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# Ritual Sites and Ritual-Related Artifacts in Korea for Comparative Study for the Positioning of Rituals in Okinoshima Island

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**Abstract:** This report has overviewed the examples of ritual sites and remains in Korea and looked at relics related to rituals as effective materials for comparison for understanding and positioning rituals in Okinoshima Island. In particular, Buan Jungmak-dong (Puan Chungmak-dong) ritual site as well as Okinoshima Island occupies an extremely important position in considering the ancient ocean traffic routes. Its rituals at the third stage which drew attention due to the excavation of relics of Gaya and Wa lineage are considered to date back from the second half of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century, equivalent to the period of the No. 7 and No. 8 sites of Okinoshima Island where spectacular relics related to Silla were excavated. The author gathers that there is a dual structure of trade around the East Asia at its background, and the clout in Kyūshū, as represented by the subsequent Iwai Rebellion, would have had a different thought on trade from that of Kinai and formed a network of groups of sea people. Although flat iron ingots and miniatures of ironware were excavated in Okinoshima Island, iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures, which are simple article made by somewhat processing flat iron ingots, have not been found. The iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures has a form in which the symbolic concept of flat iron ingot has been maximized, and the area where it has been discovered represent directly the actual situation of iron production in Silla and countries of Gaya. The uneven distribution of iron-made ritual implements in both Korea and Japan as described above shows the regionality of it and the transfer of technologies. Furthermore, aspects of exchanges and reception of cultures such as manners and customs and rites accompanied by emigration can be known.

**Keywords:** Buan Jungmak-dong (Puan Chungmak-dong) ritual site, clay imitations, horse-shaped clay figurine/horse-shaped iron figurine, Silla earthen figurine, iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures

## 1. Introduction

As diversified relics relating external negotiations have been found in Okinoshima Island, Japan has built the basis for her culture based on exchanges with the Korean Peninsula and the Chinese continent and nurtured its unique culture since the ancient times.

When we look the aspects of exchanges and reception of cultures across the whole East Asia through history, the unique character of the recipient is reflected on the stance where it accepts the culture. While there are different forms of cultures and ideas against the background of each climate, environment and ethnic consciousness, on the other, those with common features are considered to exist. As archaeologists of Japan and Korea appear to have had the same acknowledgment on the common elements of belief and rituals in the East Asia, YUBA Tadanori recollects that “it is very impressive that KIM Won-Yong<sup>1</sup> once commented that it seems there used to be similar rituals both in Korea and Japan.<sup>2</sup>” Because the polarization (duality) of culture as referred to above creates commonality and differences between the cultures of each race, there is the probability to give mutually-connected consideration of other culture in studying the formation and development process of one culture.

Ritual sites or sites believed to be related to rituals are remains where religious acts, religious events or rites by human were performed in a broader meaning, and things used for such occasions or articles prepared for such acts can be defined as ritual artifacts. Consequently, artifacts unearthed in mounded tombs and others as well as ritual sites would be able to become valuable materials for understanding rituals of the period.

This time, the author will review the examples of ritual sites and remains in Korea as effective materials for comparison for understanding and positioning the rituals in Okinoshima Island, and examine mainly

horse-shaped clay or iron figurine, imitations and decorated pottery known as the Silla earthen figurine, and the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures, thereby attempt to approach the indigenous religions and rituals of each period as background of them.

## 2. Examples of Ritual Sites and Remains in Korea

Since the excavation of the ritual site at Jungmak-dong, Buan in 1991, the full-fledged study on ritual rites started<sup>3</sup>. A rapid increase in surveys of ritual sites since 1999 has confirmed diversified forms of ritual sites and remains. Examples that have been confirmed so far include forms of rituals in living space, those performed in space related to daily living such as waterfronts and moats around villages, mountain rituals, seashore/waterfront rituals, tomb rituals, special rituals in which bronze implements were buried and rituals related to production.

When a review is made based on the classifications on the basis of the locations where ritual sites and remains stand, it can be roughly divided into two; rituals performed in the space of daily living and those performed in special space.

### (1) Rituals in daily life

First of all, rituals in daily life are ritual actions that were conducted in relation to daily living. Such rituals have been found mainly within remains of buildings, in moats and waterfronts near remains of buildings. In case of the Jinju Daepyeong-ri Eoeun Area 1<sup>4</sup>, earth-placating goods were found under the pillar base stone within the remains of a dwelling in the Bronze Age. Earth-placating goods<sup>5</sup> were often excavated in archaeological sites from the Three Kingdoms period of Korea to the United Silla period.

Incidentally, there are examples in which pit-type remains (“ritual pits”), which are bordering the space of daily living but keeping a certain distance and are considered to be related to rituals, have been found<sup>6</sup>. Such examples include the Goseong Dongoe-dong site<sup>7</sup>, which is famous for the excavation of bronze implements with bird-design at the Three Kingdoms period and the Sancheong Oksan-ri site<sup>8</sup> at the Three Kingdoms period. The planar form of the remains is similar to that of chrysanthemum. Further, it is characterized by a lot of examples where the remains have been found in a state of overlapping. The existence of the pit-type remains that seem to have been used for rituals as mentioned above began to be widely known when the Goseong Dongoe-dong site was excavated (Figure 1).

In this site, a lot of chrysanthemum-like remains have been found westward from the flat terrain at the top of the hill, and inside the remains, relics such as fragments of pottery had been buried. Further, because the pit-type remains were found in a layered way in the same place, burial actions are likely to have been continuously conducted. It seems that the place where the remains stand was, above all, recognized as a special space for the performers.

It can be confirmed that the ritual remains as above described have a tendency to be separated spatially without being mixed with other remains and to secure a space as a ritual space. Pit-type remains for rituals which were confirmed from the Sancheong Oksan-ri site were mostly built during the Three Kingdoms period and a lot of vertical pits were built in piles, indicating a phase where ritual actions were frequently performed.

Next, wells, moat sites, marshy places and reservoirs are waterside ritual remains in relation to living. Such remains have been confirmed in the Andong Jeojeon-ri site and Nonsan Majeon-ri site at the Bronze Age, and in more recent years, the Gwangju Sinchang-dong site at the early Iron Age, the Chilgok Dongcheon-dong site, the ancient habitation site at Gyeongsan Imdang, Daegu Siji district living site and Buyeo Gunnamji site at the Three Kingdoms period.

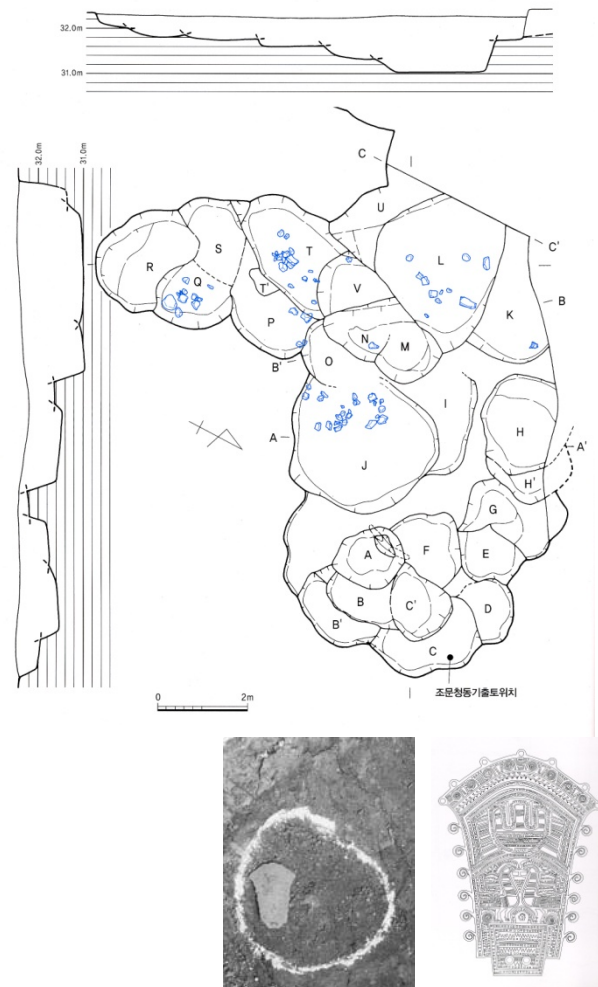


Figure 1 Features of ritual pits at the Goseong Donggoe-dong site  
(Jinju National Museum (2003) : 『固城東外洞遺跡』)

In case of waterside rituals, such rituals were mainly performed in a small river or a marshy place close to a village and moats surrounding settlements at the Bronze Age. We have more examples of rituals that were performed in space related to wells at the Three Kingdoms period. Rituals concerning a well have been confirmed from the Bronze Age when the sedentary living began under the proposition of the stable water supply, but rapidly increased at the Three Kingdoms period. Such a phenomenon seems to have been arisen at the back of an increase in agricultural production.

As remains of a well at the Bronze Age, the Nonsan Majeon-ri site<sup>9</sup> is cited. Unearthed bird-shaped wooden products are considered to be related to a purification ritual at a well for the purposes of preventing drying of the well and wishing for the ever-gushing pure water.

The Andong Jeojeon-ri site<sup>10</sup> is a man-made pond made by partially expanding a natural water route (or a small river), and a reservoir at the Bronze Age. Relics including a lot of plain pottery such as pottery with holes in a line and red polished pottery, and fragments of stone ware, seeds of acorns and gourds have been found, and most of them were unearthed from the bottom of the pond. The remains are considered to be a ritual site also from the fact that about 15 pottery were unearthed collectively in a state of fracture near the waterway. This reservoir was built by processing part of a natural river and is comprehended to be an origin of the reservoir of the later period.

At the Gwanju Sinchang-dong site<sup>11</sup> at the early Iron Age, a lot of relics which seem to have been used for rituals were unearthed, including clay rattles of human face design, bird-shaped wooden products and swine-shaped clay figures, clay rattles, bronze bells, baked clay products with bronze bell shape, musical

instruments of a frictional sound, stringed instruments (Chinese ancient stringed instrument 瑟) and weapon-shaped wooden products.

The Chilgok Dongcheon-dong site, Daegu<sup>12</sup> was detected by a trial excavation of the housing development in Chilgok district. The investigation revealed that it is a large-scale archaeological site of settlements in Silla at the Three Kingdoms period. Diversified range of remains such as those of embedded-pillar building, clay pits of infinite form, waterway and wells were found. Relics in the site include straw slippers, shoulder bag made of lashing, dressed timber, baked clay products of human-shape or animal-shape, and pottery.

In the ancient habitation site at Imdang, Gyeongsan<sup>13</sup>, there stands the archaeological site of houses in the north, the Joyeong-dong mounded tomb group that is the Historic Site No. 331 in the east and the Imdang-dong mounded tomb group that is the Historic Site No. 300 in the south. In the area F and area G, there are remains of wooden fences, buildings with a moat around them of the Three Kingdoms period and a mounded tomb group of the Three Kingdoms period. The swamp is estimated to have been formed during the 4th to 7th century. Materials related to construction of water-use facilities such as dams and banks which are often found from the archaeological sites of swamps have not been confirmed due to a limited scope of the investigation. However, judging from the distribution of small water routes, many wooden pillars, footsteps of humans and ditch-shaped remains, water facilities related to paddy fields are highly likely to have existed before the formation of the swamp. There are as many as 1,500 pieces of relics in total unearthed from the swamp, including pottery and baked clay products, wooden artifacts, bone or horn implements, iron implements and stone products. What we can confirm as ritual relics includes small pottery, penis-shaped baked clay products, 18 pieces of burned bones used for foretelling, stone mills with patterns and baked clay balls of a human face image (Figure 2).



