogū* are now National Treasures, the highest level of cultural designation in Japan.

In addition to clothing, these figures also often exhibit elaborate body ornamentation including coiffures, ear ornaments, necklaces made up of strung beads and suggestions of tattoos. Many of the *dogū* figures are masked, and a number of stand-alone clay masks have also been discovered, indicating the materialisation of the concept of transformation through donning such accoutrements.

Alongside the *dogū* are a series of tantalising discoveries of woven fabrics made of plant fibres, sometimes subsequently treated with lacquer, which are described as personal accessories, including beads and pendants, armbands, ear ornaments and combs and hairpins.

Ozeki Kiyoko (2012; 2020) has made a comprehensive study of these fabric fragments, identifying over 20 sites where they have been found, from the northernmost coast of Hokkaido to the southern tip of Kyushu (Fig. 1). At Oshoro Doba near the city of Otaru in Hokkaido, 8–10 black and brown woven lacquered threads wrapped around a cobble some 30–40 cm in diameter were discovered. At Sannai

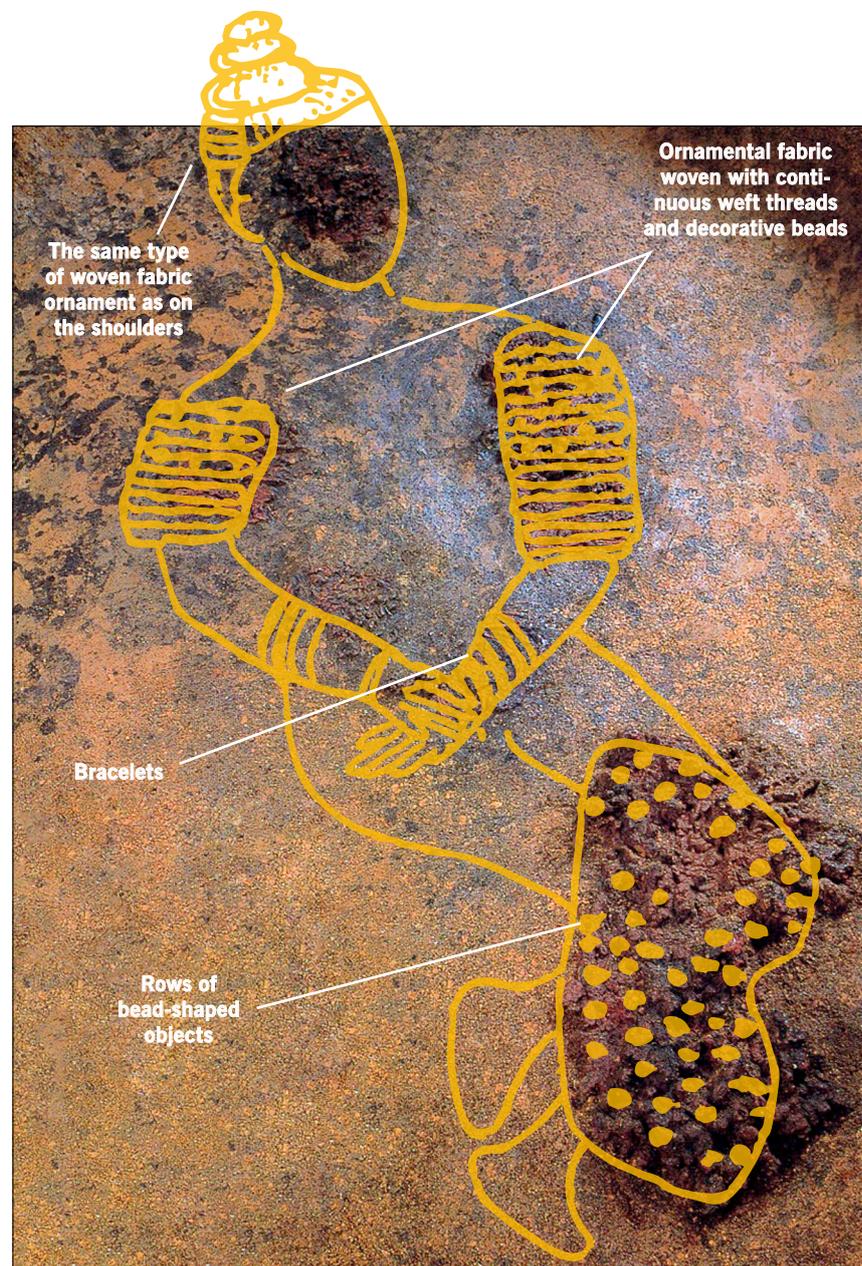


Fig. 2 Lacquered funerary woven blanket from Kakinoshima B, Hokkaido, c. 9000 years old.

