

Ruins of Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Japanese Islands. By MARK J. HUDSON.
Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999. ix, 323 pp. \$31.95 (paper).

Ethnicity is a difficult and controversial concept, even in modern times. Once viewed as fixed and immutable, ethnic identities are now considered to be “manufactured” by the actions of both insiders and outsiders. Affirming and analyzing ethnicity in the distant past, when the evidence is fragmentary and subject to varying interpretations, has all the earmarks of an exciting but even more daunting challenge.

To Mark Hudson’s everlasting credit, he makes significant strides toward achieving this lofty goal. The first six, and most especially the first four, chapters are authoritative, fascinating, and convincing; they fill a gaping hole in the English-language literature on prehistoric Japan. The last three chapters, unfortunately, are less impressive, and the conclusion seems to contradict some earlier findings. Still, in an age when many scholars of premodern Japan shy away from big and controversial problems, Hudson is to be applauded for this bold effort to synthesize large amounts of biological, linguistic, archaeological, and written data and view them in terms of the latest anthropological and historical theory.

The first outstanding contribution is chapter 2, in which the author periodizes study of Japanese ethnic identity. In the first era (1600–1876), National Learning scholars and then foreigners dominated discussion, which lacked a clear idea of prehistory. In the second epoch (1877–1935), debates centered over the place of the Ainu and the nature of the Yayoi in Japan’s past. From 1936 to the present, Hudson argues that Japanese scholars substituted cultural nationalism for the prewar emperor system, with the effect of projecting a Japanese identity back as far as the Jomon.

In the next four chapters, Hudson presents his primary interpretation, viz., that immigration from the continent in unprecedented numbers helped to form a “core” of Japanese identity by the end of the Yayoi era. Chapter 3, in which Hudson lays out the biological/genetic evidence for immigration, and chapter 4, where he explains the linguistic data and theory, are truly masterful and fill a crying need in English-language work. By the end of chapter 4, Hudson propounds a subsistence/demography model to explain the changes that took place over the last millennium B.C.E.

Although Hudson is an archaeologist, his discussion of material evidence for the Jōmon-Yayoi transition is a bit weaker than previous chapters. To be specific, the author spends a good deal of time considering how far agriculture had advanced in the Late and Final Jōmon epochs, but never tests the other possibility—that farming, and specifically the wet-rice variety, was still a minor occupation in the Yayoi. Given Japan’s mountainous terrain and the large variety of “alternative” livelihoods as late as the Edo age, a discussion of this possibility seems essential to the argument that the Yayoi really did mark a dramatic transformation. Hudson’s description of other cultural factors—metallurgy, settlement, burial, tooth ablation, tools, and pottery—are satisfactory and contain occasional flashes of real insight.

Chapter 6 argues that, when considered together, the biological, linguistic, and archaeological evidence all suggests large-scale immigration from the continent. The problem, as Hudson notes, is that it is exceedingly difficult to prove migration based on the archaeological record, technological diffusion being the other possibility. In particular, the ceramic record, which shows very little difference between Final Jōmon and Initial Yayoi, is a major obstacle. To his credit, Hudson presents a sensible explanation based upon historical cases of European colonialism, arguing that Yayoi immigrant men took Jōmon native women as their wives, who, since they had the

chief responsibility for pottery-making, simply reproduced wares similar to those of their ancestors. It should be noted that Hudson's interpretation contradicts that of Gina Barnes, and he takes pains to explain the divergence.

While Hudson's thesis on the volume of immigration during the Jōmon-Yayoi transition seems reasonable, he falls on hard times in the last third of his monograph. In chapter 7, Hudson attempts to explain through core-periphery and world systems theory ethnogenesis among the *emishi* and *hayato* folk in the late seventh and eighth centuries. First, in discussing world systems, he omits William McNeill and his work. Second, he overemphasizes the role of the state in defining these and other peoples. Third, he underestimates the great variety of local and regional cultures evident even during a supposedly centralized epoch such as the eighth century. Chapter 8, dealing with Ainu culture, is an interesting survey, but also highly speculative. The book would have been better off without the confusing conclusion, which searches in vain for a sense of Japanese ethnic identity among nonelite residents of the archipelago up to the Meiji Restoration.

Despite the weak finale, *Ruins of Identity* is a valuable contribution and its provocative arguments and presentation of data and theory should increase interest in this fascinating topic.

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Remembering Aizu: The Testament of Shiba Gorō. Edited by ISHIMITSU MAHITO. Translated, with introduction and notes by Teruko Craig. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999. 158 pp. \$19.95.

Teruko Craig has already done the field of Japanese studies great service by translating two memoirs of nineteenth-century Japanese figures. The first was the autobiography of Katsu Kokichi, a rambunctious samurai from Edo who was forced by circumstance to pursue a most unorthodox life during the first half of that century. The second memoir chronicled the early decades in the life of the Meiji era entrepreneur and business leader, Shibusawa Eiichi.

With *Remembering Aizu*, Craig has won our plaudits for a third time. Her subject is Shiba Gorō (1859–1945), the younger son of a samurai from the Aizu domain who eventually rose to the rank of general in the Japanese army. The text she has translated was apparently written by Shiba when he was in his early eighties. It was edited and revised by Ishimitsu, a professional writer, at Shiba's request and with his assistance, and first published in Japan in 1971. Craig has modified Ishimitsu's published version in conjunction with a copy of the original manuscript rediscovered in the 1990s. She has also written a concise introduction that deftly situates the testament in its historical, geographical, and personal context, and she has provided helpful endnotes and a brief bibliography.

Shiba's memoir is not an autobiography in the strict sense. It is rather a deeply reflective, retrospective account of the decade between 1867 and 1877. As much as Shiba's own life, it is the Aizu domain—its experiences, samurai, and mythology—that lends this text its punch. By being perhaps unwittingly loyal to the Tokugawa shogunate to the very end, the Aizu daimyo invited the wrath of the Meiji government and its leaders from Satsuma and Chōshū. They laid siege to the castletown in Wakamatsu, killed thousands, and caused the deaths of countless others. Eventually,