Figure 2 Artifacts related to rituals unearthed in the ancient habitation site at Imdang-dong, Gyeongsan (National Bokcheon Museum (2006) : 『先史・古代の祭祀—豊饒と安寧の祈願』)

The Daegu Siji district living site is a large-scale compounding archaeological site at the Bronze Age and the Three Kingdoms period that has been formed in the low hill and the alluvial fan in a form of a little basin near the riverside of the Geumho River, Nam River and Uksu River. An investigation revealed a lot of remains such as embedded-pillar buildings, roads, ditches, rows of stones, pit-type remains, wells and ponds during the 6th to 7th century at the Three Kingdoms period. The embedded-pillar buildings and the pond are located in the center of the site, and wells are positioned with a distance of 20 to 30 meters each other. Judging from the existence of the pond and a lot of wells, this site is considered to have been a place where a work requiring a lot of water was performed. From the bottom of the wells and the heaped earth in them, broken pottery, seeds of peaches and charcoal were unearthed. A series of ritual actions praying for a stable supply of pure water such as offerings of foods and drinks are estimated to have been performed from these materials.

The Buyeo Gunnamji site<sup>14</sup> is a site of the pond that was built in the south of the imperial palace at the end of the ancient Korean kingdom, Paekche (“Samguk-sagi” (三國史記) the 35th year of the Mu-Wang (634)). Remains of a facility to catch water, water channel and buildings were found within the pond and in the vicinity, and relics such as wooden bird-shaped sculptures and fragments of Paekche pottery were unearthed in large quantities from around the water channel. The wooden bird-shaped sculpture is a religious symbolic thing of a bird which links the terrestrial world and the heavens as a mediator of the heavenly god. Relics such as three-legged pottery were paved on the bottom of the water channel, which are understood as the evidence for having performed rituals for god of water.

## (2) Rituals in special space

As ritual rites in special space, first of all, mountain rituals are mentioned. It can further be divided into rock rituals, pass rituals and mountaintop rituals. This includes examples of the Gimhae Gugwan-dong site<sup>15</sup>, the Dadae-dong Bonghwa-san site<sup>16</sup> and the Bucheon Gogang-dong site<sup>17</sup>.

Mountain rituals at the Bronze Age have mainly features of rock rituals. Some comprehensions say that the Bucheon Gogang-dong site has a feature similar to that of Sodo 蘇塗 of Proto-Three Kingdoms period. An example of a mountain pass ritual is the Buyeo-Nonti ritual site<sup>18</sup>. The Hanam Iseong-sanseong (mountain fortress)<sup>19</sup> and Yeongam Wolchul-san site<sup>20</sup> of the United Silla period are examples of mountaintop rituals.

In the Buyeo-Nonti ritual site, along with iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools such as adze-shaped miniatures, iron adzes made by casting/forging and agricultural and craft tools such as iron sickles, a handle of pottery representing the image of an erected penis as well as a large quantity of pottery and carbonized crops was unearthed. It is considered to have a feature as agricultural rituals praying for a rich harvest from these relics, and Mahan 馬韓 is estimated to be a main entity in charge of the rituals in the early period of the site (Figure 3).

Secondly, there is an ocean ritual that was performed for praying for a large catch, peace and the ocean safety in sailing in a place located on the seashore. Representative examples are the ritual site at Buan Jungmak-dong and Jeju Yongdam-dong site<sup>21</sup>, and there are various sites of shell middens as the examples.

The Gimhae Buwon-dong site is a shell midden site from the Proto-Three Kingdoms period to the Three Kingdoms period, and is located in a low hill on the seashore. In addition to a thick cultural layer, remains of houses, storage pits and tombs were found, and various kinds of plain pottery, small pottery, irregularly-shaped baked clay products, bones for fortunetelling, bone or horn implements and grayish-blue hard pottery were unearthed on a large quantity. The ritual site at Buan Jungmak-dong<sup>22</sup> is a groundbreaking archaeological site in the studies on rituals in Korea, and the unearthed relics of Gaya and Wa lineage during the 5th century that is the main period of the site drew a lot of attention. This site will be separately discussed later.

Thirdly, the author names production rituals relating occupational activities, which are pertaining to agricultural rituals performed in cultivated areas and paddy fields, production of pottery and production of ironware.

In a case of the Jinju Daepyeong-ri Eoeun Area 1 at the Bronze Age as earlier mentioned, plain pottery, red polished pottery, jades, spindles, fishing net sinkers, clay beads, weapons, agricultural tools and miniatures of an agricultural tool were unearthed from its arable land. Ritual remains related to agriculture at the Three Kingdoms period were confirmed in the Buyeo Seo-naseong site and Nonti ritual site. In Seo-naseong, a jar with a fragment of pottery instead of a lid was buried in a paddy field, and it is considered that the jar had a strong feature as earth-placating goods related to the construction of paddy fields. In the Nonti ritual site which the author has classified into a mountain pass ritual site in terms of the location, iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools, a penis-shaped handle of pottery and jars with various kinds of crops inside in large quantity were unearthed within the remains. Judging from the content of the rituals, the site also can be classified into an agricultural ritual.

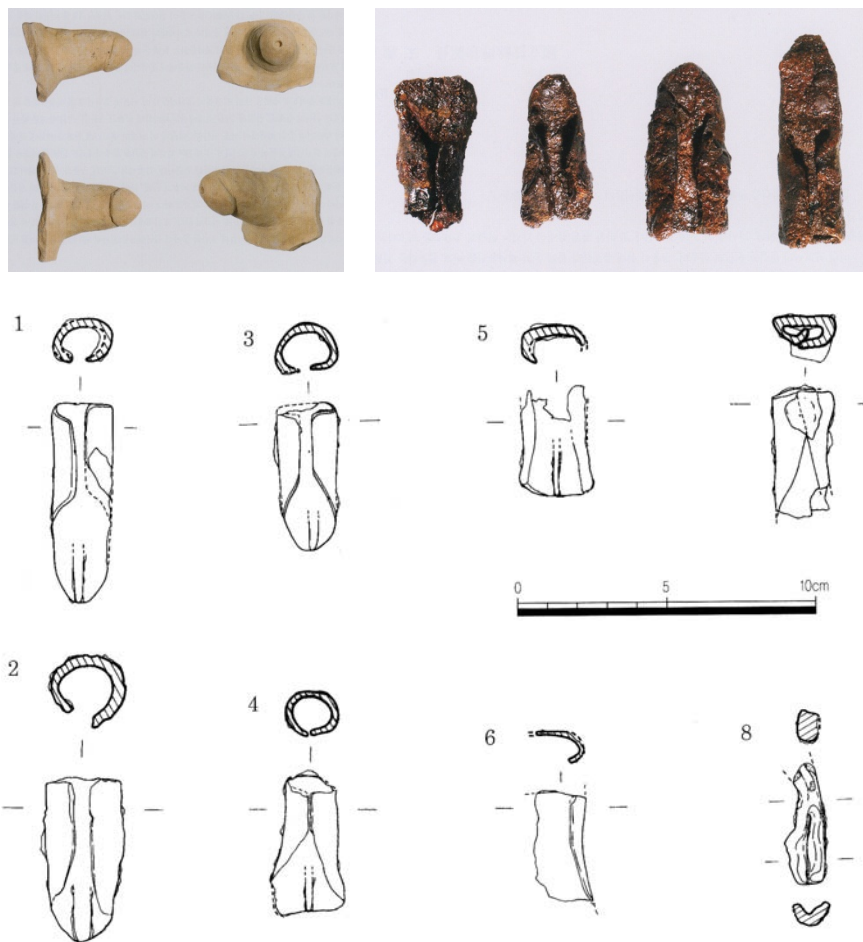


Figure 3 A Penis-shaped handle of pottery and iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools (Buyeo National Museum (2007) : 『扶餘論峙祭祀遺跡発掘調査報告書』)

As remains of rituals in production of pottery, the author can name Gyeongju Songok-dong kiln site<sup>23</sup> in Silla, where remains related to production such as 47 kilns for pottery, one kiln for roof tiles, four sites of a workshop and 17 kilns for charcoals and more than 2,850 relics of pottery and clay figures etc. were unearthed. This site is designated as the Historical Site No. 430 of Korea at present. As an example in which traces of rituals were found in a site of iron production, the Jincheon Seokjang-ri site<sup>24</sup> which dates back to during the 3rd to the first half of the 5th century in Paekche should be mentioned.

Fourth, tomb rituals can be classified into a dolmen ritual, (hinsō) temporary burial (interment); [terminal exposure (laying out) of the dead] - (burial) mound ritual(s), a mausoleum ritual and ritual(s) for (a) contribution(s). Some examples of which are the Gongju Jeongji-san ritual site<sup>25</sup>, the Hapcheon Jeopo-ri site<sup>26</sup>, and the Goryeong Jisan-dong site<sup>27</sup>.

Fifth, there are burial of bronze implements and rituals of pictures carved to rocks as special rituals. Burial of bronze implements is ritual remains in a special form, and is a form of a ritual in which bronze implement was buried not in tombs or remains of a building but in a different place. The examples are the Masan Gapo-dong site<sup>28</sup> and the Hapcheon Yeongchang-ri site<sup>29</sup>, etc.

### 3. Ritual Site at Jungmak-dong, Buan

#### (1) Outline of the site

The ritual site at Buan Jungmak-dong is located at the extreme west point of the Byeonsan Peninsula that juts out in the southern coast of the Korean Peninsula. And its administrative address is San 35-17, Jungmak-dong, Gyeokpo-ri, Byeonsan-myeon, Buan-gun, Jeollabuk-do. Mountains and the sea are bordering in the whole western coast of the Byeonsan Peninsula, and the area near the site is surrounded by the hill that stands 600 meters above sea level and the sea. The Jungmak-dong ritual site is located on the sea cliff 22.5 meters above sea level, and commands various islands such as Wi Island, Sik Island, Bian Island, Sangwangdeung Island and Gogunsan Islands within a distance of approximately 20 kilometers.

A check on the ocean environment has revealed that there is a fast tributary running along the seashore from north to south, and the flow of the sea water is very complicated due to a lot of islands in the surrounding area. In winter, the seasonal wind is strong and causes billows frequently, showing that the risk of shipwrecks had been large in this area near the site since early times.

Under such circumstances, a small shrine called Suseong-dang (水城堂/水聖堂) still stands facing westward, and marine rituals had been performed until recent years. What has been unearthed here includes pottery such as various types of jars, vessels with a stand, pots, bottles, dishes with fitted cover, cups with handle and dishes with pedestal, and metal products such as kinds of horse trappings and harness, mirrors and weapons, and soft stone imitations of objects such as disc-shaped objects with hole and sword-shaped objects, and clay imitations of horses and humans which dates back from the second half of the 3rd century to the first half of the 7th century. Besides, a small number of small beads, comma-shaped beads and fragments of celadon of the Six Dynasties of China have been found.

Pottery, metal relics and soft stone imitations of objects during the Three Kingdoms period have been preserved relatively well, and were unearthed collectively in the areas “Na 2”, “Na 3”, “Ta 2” and “Ta 3” which are considered to be the central portion of the site. All the pottery, except for a bottle with dish and dishes with fitted cover, were unearthed in fragments. Metal relics were unearthed in a state in which they were lined up on the bottom of a large pot, and there were also traces of oxidized metal on the bottom of pottery. Therefore, such relics are estimated to have originally been put into the large pot. While soft stone imitations of objects were mostly accumulated in a small area in a focused way, horses made of clay, celadon of the Six Dynasties of China, small beads and comma-shaped beads were scattered unevenly.