Abb. 2 Lackiertes gewebtes Leichentuch aus Kakinoshima B, Hokkaido, ca. 9000 Jahre alt.



Fig. 3a–e National Treasure *dogū* from Japan. a Nakappara (H. 34.0 cm); b Chobonaino (H. 41.5 cm); c Nishinomae (H. 45.0 cm); d Kazahari (H. 19.8 cm); e Tanabatake (H. 27.0 cm).

Abb. 3a–e Als Nationalschatz eingestufte *Dogū* aus Japan. a Nakappara (H. 34,0 cm); b Chobonaino (H. 41,5 cm); c Nishinomae (H. 45,0 cm); d Kazahari (H. 19,8 cm); e Tanabatake (H. 27,0 cm).

Maruyama, fragments of textile were recovered that were »made of ramie (Chinese grass), bast fibres of a plant of the nettle family *Urticaceae* (*Boehmeria nivea* var. *nipponivea*) braided from woven yarn with warp and weft threads. The original yarns were less than a millimetre thick« (Okada 2021a, 310).

Lacquer trees were present in Japan from the end of the Pleistocene, as seen in the discovery of the oldest dated such tree from the Torihama shell midden on the Sea of Japan coast of central Honshu, dating to 12 600 years ago. The earliest dated lacquer itself comes from a blanket wrapping a body at Kakinoshima B in southern Hokkaido that was dated to around 9000 years ago, making it the oldest known lacquer from anywhere (Fig. 2). Sadly, the blanket was destroyed in a fire, and some sources now question the accuracy of the date (Matsumoto et al. 2022).

Jōmon clothing as modelled by *dogū* ceramic figures

The five National Treasure *dogū* give a good impression of the range of potential types of clothing worn by Jōmon people (see Fig. 3; Kaner 2009), although others are depicted largely unclothed, notably the so-called ›Venus‹ of Tanabatake (Fig. 3e). Tanabatake is a large Middle Jōmon settlement site (4500–3500 years ago) with over 300 pit dwellings arranged in two distinct clusters, many containing caches of obsidian from sources high in the nearby mountains.

The Tanabatake *dogū* figure was found in a pit at the centre of the southern settlement, and may have been some kind of foundation deposit, placed there by the community at the outset of the occupation. The *dogū* was found at the southwestern corner of the pit, its masked face pointing outwards. The size of the pit suggests that if it had originally contained a burial, then the bones were most likely interred long after death, once they were already disarticulated, and possibly stripped of their flesh. Such secondary burial is not uncommon in Jōmon contexts. Modelled from several large chunks of solid clay, and its surface glittering with deliberately introduced mica, the figure has no clothes, although the incised design around the pubic area could indicate an apron of some kind. The figure wears a ›heart-shaped mask, with narrow diagonal eye slits and an open mouth. The head is surmounted by an impressive headpiece with asymmetrical incised decoration on all sides and flat top, and it has two pierced ears. One foot is very slightly raised, effectively creating a sense of movement. The arms are abbreviated, and black patches across the body provide hints as to the parts exposed to the open fire during firing (Doi 2009a, 92). Archaeologist Tomii Makoto has made a study of these flame marks on other Jōmon pots, suggesting that there was an intended sense of directionality during the firing process (Tomii 2015).

A short distance from Tanabatake is the site of Nakappara, dating to several hundred years later than the Tanabatake site, where a large hollow masked *dogū* was discovered

in a pit, thought to be a grave. This *dogū* (Fig. 3a) was found lying on its side, with only the left arm touching the base of the pit, suggesting that it was buried nestled in the arms of the deceased. The grey-black body was carefully burnished, creating an almost shiny effect. This *dogū* is wearing what appears to be a tight-fitting bodice, with braiding around the hips. Linear incised designs mark out circles, spirals, straight lines and polygons, with some areas highlighted by cord-marking and rows of dots. The figure is wearing a triangular mask, attached to the head using an elaborate fitting that merges into a distinctive coiffure or head covering. Female genitalia and buttocks are clearly depicted as exposed and unclothed (Doi 2009b, 117; Kaner 2009, 39).