The ritual site at Jungmak-dong is recognized to be in the area of Paekche from the topographical terms. And a construe that while the rituals were mainly conducted by Paekche, they include those by Gaya and Wa which had been sailing in this area during its central period, the 5th century is supported by the views of most of the people collected in symposiums. As the relationship with the basin of the Yeongsan River has been pointed out from the analyses of the pottery, however, a lot of questions on the construe on the main entity of the rituals are still remaining to be solved.



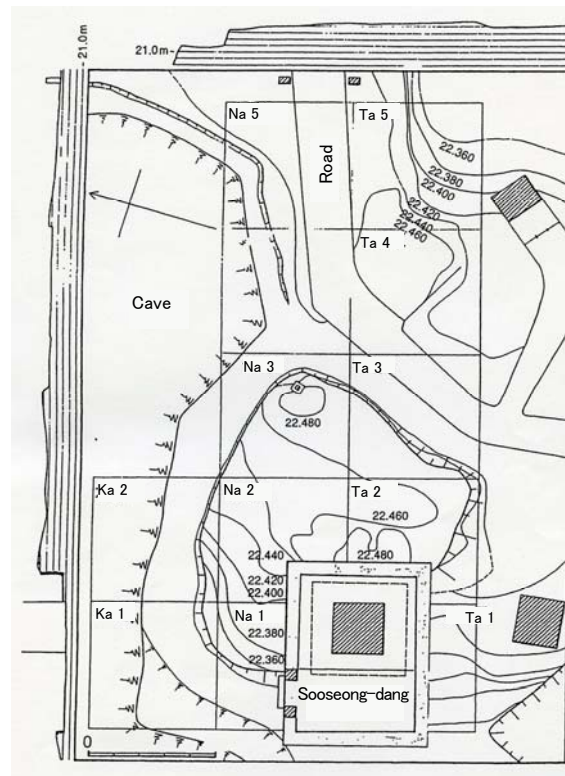


Figure 4 Landform of the ritual site at Jungmak-dong, Buan (Chonju National Museum (1994): 『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』)

## (2) Examination on the unearthed relics

Pottery unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site is considered to have relations in the types and patterns of the pottery unearthed in the basin of the Yeongsan River. This matter has been already pointed out by Korean researchers. Pak Sunbul pointed out a relationship with the Jeonnam region based on the analyses of kinds of jars such as short-necked jars with paddled marks in early times and wide-mouthed jars<sup>30</sup>. Also, Park Chun-Soo expressed the view that Paekche was less likely to have intervened till before the 6th century because the fragments of pots that were used exclusively in the basin of the Yeongsan River before the 5th century have been unearthed and the relation with the basin of the Yeongsan River is observed in the pottery until the end of the 5th century<sup>31</sup>.

Short-necked jars with paddled marks with an oblate body are the pottery seen in the whole south western region in the Proto-Three Kingdoms period, and the areas where the pottery have been unearthed have such common features that we can call them one-cultural-zone collectively<sup>32</sup> (Figure 5-1). The period when the pottery emerged in the basis of the Yeongsan River can be guessed to be the second half of the 3rd century from an example of its excavation at the Yeongam Mansu-ri tomb no. 4. That this period falls on the earliest period of the Jungmak-dong ritual site also exemplifies the relationship at an early stage. Concerning the oldest period of the pottery unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site, the investigation report indicates it is the first half of the 4th century. Yoo Byung-ha, however, has revised it to the second half of the 3rd century in the collection of papers of an academic symposium published later.

Most of the short-neck jars which have been unearthed in the largest quantity are very similar to the pottery unearthed in the Naju Bannam mounded tomb group that dates back to from the middle of the 4th century to the second half of the 5th century (Figure 5-2). The body of the short-neck jars had been changing from an oblate one seen in the stage of the vessels made of tile-clay to a round one.

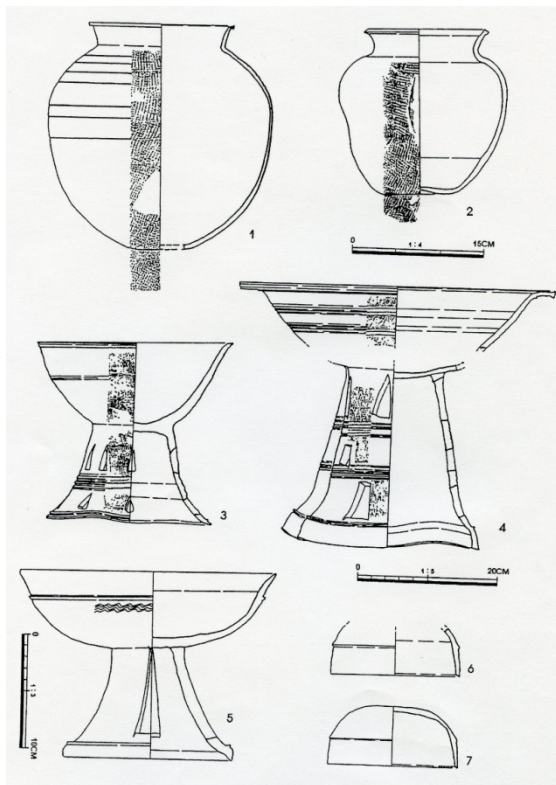


Figure 5 Pottery unearthed in the ritual site at Jungmak-dong, Buan (Chonju National Museum (1994): 『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』 )

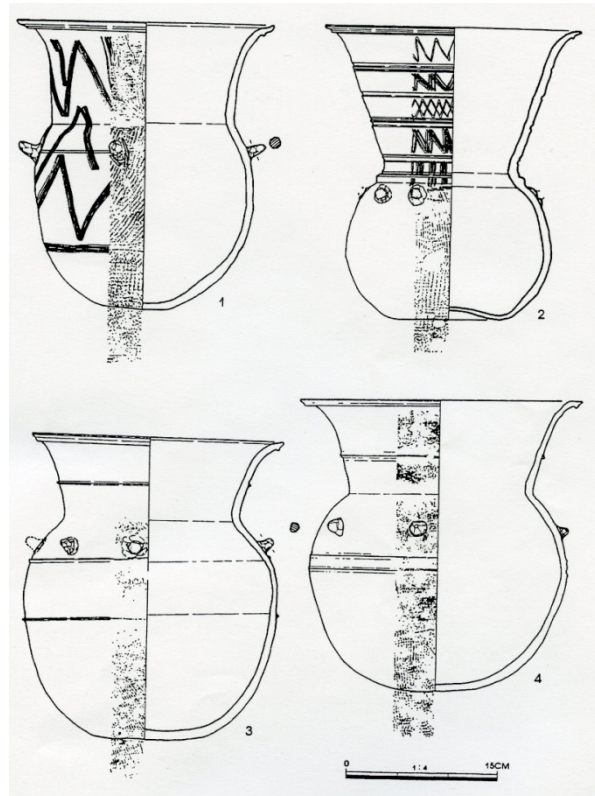


Figure 6 Jungmak-dong-style pottery (Chonju National Museum(1994):『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』 )

The wide-mouthed jars at the same period are the pottery widely seen in all around the Chungcheong-do region in addition to the basin of the Yeongsan River. A wide-mouthed long-neck jar, a wide-mouthed jar with a small handle attached to, is similar to a wide-mouthed jar in many points in terms of shape, but it is the pottery unique to this site as it is called “Jungmak-dong style” due to its unique patterns of concentrated lines and wave patterns and several handles of bull’s horns (Figure 6). The shape of the handle also suggests the relation with the basin of the Yeongsan River.

Vessels with a stand can be divided into a bowl-shaped vessel stand and a cylindrical vessel stand. A bowl-shaped vessel stand is a bowl to which a vessel stand in the shape of a Chinese character of “eight” (八) is attached to its large body. It is considered to be a type that had been developed in the Gaya district together with the cylindrical vessel stand (Figure 5-3, 4). Of course, the type with a short vessel stand and with triangle openwork is also often seen in the Gaya district. But there are such examples also in the basin of the Yeongsan River: vessels with a stand from the keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound no. 1 in Gwangju Wolgye-dong, a mounted tomb with a stone burial chamber in Gwanju Ssangam-dong, Seungju Daegok-ri Hanshil Area A and a mounted tomb with a stone burial chamber in Jangseong Yeongcheon-ri. These were unearthed mainly from tombs with a large stone chamber and date back to from the second half of the 5th century to the early 6th century. No influence from Paekche is observed in the structure of the stone chamber and the unearthed objects in these tombs. Although Paekche put its capital in Gangnam region in Seoul from the 4th century to the 5th century and the pottery such as three-legged pottery that has not been seen elsewhere was prevalent, there is not an example of such pottery unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site.

Other than the three-legged pottery often seen in archaeological sites of Paekche in and after the 5th century, pottery in deep-bowl-shape and steaming vessels that had been used as living utensils from the early period on have not been unearthed at all. Although such a difference can be comprehended as reflecting a unique feature of ritual sites, it is a problem pertaining to the comprehension of the main entity of the ritual. Also

from such a point, it would be appropriate to construe the rituals at the stage of the 5th century in terms of the involvement with the basin of the Yeongsan River where the tradition of Mahan had been maintained, rather than in terms of the influence of Paekche.

TAKAKU Kenji understands that the stoneware unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site originated in Wa, considering that two stoneware dishes with fitted cover and one stoneware dish with pedestal were unearthed together with soft stone imitations of objects in the Jungmak-dong ritual site<sup>33</sup> (Figure 5-5 to 7). However, SAKAI Kiyoji points out that the main stream of the Sue ware in Japan shifts from those of Gaya lineage to those of the basin of the Yeongsan River based on reviews on the Sue ware of early period<sup>34</sup>. Considering such ideas, it may be difficult to deny the possibility that the dishes with fitted cover and a dish with pedestal unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site were the stoneware produced in the basin of the Yeongsan River in the second half of the 5th century. Concerning the celadon of the Six Dynasties of China (Southern Dynasty) unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site, it would be interpreted to have been brought in tributes to the Southern Dynasty by Gara, not in trade by Paekche.

A broad range of metal relics including weapons such as socketed iron spearheads, iron adzes, harness such as saddles, crupper bosses and bronze bells, bronze mirrors and iron mirrors were unearthed. In terms of quantities and kinds, the main articles are weapons and harness. Most of the metal relics were confirmed to have been put into large pots. Some relics having an unclear relation with the large pots were also unearthed near the pots, and such relics are supposed to have been put into the pots because the age and kind of such relics are the same as those of the relics placed in the large pots. An analysis has clarified that the pots enclosing the metal relics was that of the Daegaya (大加耶)<sup>35</sup>.

The metal relics have been almost confirmed to be from the Daegaya by comparing individually the examples of excavation and composition of the relics and taking into account the relationship with the large pots<sup>36</sup>. Forms of the relics such as weapons, saddles, flat pendant horse harness ornaments, bronze small bells, iron small bells, iron bells, iron rings and bronze rings are almost equal to the aspect where weapons and harness were intensively buried as grave goods in the Goryeong Jisan-dong tomb no. 45 in the Daegaya and the Hapcheon Okjeon tomb M3 in the Dara (多羅) which are estimated to date back to during the second half of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century (Figure 7).

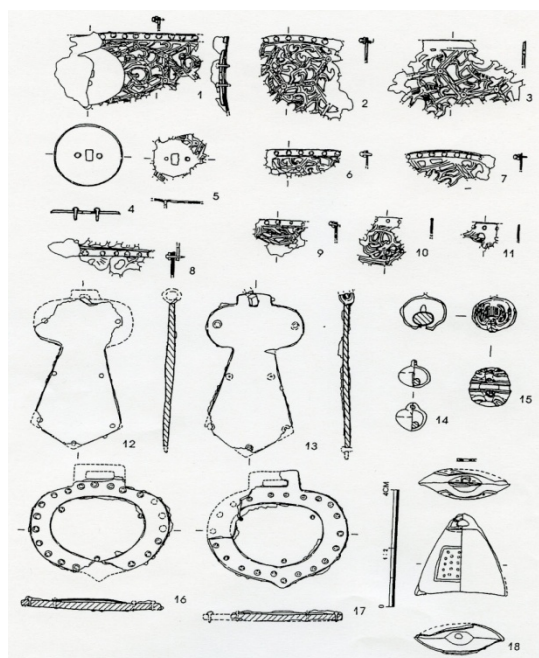


Figure 7 Harness unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site (Chonju National Museum (1994): 『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』)

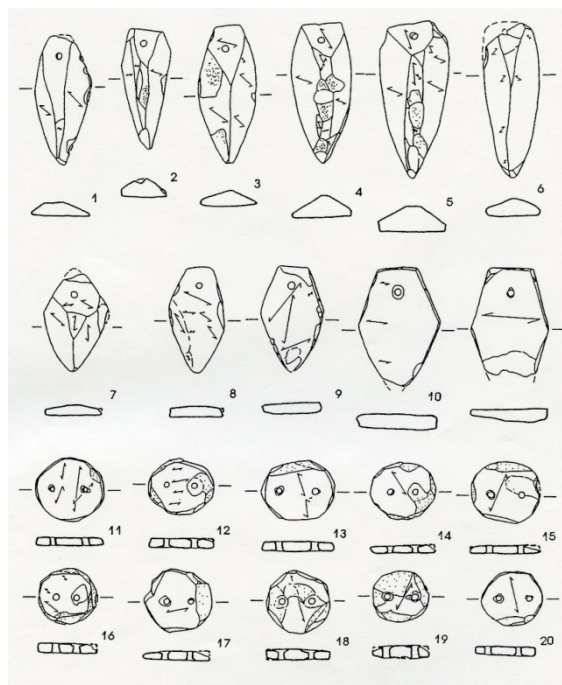


Figure-8 Soft stone imitations of objects unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site (1) Chonju National Museum (1994): 『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』)

The large pots containing the metal relics also appears to link in type to those buried as grave goods in pit-type burial chambers of Goryeong and Hapcheon region. The representative examples are Goryeong Jisan-dong tomb no. 34 and the Hapcheon Okjeon tomb M3. The age of tomb M3 is suggested to be 470 A.D. considering the age of the iron sword of the Inariyama tomb in Saitama prefecture due to the resemblance with the unearthened articles in the Inariyama tomb.

Soft stone imitations of objects are imitations made of steatite and schist by shrinking and imitating real goods. Goods subject to imitation are cuirasses, sickles, knives, comma-shaped beads, adzes, mirrors, bells, spindles, weapons such as swords and arrowheads, harness, accessories and treasured artifacts, and are similar in principle to the composition of the grave goods in tombs. Soft stone imitations of objects unearthened in the Jungmak-dong ritual site include disc-shaped objects with hole, sword-shaped objects (cicada-shaped objects), mirrors, cuirasses, knives, adzes, comma-shaped beads and bells etc. Among them, disc-shaped objects with hole are the unearthened articles in the largest quantity, accounting for 72.6%. The next item in terms of the unearthened volume is sword-shaped objects. The two kinds of articles account for 90% of the total, so we can regard the two to be representative soft stone imitations of objects in this site. The higher percentages shown in disc-shaped objects with hole and sword-shaped objects are a trend of soft stone imitations of objects in Japan (Figure 8).

The usages of the disc-shaped object with hole and the sword-shaped object (cicada-shaped object) are not known. In Japan, where soft stone imitations of objects have been unearthened in large quantities, the disc-shaped object with hole is understood as an article which imitates a spindle and a mirror, and the cicada-shaped object is named as a sword-shaped object. A disc-shaped object with hole unearthened in Japan has a feature of having been made of steatite, but most of the soft stone imitations of objects of the Jungmak-dong ritual site are made of green or green-tinged blue schist except for some steatite-made articles such as bells. Lee Jeonhghu, professor at the Chonbuk National University, examined them with the naked eye and under a polarizing microscope. As a result, the professor found that schist, a kind of metamorphic rock, was mainly used<sup>37</sup>. This stone material is considered to have been picked near the site, but the material may have been brought from a different source also in case of steatite products.

The sizes of the soft stone imitations of objects are diversified per kind, but are within 10 cm by and large, and the diameters/length of disc-shaped objects with hole and sword-shaped objects are less than 5 cm. They were produced with a technique in which the total shape is first made from a raw stone and then ground. All the relics have one or two holes except adzes.

Soft stone imitations of objects have been unearthened in shell mounds, religious sites and tombs in the Korean Peninsula, but there are not many examples and the situations how they were unearthened are not clear. Meanwhile, such articles were unearthened in large quantities in relation to rituals in settlements, tombs and ritual sites in the Kofun period in Japan, and the age and features of them are almost clear now. Referring to the results of them, soft stone imitations of objects first appeared as grave goods of tombs during the second half of the 4th century, and began to be used as ritual items exclusively used in remains related to various rituals and ritual sites, and as offerings to gods during the 5th century. Soft stone imitations of objects appeared intensively during the 5th century, and part of them tended to be replaced by clay imitations, or metal or wooden items since the 6th century.

Two undecorated mirrors with a string attached have been unearthened, one of which is a large product with its diameter 14.4 cm (Figure 9-1). More than 10 sites where a mirror with a string attached was unearthened have been reported thus far in the Japanese Islands, and those are relatively large sites. All of them are less than 10 cm except the one unearthened in the Hachimanyama site, Yamagata prefecture (15.8 cm).

The most noteworthy thing of soft stone imitations of objects is a cuirass-shape object (Figure 9-3), but there is only one example in the remains of the Tei-san-gu of Munakata, Fukuoka prefecture as an unearthened article from a ritual site in Japan. As an unearthened article from a tomb, the one of the Raidenyama tomb in Tochigi prefecture is known.

Sword-shaped objects unearthened are 32 pieces in all; comprised of 16 type-a articles with Y-shaped ridgelines on its surface, 11 type-b with ridgelines along the side face, and 5 type-c polishing the side face to make it edgy. The changes in each type are not clear because comparative materials are not available. Some say the a-type was slightly delayed<sup>38</sup>, while others say that the types changed from a to b, and then to



c<sup>39</sup>.

Concerning a knife-shaped object featuring that it is represented to be put in a scabbard (Figure 9-5 to 9), it is considered to belong to soft stone imitations of objects at an older stage due to the high excavation ratio of knives, adzes and sickles in Japan. TERASAWA Tomoko comprehends that steatite imitations of knives in early ritual sites “were emerged by transferring the repose of soul in rituals of delayed interment (mogari) at a tomb, which means that such rituals were not born spontaneously among folks in various places but began in main places with a political intention, and the guardians of it were regional heads involved with the Kinai polity<sup>40</sup>.” However, taking into account the problem of the materials and the problem of the main entity for such rituals, sword-shaped objects of the Jungmak-dong ritual site seem to be an example which does not fall on this theory.

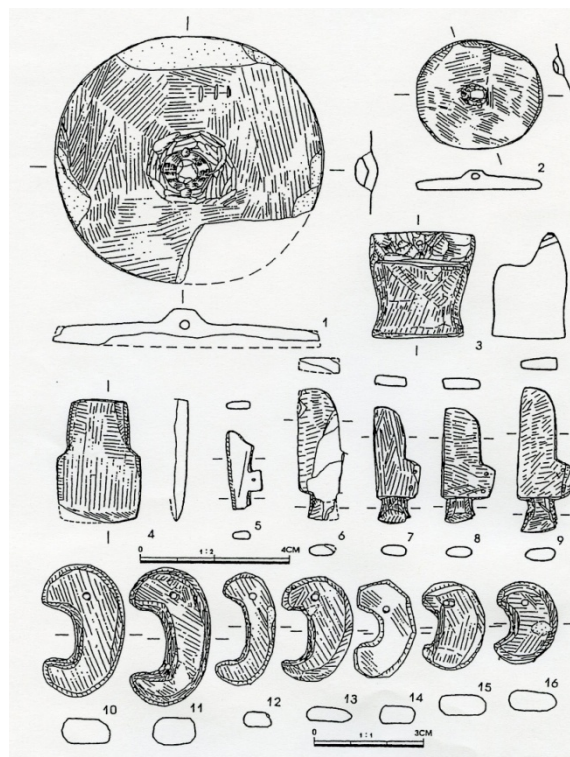


Figure 9 Soft stone imitations of objects unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site (2) (国立全州博物館 Chonju National Museum (1994): 『扶安竹幕洞 祭祀遺跡』)

Someone has presented an idea that the chronology of soft stone imitations of objects in the Jungmak-dong ritual site was the second half of the 5th century same as the Site no. 21 in Okinoshima by comparing with the Okinoshima ritual site<sup>41</sup>. However, the author thinks it was from the second half of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century, taking into account the possibility of the joint ritual which will be described later.

Finally, the author tries to summarize various theories as of now. SASAKI Mikio described that soft stone imitations of objects in the Jungmak-dong ritual site must be ritual relics related to the Yamato kingly power, and presented a theory that these were produced by the people of Wa<sup>42</sup>. Both SUGIYAMA Shigetsugu and Yoo Byung-ha also think that these are products of Wa, but TAKETANI Toshio stated that there is room still for reviewing to consider them products of Wa, pointed out that there is no pottery which has been unearthed together with them, and estimated that rituals harmonizing Japan and Korea with pottery made in Paekche were performed<sup>43</sup>. It can be pointed out that the common points of the previous theories are: (1) viewing that the soft stone imitations of objects are likely to have been produced in Wa, and (2) comprehending the features of the sites in relation to Paekche.

However, taking into account the materials and historical background including that the period of transfer of the capital of Paekche to Ungjin (475) was the main period of this site, it is difficult to accept the theory that Paekche assumed a main part of the rituals.

The composition of the soft stone imitations of objects and the type classifications of the sword-shaped imitation objects unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site show us that rituals were performed several times. Such articles seem to have been produced locally because there are more products made of schist than of steatite. Taking into account the relationship between the basin of the Yeongsan River and Kyūshū which will be discussed later, although soft stone imitations of objects may spread within Wa due to an expansion of forces of the Yamato polity, it would be appropriate to see that the articles were not delivered directly from Yamato, but produced by the people of Wa in Kyūshū or the local people learned and produced them.

### (3) Aspect of rituals per stage and main entity of rituals

As discussed above, the author has reviewed the relics unearthed in the Jungmak-dong ritual site, in which the relation with the basin of the Yeongsan River is pointed out mainly through analyses of pottery, and the situation of rituals of Gaya and Wa was examined based on metal relics and soft stone imitations of objects. However, analyzing relics only has limitations. Understanding aspects of the periods and exchanges must be achieved at the same time in order to clarify the archaeological sites more accurately. Considering the features of ocean rituals, the importance of those is further elevated.

In this report, based on the result of the reviews of the unearthed relics, the author will establish four stages for the aspects of the rituals and attempt to assume main entities at each of the stage.