Northeast of Tanabatake and Nakappara, a large standing *dogū* was discovered at Nishinomae in the mountains of Yamagata prefecture. The upper part of the *dogū* (Fig. 3c) was carefully smoothed but relatively simply decorated with linear incisions around the neck, breasts and vertically down the abdomen. It is distinct from the other *dogū* now designated as National Treasures in having no facial features represented, nor any depictions of hair. The multiple small holes around the top and rear of the head suggest that it may originally have worn a mask, perhaps made of wood or some other organic material that did not survive. The lower body is decorated with elaborate incised and cord-marked decoration, indicating a pair of trousers with asymmetrical designs around the hips (Nishinomae 2009, 103).

The large hollow figure from Chobonaino (Fig. 3b) in southern Hokkaido dates to the Late Jōmon (c. 3500–3000 years ago). The figure was apparently buried in a stone cist, part of a burial which includes fragments of a lacquer comb associated with a circular setting of stones, and was very well-preserved, missing only its arms. Decoration of the body, including impressed and incised dots, thin bands of clay incised with cord-marks and lines, and areas of geometric cord-patterned designs, indicates a figure wearing a kind of halter top tied at the back of the neck with a knot of clay and full-length trousers. The face, tilted slightly upwards, has impressed dots and lines suggestive of a beard, or possibly tattoos. The surface is further treated by burnishing the

clay and the application of black lacquer, for example around the beard. The top of the head is adorned with a carefully sculpted chignon-like feature. At 41.5 cm high, the figure is considered nearly a quarter life-size (Bailey 2009, 60–68).

Contemporary with the Chobonaino figure, a *dogū* with hands clasped together from Kazahari I (Fig. 3d) on the Pacific Coast of Aomori prefecture suggests a somewhat different outfit. This figure is clearly wearing a mask, above which emerges a chignon, or hat-like feature, pierced by a hole. The excavators suggested that this figure may have originally sat on a wall ledge in one of the pit dwellings at Kazahari I. It was found in pieces on the excavated floor of the building, but traces of asphalt suggested it had also been broken and repaired in antiquity. Much of its surface was originally painted in red, known to be a significant colour in Jōmon material culture. The cord-marked designs, broken up with smooth burnished areas on the upper arms, knees and feet, imply woven garments made in pieces, while the pronounced shoulders suggest some kind of padding. The dots running down the middle of the front of the torso are reminiscent of buttons. The distinctive clasped-hand pose is unusual among Jōmon *dogū* figures, and interpretations include a figure in a trance or a posture of childbirth. The double band of clay around the neck with a series of vertical incisions may represent a necklace (Doi 2009c, 91).

The great majority of Jōmon *dogū*, of which over 20 000 fragments have been discovered from across the archipelago, are just that: broken fragments. Many theories have been put forward as to the interpretation of these objects, and the reasons why so many were seemingly deliberately destroyed before entering the ground to form part of the Jōmon archaeological record. A small number of sites have produced large numbers of *dogū* fragments, including Sannai Maruyama in Aomori, Shakado in Yamanashi, and Kashihara in Nara (Kaner 2009). They form part of the Jōmon ceramic tradition, which began with some of the oldest known ceramic containers in the world, found at Ōdai Yamamoto in Aomori prefecture in 1998, carbonised accretions of food residues which are dated to around 16 500 years ago (see Kaner/Taniguchi 2017). Jōmon ceram-

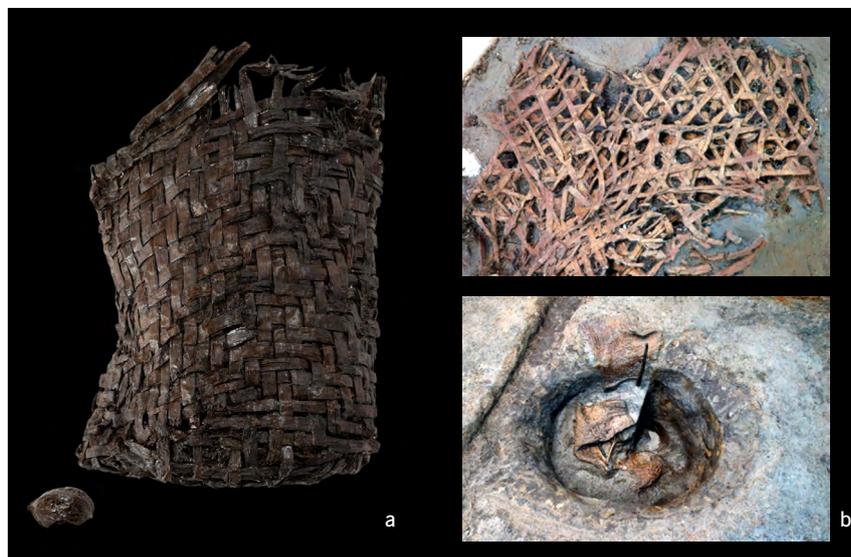


Fig. 4a–b Baskets from Sannai Maruyama (a) and Higashimiyō (b).