- Stage I: Mahan (the second half of the 3rd century)
- Stage II: Forces in the basin of the Yeongsan River (the first half of the 4th century to the middle of the 5th century)
- Stage III: Forces in the basin of the Yeongsan River/Gaya/Wa (the second half of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century)
- Stage IV: Local forces in the realm of Paekche (the middle of the 6th century to the first half of the 7th century)

Rituals in Stage I are those mainly using short-neck jars often seen in the whole south western region of the Proto-Three Kingdoms period, which were small-sized rituals with limitations pertaining to the volume and kinds of the relics. Consequently, the rituals are estimated to be those of Mahan, the main entity of the rituals was Sinmi (新彌) of Mahan. The word Mahan means Jeollanam-do in the article about the first contribution to the China by more than 20 countries of Eastern Barbarian Mahan Sinmi countries in the Wu-di Taikang (太康) (282) in the article of Changhwa (張華) of the Biography Six of the Volume 36 of the Book of Jin (晉書), and it seems that the Sinmi was the forces in the basin of the Yeongsan River. The author can cite the geographical terms and the comparison with the article of Mahan of the Record of Encounters with the Eastern Barbarians of the Book of Jin as its causes. First of all, according to the content of the article of Changhwa, Sinmi countries had the natural environment of “relying on mountains and having the sea nearby” (依山帶海) and were away 4,000 li (里) from Youzhou (幽州). From such geographical terms, the place is estimated to be the basin of the Yeongsan River in the Jeolla region that is surrounded by the Southwestern Coast and Noryeong/Sobaek Mountains. An envoy sent in 282 in the article of Changhwa was not mentioned in the articles of eight times contributions during 277 to 290 in the article of Mahan of the Record of Encounters with Eastern Barbarians of the Biography 67 of Volume 97 of the Book of Jin. Although this may be simply interpreted as a lack, there is a discrepancy; while the article of Changhwa states that it was the first contribution by Mahan, the article of Mahan of the Record of Encounters with Eastern Barbarians describes that the contribution started in 277. From the fact as mentioned above, we can understand that the “Mahan” referred to in the two articles are not equal. In the Korean academic society, the view referring the Mahan in the Record of Encounters with Eastern Barbarians to Paekche is compelling<sup>44</sup>. But some say that it is the Mokji (目支) that was a force of the whole Chungcheong-do<sup>45</sup>. What to be noted here is the recognition to the Mahan Sinmi by the Chinese side. Considering that the contribution was played up in the article in spite of being the first contribution, China

seemed to have already recognized the basin of the Yeongsan River as the powerful forces of Mahan in the second half of the 3rd century or at the early stage of the Jungmak-dong ritual site. And it seems that the contributions by Mahan were not unified within Mahan. The aspect of the rituals suggested by the unearthed relics in the first stage in the Jungmak-dong ritual site appears to support the articles of the contributions by the Sinmi of Mahan.

Rituals mainly on pottery were also performed in Stage II following the stage I in accordance with the tradition of the places where rituals were performed. Compared to the first stage, however, kinds and volume of pottery increased and the size of the ritual grew. No relationship with Paekche is also known even at this stage from the situation of the excavation of relics such as pottery as earlier mentioned. The underlying period of the annexation of the basin of the Geum River to Paekche is also an important problem. Among Korean archaeologists, while there is a view that the period would be the middle of the 4th century to the middle of the 5th century from the transition of the interment and tomb system, and on the other, there is a view that the period would be the second half of the 4th century when the strong influence of Paekche is seen in various relics. Therefore, the influence of Paekche in this ritual site can be assumed to be elevated in this period because the basin of the Geum River began to belong to the reign of Paekche. However, in the relics in the Jungmak-dong ritual site, relics of Paekche lineage represented by three-legged pottery and pottery in deep-bowl-shape are not seen at all even at this stage. Putting more emphasis on this point, it would become clear that the main entity of the Jungmak-dong ritual site had no relation with Paekche.

In Stage III, a change in kinds of pottery, namely, vessels with a stand originating in Gaya began to emerge. Very decorative wide-mouthed long-neck jars also called as “Jungmak-dong style” appeared. Its genealogical record can be traced to a wide-mouthed jar, and its unique patterns of concentrated lines and wave patterns and handles in shape of bull’s horns means it had been specially produced for ritual use. The feature of the rituals of Gaya performed here is that metal relics were mainly used. Focusing on this point, Yoo Byung-ha comprehends that the concept of god in mounded tomb and ritual sites was in an undifferentiated state<sup>46</sup>. However, considering that the results of the study on the rituals in the Three Kingdoms period are insufficient at present, prudent examinations would be required. At the period of Stage III in the Jungmak-dong ritual site, active trading was conducted in the basin of the Yeongsan River, mainly in the Bannam region of Naju. The existence of the relics of Wa lineage unearthed from tombs certifies the relation of active exchanges with Wa. The relationship with corridor-style stone chambers in Kyūshū<sup>47</sup> and that with the early Sue ware of Japan have already pointed out<sup>48</sup>. And based on these facts, SHIRAISHI Taichirō shows his idea that Wa’s counterpart in negotiations used to be the forces in the basin of the Nakdong River till the first half of the 5th century, but was transferred to those of the basin of the Yeongsan River in the west from the second half of the 5th century<sup>49</sup>. It would be possible to say that the existence of soft stone imitations of objects seen in the rituals of Stage III is also the certificate of the frequent exchanges with Wa (Kyūshū). However, taking into account that pottery accompanied with soft stone imitations of objects have rarely been unearthed and there is not an example of rituals performed only with soft stone imitations of objects in a case of ocean rituals of the ancient Japan, the possibility of the joint rituals with the forces in the basin of the Yeongsan River is more likely than that of rituals which performed by Wa exclusively.

The titles of military officers of the so-called Five Kings of Wa, including “Mohan” (慕韓), described in the Record of Wa of the Book of Sung (宋書) are valuable historical materials to understand this region during the second half of the 5th century. The hypothesis that Mohan really had existed identifies it with the Jeonnam region<sup>50</sup>. Mohan first appears in the description representing the king of Wa, Chin (珍) as (438): ‘使持節都督倭百濟新羅任那秦韓慕韓六国諸軍事安東大將軍倭国王’. Subsequently, Mohan appeared three times also in the name of peerage of the king of Wa, Bu (武). These materials are important because they show how Wa and the Southern Dynasties recognized the situation of the Korean Peninsula in those days although the political interests in the Southern Dynasties are reflected. There is a view that the words are insisting the military dominance, but it is difficult to consider that the influence was actually wielded over those regions. Peerage titles of the Five Kings of Wa reflect the recognition toward the forces in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula which Wa had retained, and the appearance of Gara in 451 which was not observed in 438 can be said to be the result of the rapid development of Gara during this period.

Consequently, the investiture by the Southern Qi (南齊) as a tributary state of the king of Gara, Haji (荷知)

(479) and the decoration of the peerage title of '輔国將軍本国王' can be interpreted to indicate the development of Gara in those days, and the ocean rituals performed in making contributions to the Southern Dynasties by Gara (Daegaya) can be guessed from the aspect of the rituals at Stage III of the Jungmak-dong ritual site. However, there still remains a question whether the envoy to the Southern Dynasty by Gara was conducted independently even though the Daegaya grew enough to form an alliance. Particularly, considering that this was the first contribution made by Gaya, the author strongly doubts it. In making a contribution to a state, an interpreter and skill in a long distance navigation are very important matters. Silla made a contribution to Former Qin (前秦) accompanied by Goguryeo in 377, which is the first appearance in the international scene of Silla. The diplomatic relations with Liang (梁) in 521 were executed with an envoy of Paekche, and there is a description of "the language was comprehended after through Paekche," suggesting that an interpretation had been conducted by the Paekche side. In case of Gara, therefore, it is completely difficult to think that it made a contribution independently. The view that Daegaya is not one country but a league itself is based on the distribution of the Goryeong style pottery, and it has been recently pointed out that Dara (多羅) was a powerful force which produced ironware from the unearthed relics of the Hapcheon Okjeon mounded tomb group. The aspect of the rituals suggested from the distribution of bird-patterned iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures unearthed in the Hapcheon Okjeon mounded tomb group presents that Dara was linked not to the Goryeong region of the Daegaya, but to the Haman region. Considering these facts, the movements in the other Gaya region than the Daegaya are extremely important, and a prudential reviewing on the league of Daegaya is required. If there had been an escort to a contribution of Gara, it would be highly likely to be none other than the forces in the basin of the Yeongsan River. Rituals in Wa during this period that are suggested from the situation of the excavation of soft stone imitations of objects could also be explained with the relation with the basin of the Yeongsan River. The common points such as the internment and tomb system of keyhole-shaped tomb with round rear mound and unearthed relics including crowns and iron miniatures of agricultural or craft tools are good materials which show the exchanges between the forces of Gaya, Wa and the basin of the Yeongsan River during the second half of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century. Wa in this context would not be the force of the Kinai district but that of Kyūshū, and the network of the sea people would have been formed between the basin of the Yeongsan River and Kyūshū, which would have helped Gara with the excellent navigation in its making a contribution to the Southern Dynasty. This is utterly backed up by the aspect of the rituals in the prime period of the Jungmak-dong ritual site.

During the last Stage IV, it changed to small-sized rituals focused on pottery. It is guessed that this is because it lost the function as the main place of rituals on international exchanges and became rituals performed mainly by the locality. During this period, the basin of the Yeongsan River had already become the territory of Paekche, and if the main entity of rituals here had been Paekche from the start, it is the contradictory result.

### 3. Imitations

Clay imitations are goods made by imitating the real goods using clay as its materials. There had been representative clay products imitating comma-shaped beads and cylindrical beads since the Bronze Age. In addition, clay small beads, boat-shaped clay objects, animal-shaped clay objects, irregularly-shaped clay objects are considered in the context as described just as above. Their sizes are diversified, from about 2 or 3 cm to about 10 cm, but they are smaller than real ones in general. The basic technique of production for most of such goods is similar; after simply shaping with coarse clay, baked it in open air. Although we can think that imitations of comma-shaped beads and cylindrical beads are those made merely by changing the materials of stone and glass with clay, they are guessed to have been produced for rituals taking into account the examples unearthed together with burned bones used for foretelling and small pottery. In other words, such goods seem to have been produced by symbolizing as offerings to gods in place of real goods. Miniature pottery is also downsized and imitated goods of various kinds of vessels. In terms of kind of vessel, miniature versions of bowls, cups, dishes with pedestal and steaming vessels have been confirmed. The technique of production for miniature pottery is also easy and the size is very small, within 10 cm. It cannot seem to be pottery for practical use. Consequently, it is possible to comprehend that they are for ritual use for gods, or special relics for contributing.

Noteworthy animal-shaped imitations are horse-shaped clay figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines.



Horses had been valued as a useful animal for war, traffic and hunting, and have been regarded as sacred from the ancient times, as a horse is a symbol of Ken 乾 (qian) in the eight trigrams (八卦 Bagua) of YiJing (易經), or an animal presenting heaven. The sacredness of a horse as described above is often represented in the historical materials including the legend of the founders of Silla, Goguryeo and Buyeo. The article of Han 韓 of the Record of Encounters with Eastern Barbarians of the History of Wei in the Records of Three Kingdoms (三国志) describes that ‘不知乘牛馬、牛馬盡於送死’, indicating cattle and horses were used in a funeral service. The excavation of bones of horses in marshy places and shell middens during the Proto-Three Kingdoms period and the excavation of bones of horses together with ritual relics such as burned bones for foretelling and miniature pottery suggests that horses were used for various kinds of rituals.

Let us check the comparatively clarified examples of the situation of the excavation and characters of the sites mainly on horse-shaped clay figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines unearthed in ritual sites by kind of the site.

### **(1) Seashore Ritual Site**

From shell middens, horse-shaped clay figurines are sometimes unearthed together with various ritual relics such as burned bones for foretelling, miniature pottery and comma-shaped beads made of clay. The Gimhae Buwon-dong site<sup>51</sup> investigated in 1980 is a shell midden formed on a mountain mass of the southern tip of a hill facing the seashore. From the Area A, various articles were found, including miniature pottery, clay objects such as boat-shaped objects, comma-shaped beads and round beads as well as four horse-shaped clay figurines, and disc-shaped objects with hole as soft stone imitations of objects, in addition, beads such as cylindrical beads. The site is considered to date back to the 4th century at most from the chronology of the pottery unearthed in the lowest layer. All of the horse-shaped clay figurines are without harness and others, and are partly destroyed, which makes it difficult to grasp the image of a horse clearly. However, they are deemed to have represented a horse from the shape of a head of the one unearthed from the layer III (Figure 10).

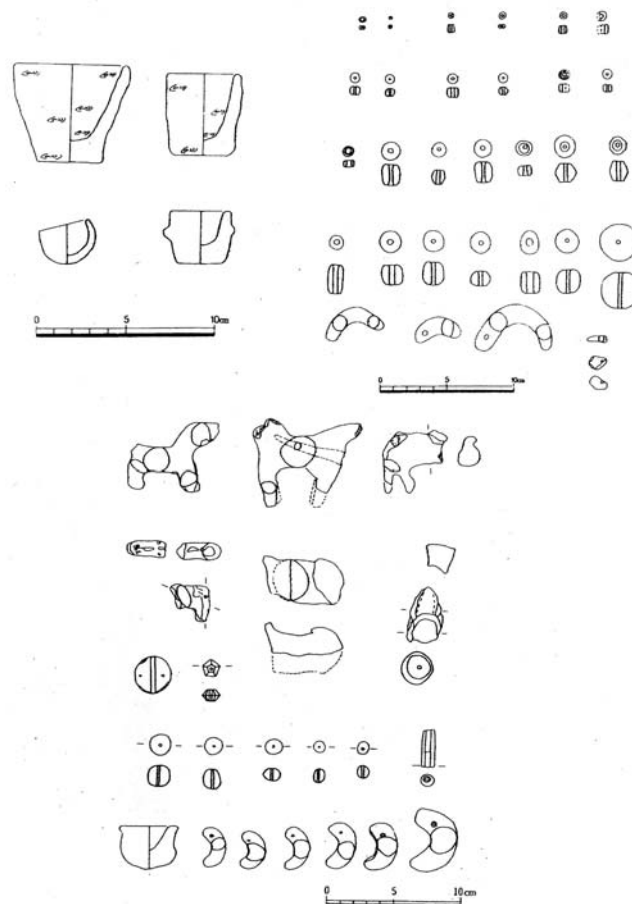


Figure 10 Clay imitations unearthed in Gimhae Buwon-dong site (Dong-a University Museum (1981): 『金海府院洞遺跡』古蹟調査報告書 4 冊)

In the Dongnae Nangmin-dong shell midden<sup>52</sup> in Busan which is believed to have been formed during the 3rd century to the 4th century, various ritual relics such as burned bones used for foretelling, miniature pottery and clay comma-shaped beads were unearthed together with pottery of Wa lineage, and a piece of a horse-shaped pottery was found at the east side of the third investigation area. Skew check-pattern that seems to have presented a horse armor is designed at the neck of the horse-shaped pottery, and it has a trace of a saddle and a portion of the body to which natural glaze is not be slapped. Consequently, it may be a clay object of a person on horse.

In the Dongnae Nangmin-dong shell midden, a remain of furnace and a bellow that are considered to be a part of ironworks, which are valuable materials to know the iron-working of those days. There is a description of iron-working and trading of iron in the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula in the article of the Byeonjin (弁辰) of the Record of Encounters with Eastern Barbarians of the History of Wei in the Records of Three Kingdoms, and Gimhae and Dongnae are said to be the places of Byeonjin. We can get an idea of the aspect of the exchanges in this period also from the excavation of soft stone imitations of objects and pottery of Wa lineage. The rituals may have been performed to pray for the safety of voyages in trades of iron in the Gimhae Buwon-dong site and Dongnae Nangmin-dong shell midden. Similarly, horse-shaped clay figurines unearthed from shell middens could be understood to be offerings to marine gods.

The size of eight pieces of horse-shaped clay figurines unearthed from the ritual site at Buan Jungmak-dong, a representative archaeological site where rituals for navigation were performed, is around 10 cm. Those are put seals or presented details by carving of lines with simple tools. Most of those are unglazed ceramic horses of hard and grayish blue mainly made with finely selected clay, and only one of those is reddish brown and hard. All of those have a trace made by putting a saddle in its body, and some have a pattern of X-letter design carved on the back (Figure 11).



Figure 11 Imitations of the human figure and horse-shaped clay figurines unearthed in the ritual site at Buan Jungmak-dong (Chonju National Museum (1994):『扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡』)

Persons in charge of the excavation consider that those horse-shaped clay figurines are relics of the 5th century because they were unearthed together with pottery of the Three Kingdoms period and they have outlines of a stirrup which were presented with line carving using the stirrups often buried as grave goods during the second half of the 4th to 5th century as its motif. The imitations of the human figure are nude figures emphasizing a penis. These clay imitations are considered to have been dedicated as offerings for marine gods taking into account the features of this site. The clay imitations were unearthed in a state in which the arms and legs are mutilated and segmented into the body, the head and the legs. This is considered to have been customs to avoid misfortunes performed during ceremonies, and “X” mark carved on the rump of the horse-shaped clay figurines could be understood in a similar way.

## (2) Ritual sites of mountain fortresses and summits

Examples of excavations of imitations in mountain summits are roughly divided into examples of ritual sites in a narrow meaning and those of mountain fortresses, and also divided into those accompanying in ritual remains and those not. The period of imitations unearthed from mountain summits is mainly considered to be later than the United Silla. In some cases, both horse-shaped clay figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines were unearthed together, which attracts our attention.

First of all, as the examples of sites related to rituals, horse-shaped clay figurines unearthed in the Namyangju Guksa-bong fortress, those in Daejeon Guksa-bong site<sup>53</sup> and horse-shaped clay figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines in the Yeongam Wolchul-san ritual site have been reported<sup>54</sup>. The author would like to discuss mainly the Yeongam Wolchul-san ritual site here. Rituals by the state had been performed in this site located on Cheonhwang-bong (peak) of the Yeongam Wolchul-san (mountain) in the Jeollanam-do since the United Silla period, which is recorded on a literature (Small Rituals, article of Rituals, Miscellaneous Articles, Volume 32 of “Samguk-sagi”). From this site, various relics related rituals including 11 pieces of horse-shaped clay figurines, three pieces of horse-shaped iron figurines as well as clay imitations, a lid of an incense burner, celadon and white porcelain were unearthed, and this site was found to be sacred space where rituals had been performed for a long time from the United Silla period to the Middle Joseon period. Pottery is mostly composed of kinds of plates and bottles, which are estimated to be relics in and after the United Silla period. In particular, the excavation of a lid of an incense burner and an irregular-shaped pottery decorated with protruding patterns certifies this site to be a ritual site. The horse-shaped clay figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines are considered to mean the same thing. Although no features related to the ritual site have been discovered in the investigation, a small quantity of roof tiles was found. A history material stating that a lightning struck the shrine in the 9th year of Emperor Injong (1131) suggests a building with roof tiles have been on the ritual place of Cheonhwang-bong.

Horse-shaped clay figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines among unearthed relics are extremely important to understand the features of this site. Eleven pieces of horse-shaped clay figurines and three pieces of horse-shaped iron figurines were unearthed, the largest existing horse-shaped clay figurine is 18.2 cm in length. The horse-shaped iron figurines are less than 10 cm. Six horse-shaped clay figurines are made of hard unglazed ceramic and five are horses of soft Haji ware (low fired brown pottery). All is put a saddle and decorated. According to the report, the horse-shaped clay figurines are divided into three categories based on its form and production technique. It is said to be able to see the transition of degenerating in the detailed expressions of shaping. The horse-shaped iron figurines are classified into those with an expression of a saddle and with its head being kept almost horizontally to its body and those with a saddle omitted and with its head raised. However, the horse-shaped clay figurines are badly rusted overall, which makes it impossible to know expressions in detail. The horse-shaped clay figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines are considered to have been devoted as the god's vehicles in rituals praying to the gods of the mountain. According to the article of Small Rituals, Auspicious Ceremony, Volume 17 of the Record of the "History of Goryeo," there was a station called Yeongbo under the Yeongam Bukseong (northern fortress) in Yeongam during the Goryeo period. The article on Yeongam-gun in the Record of Geography of "Sejong-sillok (Actual Records of Sejong)" describes that there were two ranches in Yeongam, and 139 horses were put to grazing in the ranch of the two, Noryang. Even though the comprehension on these articles may change due to the chronology of the horse-shaped clay figurine and horse-shaped iron figurine, these records would sufficiently serve as a reference in order to more specifically estimate the meaning of the horse-shaped figurines in the Wolchul-san ritual site (Figure 12).

Examples of excavation in a mountain fortress include the Cheonan Wirye-sanseong (mountain fortress 慰礼山城) site and Hanam Iseong-sanseong, in which horse-shaped clay figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines were unearthed, and the Daejeon Bomun-sanseong<sup>55</sup>, in which horse-shaped iron figurines were unearthed, etc. Concerning Wirye-sanseong<sup>56</sup> located at 529.5 meter above sea level in Unyong-ri, Buk-myeon, Cheonan-si, Chungcheongnam-do, a theory that it was identified with the Hanam Wirye-seong 慰礼城 in the foundation period of Paekche was raised and attracted attention of the academic society. However, there have been not sufficient evidences for accepting it yet. The investigation report states that two remains of a gate and one of a well have been found in the fortress. Unearthed relics are products from the Paekche period to the United Silla period. Unearthed horse-shaped clay figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines count 16, of which horse-shaped clay figurines made of mud are 10 and horse-shaped iron figurines are 6. The average length of horse-shaped imitations unearthed in this excavation is 8 cm and a part of a stone structure that seems to be an altar was discovered together with the relics. Consequently, such horse-shaped imitations are estimated to be related to a ritual of any kind.

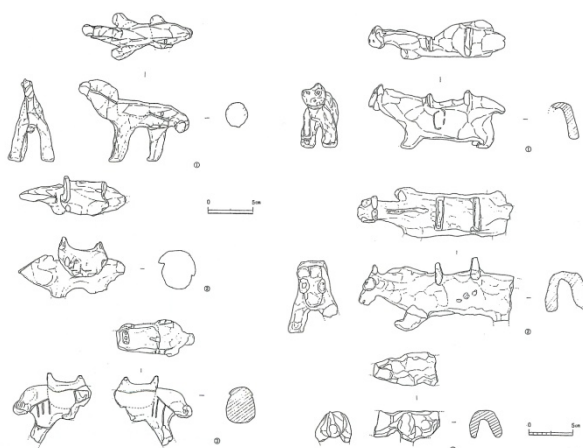


Figure 12 Horse-shaped clay figurines unearthed in the Yeongam Wolchulsan site  
(Museum of Mokpo University: Yeongam-gun (1996): 『靈巖月出山祭祀遺跡』)

In the Iseong-sanseong<sup>57</sup> of Gwangju, Gyeonggi-do, horse-shaped imitations including horse-shaped clay

figurines and horse-shaped iron figurines equivalent originally to 27 imitations were also unearthed, comprising of 10 horse-shaped clay figurines and 17 horse-shaped iron figurines (Figure 13).