Abb. 4a–b Körbe aus Sannai Maruyama (a) und Higashimiyō (b).

ics were produced in a great diversity of forms and decorative styles

Basketry

The weaving of clothes is a technology somewhat related to the use of baskets. A number of exceptionally well-preserved examples of Jōmon basketry have been discovered in recent years. One of the most famous is a basket bag from Sannai Maruyama that contained walnuts, dating to the Early-Middle Jōmon period (5900–4300 years ago) (Okada 2021b, 36–37).

Another is a set of baskets from the site of Higashimyō in Saga prefecture, dating to the Initial Jōmon, around 8000 years ago (Fig. 4). Higashimyō lies at the top end of a large embayment of the Ariake Sea, on the Saga Plain, and is one of the earliest and largest waterlogged shell midden sites in Japan. It revealed over 45 000 pottery sherds, 43 000 stone tools, 120 000 cobbles, 160 stone clusters, 19 stone heaps and eight human burials from a cemetery, including a group of three who seem to have been buried at the same time, in a crouched position. Some 400 baskets were found in pits beneath the shell midden deposits, some of them containing nuts, suggesting that the Jōmon people living here had already understood the processes needed to leach toxic tannins from horse chestnuts and acorns prior to consuming them (Saga-shi 2017). The scale of basketry use at Higashimyō demonstrates that the idea of weaving was already well established at this early stage.

Intensification of bodily display

The Karinba site in southern Hokkaido offers an exceptional insight into clothing and personal adornment in the later part of the Jōmon period. Karinba is located on low terraces of the Ishikari River, the longest in Hokkaido, on the southern edge of the Ishikari plain. Excavations in 1999 revealed four particularly large burial pits, each containing multiple burials and very large quantities of personal accessories, many of them lacquered. These included hair combs, armllets, large quantities of beads and fragments of clothing, among which, sensationally, the remains of a long red woven sash that is thought to have been worn around the waist of one of the deceased. A total of over 200 000 objects were recorded at the site, which had components dating to many different phases from the Initial Jōmon period, around 8000 years ago, through to the Early Modern Ainu period (from the 13th century AD). Over two-thirds of the finds dated to the later part of the Jōmon period (3500–2000 years ago). Much of the site remained uninvestigated, but from the 900 burial pits that were uncovered, it is estimated that there was a total of around 3000 pits in the burial ground altogether (Uwaya/Kimura 2016).

Returning to the main island of Honshu, an exceptionally well-preserved and partly waterlogged site was investigated in the late 1990s and early 2000s, some five metres beneath the present ground surface of the Niigata Plain

on the Sea of Japan coast. Among the remains of a multi-phase fishing community, which included the wooden posts from buildings, riverside features and an abundance of organic remains, many personal accessories and lacquered objects were recovered, allowing the reconstruction of an individual dressed in an elaborately decorated outfit, suggesting that dying and weaving were important activities (Fig. 5). Matsumoto Naoko has written persuasively about the importance of particular colours in the Jōmon period generally, making a compelling argument for the cognitive significance of such colour choices (Matsumoto et al. 2022).

Aota dates to the Final Jōmon period (in this region from 3000 to 2300 years ago), the chronology based on pottery typology supported by dendrochronology from the wooden posts (ORJACH 2025). The site, located on the so-called *fossa magna*, a major tectonic fault line that links Mount Fuji with the Sea of Japan, was preserved as a result of a geological catastrophe that saw the ground surface drop dramatically, leading to inundation. At least two phases of occupation were determined, indicating the resilient nature of the Jōmon community there. The finds at Karinba and Aota demonstrated that by the later Jōmon period (around 3500 years ago), clothing was being used to express increasingly complex ideas about how to dress certain members of society appropriately.