In this site, features of buildings such as a rectangle building in the shape of a many-storied tower, and an octagonal (Area D), a nonagonal (Area E) and a 12-sided building and four ritual features of the Three Kingdoms period were found. The nonagonal building in the east is guessed to be the temple of heaven in which the emperor performs rituals to heaven and the octagonal one in the west is guessed to be the altar to perform the national soil and grain ceremonies. Horse-shaped products were unearthed in the ritual feature of the Area E where the feature of the nonagonal building was discovered. The basic structure of the feature is a form in which cracked stones with edged corners are piled around there, after that, largestones of 100 cm to 150 cm are placed in the center, and the relics were unearthed from among the cracked stones with edged corners. All the horse-shaped products are a decorated horse, hardly any of them are complete, found in a state of the four legs scattered into pieces. The quality of the horse-shaped clay figurines is mostly soft, and its length is approximately 10 cm.

The horse-shaped iron figurines are about 11 to 14 cm long, and most of them are casted. Only one piece of them is the one forged.

From the fact that the relics were found also on the pillar base stones and fragments of roof tiles were unearthed in the low layer of the ritual feature, the ritual feature is estimated to date back to the United Silla period that is later than the building. While one piece of a complete stone imitation of a mirror, disc-shaped objects with a perforation and sword-shaped objects were unearthed from the external side of the pillar base stones of the feature of the octagonal building, there is a possibility of having produced them on the spot considering that unfinished articles were also excavated. In the Area D close to the Area E, a fragment of a crucible and slag were found, indicating the possibility of the existence of iron-working sites in the vicinity and drawing attention from a viewpoint in relation to the excavation of a lot of horse-shaped iron figurines. Concerning the character of the horse-shaped imitations, some say that they are related to the rituals performed at the time of construction. As the author has referred to in the preceding sentences, however, it would be appropriate to interpret them as the relics showing the belief in the gods of the mountain like the case of the Yeongam Wolchul-san ritual site rather than interpret from the relation with the mountain fortress, taking into account that the ritual feature itself was built in the United Silla period later than the building.

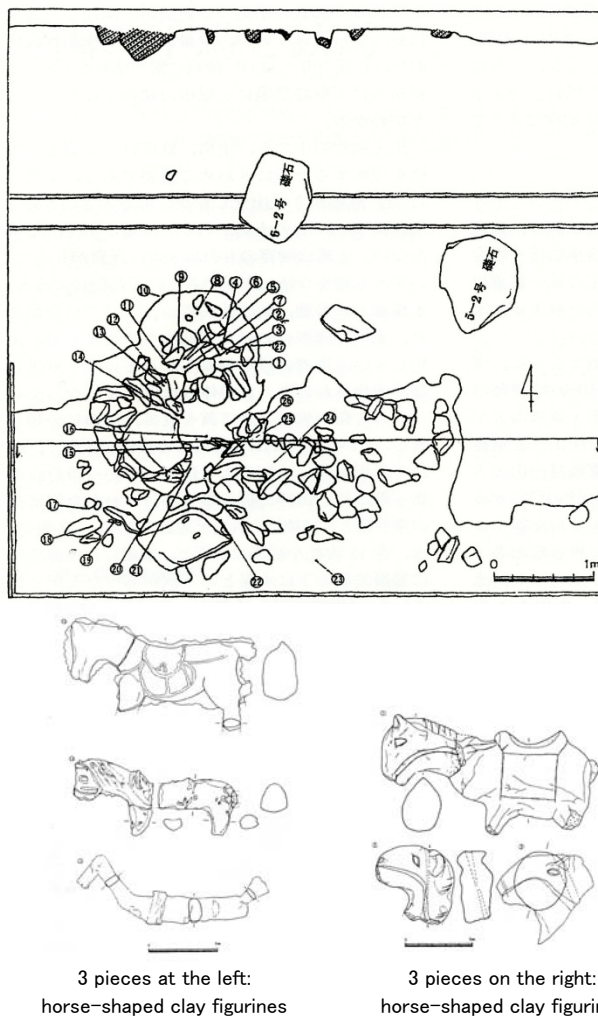


Figure 13 Situation of the excavation of horse-shaped imitations in Ritual Site No. 1 of the Iseong-sanseong (Museum of Hanyang University (1987): 『二聖山城一発掘中間報告書』)

## 4. Silla Earthen Figurine

### (1) Excavation

Irregularly-shaped pottery (including decorative pottery) and earthen figurines<sup>58</sup> (clay imitations) of the Silla dynasty had rarely been investigated in an academic way. From the Geumryeong-chong 金鈴塚 tomb which seems to be a tomb of a royal family and was excavated in 1924, a set of pottery in the shape of a warrior on horseback and a set of pottery in the shape of a warrior on board a ship were found. According to a report published eight years later since the excavation<sup>59</sup>, the pottery in the shape of a warrior on horseback and the pottery in the shape of a warrior on board a ship were discovered in a state mingled with grave goods such as horse trappings and pottery which were piled in the direction of the north-east of the head of the buried corpse. And the examples of an academic investigation include a long-necked jar with earthen figurines unearthed in Gyeongju Noseo-dong and a long-necked jar with earthen figurines unearthed in Tomb no. 30 of Gyerim-ro in the tomb of King Michu 味鄒王 area, which excavated at the time of a construction in 1973 (both of the pots are designated as national treasure No. 195), and a pedestaled dish with earthen figurines unearthed at the time of an excavation of a tomb with stone packing surrounding and protecting a coffin due to road works of the Wolseong-ro in 1993 (Figure 14).

Among the earthen figurines discovered so far, the complete ones attached to a pedestaled dish or round bottom long-necked jar count just over 20 pieces<sup>60</sup>. Several hundreds of earthen figurines collected in a state destroyed and separated from the pottery had been mostly collected from the destroyed tombs in the Hwangnam-dong area during public works by KOIZUMI Akio in 1926. In his Memoirs published in 1986, he stated that a massive amount of earthen figurines was collected when they dug up the ground among large-scale tombs in Hwangnam-dong near the tomb of King Michu. He also stated that small tombs with stone packing surrounding and protecting a coffin for one person were densely built there, and that their grave goods were mostly long-necked jars and pedestaled dishes and an overwhelmingly large portion of the pottery unearthed in this area are those with earthen figurines attached<sup>61</sup>.

Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage conducted an excavation from 1996 to 2000 in the whole area of Songok-dong and Mulcheon-ri which was a planned site for a racecourse in Gyeongju, which clarified that the production site of articles such as the decorated long-necked jar with earthen figurines of the national treasure No. 195 which had not been known thus far is the site of a kiln here, Songok-dong<sup>62</sup>. Relics such as pottery and earthen figurines counting over 2,850 as well as total 589 remains including those related to production such as 47 kilns for pottery, one kiln for roof tiles, four sites of workshops and 17 charcoal kilns, those of buildings constructed on base stones, 53 sites of raised floor buildings, and 17 sites of pit dwellings were unearthed in this site. The number of earthen figurines of humans and animals reaches 112 pieces. Among them, a lot of earthen figurines were unearthed in the pit remains in the vicinity, which is interpreted in relation to rituals (Figure 15).

Although it had been known from early times that kiln sites of Silla (Three Kingdoms period) and the United Silla period had been remained here in cluster, this excavation revealed that this is a section where kilns for pottery and charcoal of the Silla period had been densely located. Subsequently, it is mainly comprehended that this is a distribution and production complex of the Silla pottery that had been providing pottery for living and rituals to the site of the Royal Capital which was the center of Silla,

### (2) Elements of indigenous religion appearing on Silla earthen figurines

An earthen figurine of decorative pottery is as small as 10 cm long. There are many such earthen figurines which clearly represent emotions of human beings with a simple motion of the hand and an expression. Although abbreviated methods were used boldly as we may call, the articles have well captured the characters, and the intention of a craftsman is sufficiently presented. A quick look shows that such an earthen figurine appears to be a play with mud of children, but a detailed look shows that excellent sense of shape and humor of the Silla people is sufficiently included in it. If viewing an earthen figurine not as simply the one with the character as a craft or subordinate character decorating a vessel but from the magical or indigenous religion, we must consider that an earthen figurine itself is a subject that occupies part of the space.





Figure 14 Long-neck pot with earthen figurines unearthed in Tomb No. 30 of Gyerim-ro in King Michu tomb area, Gyeongju (34 cm high, during 5th to 6th century in Silla. Gyeongju National Museum (1995): 『国立慶州博物館』)

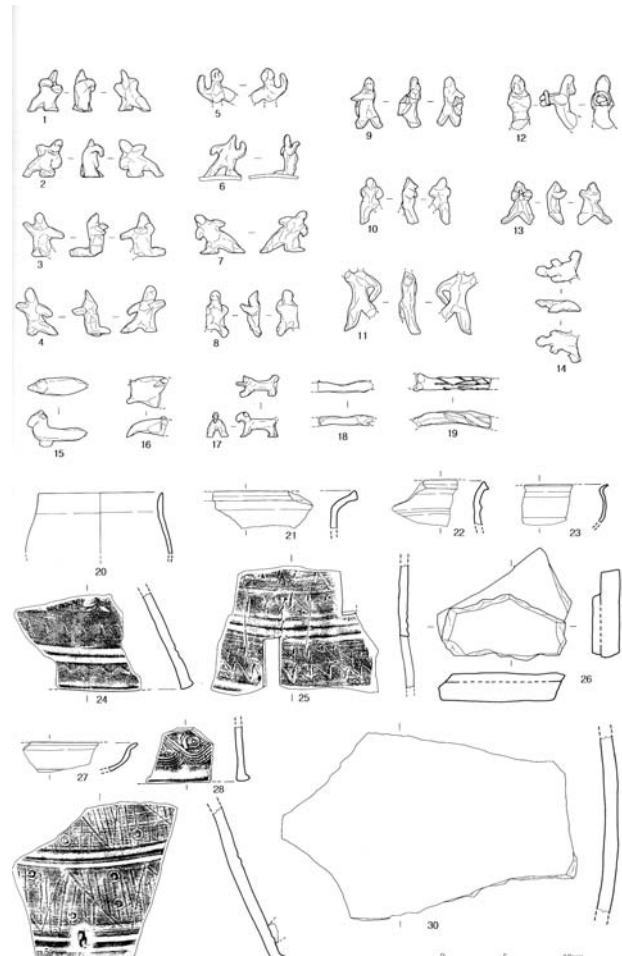


Figure 15 Unearthed artifacts in No. VI-19 (VI S53) Songok-don Mulcheon-ri site (Gyeongju National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (2004): 『慶州谷洞・勿川里遺跡慶州競馬場予定敷地A地区』)

The earthen figurines honestly represent most of the part of general living. For example, we may be surprised at the sight of those representing a man and a woman making sex because the sex life is expressed so downrightly. Sex which the earthen figurines represent is not that of secrecy or shyness, but a daily action to which a humor is added. In the ancient society in which labor force was the most important, fecundity or the prosperity of descendants used to be the most important virtue and obligation above all.

An image of a snake that is biting a frog is often seen in the earthen figurines. From a man like a Mudang (巫堂 shaman) holding a stick which is exaggerating a penis and a person riding on the back of a snake biting a frog, often seen in such a scene, it is considered that elements of indigenous religion have been reflected. A snake that sloughs its skin is a symbol of regeneration and immortality, and a frog that lays a lot of eggs is a symbol of fecundity. An image of a snake biting a frog means that fecundity and immortality have united.