Jōmon clothing today

The representation of clothes and other items of personal adornment form an important part of reconstructions of life during the Jōmon period. Many of the most influential of these reconstructions have been created by artist and illustrator Aki Sahoko, who works closely with archaeologists to produce images that express the latest thinking in how Jōmon people lived (Fig. 6; Aki/Bausch 2024; Aki/Koyama 2008). Ideas about the Jōmon period have undergone a major reassessment in recent decades. For Edward Morse, the denizens of the Ōmori shell mounds were at the barbaric end of the scale of civilisation, quite likely engaging in cannibalism in between fabricating their ›rude‹ vessels. For a long time, there was little recognition of any role for these aboriginal populations in the formation of modern Japanese identities, with affinities instead being sought with the later, rice-farming and metal-using Yayoi peoples who arrived in the Japanese archipelago during the later 1st millennium BC.

The Jōmon period is currently enjoying a boom in popularity and interest, partly sparked by greater public awareness of some of the remarkable achievements of nameless Jōmon craftspeople through designations such as the National Treasure *dogū*, the inscription of 17 Jōmon sites

Fig. 5 (right page) Reconstruction of Jōmon clothes from Aota, Niigata. Final Jōmon (c. 2500 years old).

Abb. 5 (rechte Seite) Rekonstruktion von Jōmon-Kleidung aus Aota, Niigata. Finale Jōmon-Zeit (ca. 2500 Jahre alt).



Head of a *dogu* with earrings and a pinned-up hairstyle (Urushiyama site)



Red lacquered earring (Wakeyachi A site)



Shell bracelet (Funadomari site)



Example of the patterns used for the clothing (Makimae site)



Red thread used for the embroidery (Aota site)



Leather shoes



Lacquered Comb (Korekawa Nakai site)

Shell and jade bead necklace



Jade bead (Shimo-yakebe site)



Red lacquered wooden water jug (Wakeyachi A site)



Model for the I-shaped pattern of the clothing (Urushiyama site)



Shell bead anklets (Funadomari site)

Reconstruction of a Jomon woman (Illustration by Reiko Ishii)



Fig. 6a–b Two different modern artistic reconstructions of Jōmon clothes (Aki Sahoko).

Abb. 6a–b Zwei verschiedene moderne künstlerische Rekonstruktionen von Jōmon-Kleidung (Aki Sahoko).

in northern Japan as UNESCO World Heritage¹, the role played by Jōmon archaeology in new tourism narratives relating to initiatives such as Japan Heritage², the hard work of archaeologists across Japan in promoting their discoveries in a variety of media, and through exhibitions such as that at the Tokyo National Museum in 2018 (Tokyo National Museum 2018) and Paris in 1998 and 2018 (Maison de la Culture du Japon 1998; Maison de la Culture du Japon 2018). Jōmon people are now regarded as (albeit fictive) ancestors in this nation, where, after all, the veneration of ancestors is hugely important. Reconstructions and interpretations of Jōmon lifestyles seem to offer an alternative way of inhabiting the Japanese archipelago, far removed from the alienation and environmental devastation offered by the hyper-urbanised late-stage capitalism that is the norm for most Japanese people today. This shift of perception about the Jōmon, from primitive aborigines to ecologically wise and resilient ancestral residents of the archipelago, can be seen in the change in the ways that Jōmon artist Aki Sahoko illustrated Jōmon clothes in 1983 and again in 2021 (Fig. 6).

The public appreciation of the sophistication of Jōmon clothing is enhanced by experiences such as that available

at the refurbished Tōkamachi City Museum in Niigata prefecture, home of the Middle Jōmon Sasayama site (c. 3500 years ago), where many elaborately ornamented Flame pots are designated as National Treasures (Ishihara 2018). Courtesy of digital technologies, visitors can dress up as Jōmon people onscreen. Many Jōmon-themed museums have sets of Jōmon outfits that visiting school groups and other visitors can try on for size. In these ways, contemporary visitors can experience Jōmon fashions for themselves, wrapping their own bodies to bring them closer to their stone age forbears.

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Source of figures

- 1 Prepared by Tomoko Okuda after Ozaki 2020, 44
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- 4 Sannai Maruyama: Cultural Properties Digital Content Download Site, Agency for Cultural Affairs, Hokkaido; Nishinomae: Funagata Town Board of Education, Yamagata prefecture; Kazahari: Korekawa Jōmon Museum and Hachinohe City Board of Education, Aomori prefecture

- 5 Niigata Prefectural Archaeology Centre and Niigata Prefectural Board of Education
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