There are many earthen figurines in which a person who plays a zither is expressed. These earthen figurines were produced during the 4th century to 5th century, showing that a musical instrument similar to a Gaya zither existed in Silla before the 6th century when a Gaya zither was handed down to Silla. “Samguk-yusa



『三国遺事』” records a zither of Silla to have been as large as a person could enter into its custody case. In fact, a zither case of Silla as long as 187.5 cm has been descended and kept at the Shōsōin treasure repository in Japan. Since the introduction of a Gaya zither in the 6th century, a Silla zither had been improved to an instrument of the higher standard. While a Gaya zither had fixed 12 strings, a Silla zither expressed in earthen figurines had a variety of strings; three, five or six. There are wind instruments in earthen figurines in addition to a zither, and their kind can be distinguished because an action of the player of each instrument is clearly represented according to the size of the musical instrument. The appearance of such instruments in earthen figurines means that music had been deeply penetrated into the lives of the people of Silla. Goguryeo had hyeongeum 玄琴 zithers, Gaya had Gaya zithers, and Silla had unique Silla zithers.

Hunting in the ancient Silla was a part of economic activities, and is considered to have meaning of catching sacrifices for rituals and ceremonies. Raising animals also began and the representative animal among domesticated animals was pigs. Diversified forms of pigs (wild boars) were also presented in earthen figurines. In case of dogs which are said to have been domesticated from the most ancient times, its usages appear to have been divided into for pet, care, self-defense or edible use. Then, many kinds of fishes such as carp and sea perch appeared on earthen figurines, representing that fishing activity as well as hunting as means for securing food was active. Animals appearing on earthen figurines include an elephant or a monkey which did not originally inhabit in the Korean Peninsula. Each of the features of these animals were so accurately represented that it is not able to consider to have been products of their imagination. Consequently, this would be valuable materials which enable us to guess the aspects of the trade and exchanges with foreign countries in those days.

In the ancient rituals, there are sometimes relics that were objectified or symbolized for rituals. Earthen figurines on decorated vessels have sufficiently such features as mentioned earlier. The objectified were animals such as horses, crows (ducks), snakes and frogs, humans and places of rituals (magic). It can be comprehended that an imitated ceremony wishing for regeneration, fertility of crops and fecundity was represented on pottery as canvas with earthen figurines.

### **(3) Historical background of Silla earthen figurines**

So far, the author has discussed the elements of its indigenous religion mainly on earthen figurines on decorative pottery. Silla earthen figurines are considered to have been produced as grave goods for general small-sized tombs with stone packing surrounding and protecting a coffin mainly during the 5th century when Silla had been consolidating the structure as a powerful state from the 5th century to the 6th century.

The historical background of ritual artifacts of earthen figurines/decorative pottery is gradually being clarified. The situation of the excavation called “a warehouse of pottery at a glance” in which various kinds of pottery were filled in the mounded tomb group which composes an area of Hwangnam-dong, and a description that an enormous majority of them were decorative pottery would be important<sup>63</sup>. As mentioned above, tombs with decorative pottery tend to be focused on the mounded tomb group in Gyeongju also from the view point of location. This can be known from the situation that several hundred earthen figurines were unearthed from a mounded tomb group which consists of a few dozens of tombs as referred to before<sup>64</sup>.

By the way, there are few unearthed examples of decorative pottery and earthen figurines except for Gyeongju. Only one example is an excavation of a decorative vessel stand with turtle from Dongnae Bokcheon-dong tomb no. 10, Busan. Although it must be reviewed later, this is different in shape from a pedestaled dish with a lid or a long-necked jar, which often seen in decorative pottery. This tomb is considered to date back to about the third quarter of the 5th century<sup>65</sup>, and the Dongnae district had come to have extremely strong relationship with Silla since this period.

In Gyeongju, there are tombs where representational pottery including pottery in the shape of a warrior on horseback and pottery in the shape of a warrior on boat is unearthed such as Geumryeong-chong tomb, a small-sized mounded tomb group in the Hwangnam-dong area where decorative pottery and earthen figurines are unearthed and mounded tomb groups where such relics are not buried. It is suggestive that representational pottery, decorative pottery and earthen figurines have not been unearthed except for

irregularly-shaped pottery such as a vessel stand with miniature stands in Geumgwan-chong (金冠塚) tomb, Seobong-chong (瑞鳳塚) tomb, Cheonma-chong (天馬塚) tomb and the south and north tomb of Hwangnam-daechong (皇南大塚). As only Geumryeong-chong tomb is considered to be an exception, it can be estimated that the situations of tombs for a king or those equivalent to tombs for a king from the middle of the 5th century as mentioned above were different from the form of the ritual symbolized in decorative pottery and figurative pottery<sup>66</sup>.

The period when Silla completed a large confederated kingdom which covered all of the Gyeongbuk region, east of the Nakdong River, is considered to be the period of Naemul-Maripgan (356 - 402)<sup>67</sup>. Subsequently, Silseon-Maripgan (402 - 417), Nulji-Maripgan (417 - 458), Jabi-Maripgan (458 - 479) and Soji-Maripgan (479 - 500) continued. As the title of the kings during the 5th century was Maripgan (麻立干), it would be no exaggeration to say that the 5th century is the age of Maripgan. In other words, it was an age in which the title of a king called Maripgan in place of Isageum (尼師今) was used and Saro (斯盧) was taking large steps toward a powerful state through conquests and alliances. Then, from Naemul-Maripgan, coronation in turn from among the three clans ceased and Gim (Kim) Clan monopolized the crown by succession. And in the period of Nulji-Maripgan, an inheritance from father to son was established. During the reign of Jabi-Maripgan and Soji-Maripgan, as six villages (村) were reorganized into six departments (部), a centralized administrative structure was established. Post stations were placed, and markets were opened in the capital and the distribution of goods began<sup>68</sup>.

As discussed above, Silla strengthened the kingly power during the whole 5th century and started to build large mounded tombs. It was the period of King Jijeung of the 6th century that the title of Maripgan was changed to King of Chinese style. Namely, it changed the name of the country to Silla (新羅) at the beginning of the 6th century and started to accept the Chinese culture on a full scale. Buddhism began to be spread to the northern area of the realm of Silla in the 5th century before that, but it was the stage where the royal family of Silla officially had not approved Buddhism. Although Ado (阿道) started to introduce the religion in the Ilseon (Seonsan) district through Goguryeo during the reign of Soji-Maripgan, it had not been spread nationwide. The royal family did not approve it officially until the 6th century.

Consequently, in such a historical background, earthen figurines were made in Silla and reflected directly a pure climate of Silla without any foreign elements. Their expressions are very realistic, and a drastic fusion of the life phase of this world and the symbolism of various animals produced magical elements. The combination of the instant when a snake is eating a frog and the Mudang (shaman) whose penis is emphasized directly symbolizes the very aspect of the indigenous religion of the people of Silla into which magical wishes are put. As the martyrdom of Ichadon<sup>69</sup> during the stages of accepting Buddhism is well known, it appears there were objections even during the stages of the acceptance of Buddhism because the culture of Silla has a stronger character of indigenous religion compared to that of Goguryeo or Paekche. Today, we can learn an aspect of the life of the indigenous religion as just described through earthen figurines.

Earthen figurines were produced intensively during around the 5th century when Silla was accelerating its speed to become a powerful ancient state. Later, the three kingdoms were unified and the earthen figurines disappeared as the time went by. But the fact that earthen figurines are the culture proper to Silla does not change. And it could be said that earthen figurines were a start of the culture of ceramics art of the Korean Peninsula. As the people of Goguryeo painted their lives and culture on walls of tombs, the people of Silla left images of themselves 1,500 years ago with earthen figurines made of clay. Earthen figurines are a unique cultural heritage which expressed straightforwardly the lives of the people of Silla who were optimistic and frank.

## 5. Iron Ritual Implement with Thorn-like Figures

### (1) Issue of materials

To understand the character of iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures, an accurate analysis and comprehension concerning flat iron ingots used as materials is necessary.

Flat iron ingots have been unearthed on a massive scale from sites of the 4th century to the 6th century mainly in the downstream basin of Nakdong River and Gyeongju district. The features of the form of the flat iron ingots in the 5th century is that it has wide both ends and is not completely symmetric, with the lowest width tilted toward the wider end. And so the linkage with flat iron ingots in shape of a plate-like iron adze is considered. However, compared to the fact that there are clear differences of the widths at both ends of a flat iron ingot in shape of a plate-like iron adze, the width of both ends of a flat iron ingot has no clear difference and is becoming thinner gradually. Since the typical flat iron ingots were unearthed from Dongnae Bokcheon-dong tomb no. 38 which dates back to the third quarter of the 4th century, it has become clear that the emerging period of the flat iron ingot was the middle of the 4th century.

Various functions or characters concerning the comprehension of the usages of the flat iron ingot have been considered: commodity money, trade certificate of land, iron materials with value for exchange or as money, prestige goods, money itself and money with sacredness.

An iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures is cited as a representative example that used flat iron ingots as iron materials. However, as is seen in the examples of the Gimhae Yongdong-ri tomb no. 8 and Ulsan Hadae site, flat iron ingots in shape of a plate-like iron adze had been used as materials at the initial stage, and an arc-like edge strongly shows traces of the plate-like iron adze. Namely, the early iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were made by ornamenting the flat iron ingot in shape of a plate-like iron adze by adding designs of the shapes of fern or others, not made or processed for use of a weapon or a sharp-edged tool. In this regard, it is possible to comprehend that iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures are ritual implements emphasizing a symbolic meaning which a flat iron ingot in shape of a plate has.

In case of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures that began to be produced with materials of flat iron ingots which appeared in the middle of the 4th century, their ornamented forms came to change in each area. During the 5th century, there appeared various types of the forms of thorns such as a shape of a character of “C”, a triangle and a shape that looks as if a triangle is folded back and forth. These changes in thorns are considered not to bring functionalities as a sharp-edged tool but to be a change of the shape of the fern mainly due to an omission of producing processes. Consequently, the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures of this period were also made by ornamenting flat iron ingots which had a linkage with flat iron ingots in shape of a plate, and its basic character did not change.

In other words, iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were made by adding ornaments to flat iron ingots in shape of a plate-like iron adze or a flat iron ingot and used for funeral ceremonies or rituals as ritual goods, and after that, they were buried. From this, flat iron ingots in shape of a plate-like iron adze or flat iron ingots are estimated not to have been used simply as iron materials or money but to have been symbolic articles with a concept linking to the flat iron adze, and iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures are considered to be articles that had been maximized the concept that the iron had.

Taking into account the characters of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures described as above, bird-patterned iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures, represented by those of Hapcheon Okjeon mounded tomb group, were ritual goods with a complete different character, considering they were produced with materials of iron plates and others, not with flat iron ingots. In the past, comprehensions on iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures had been conducted by putting a high priority to formal elements. Therefore, bird-patterned iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were regarded as irregularly-shaped iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures and considered to be placed in the same category. However, their underlying concepts are different although iron is used as materials similarly. Therefore, it must be understood that there was not merely a difference of regional color between them but they were completely different ritual goods.

## **(2) Relation of concurrent excavation with other ritual ware**

Socketed iron spears during the 3rd century to the 4th century are also examples of ritual goods which were added designs of the shapes of fern. Socketed iron spears, which became longer overall compared to practical socketed iron spears and ornaments like a pattern of fern were added on the sides, appeared at the

end of the 3rd century considering the relics unearthed together and have been unearthed mainly in tombs with narrow-rectangle-shaped timber packing surrounding and protecting a coffin in the east side area of the Nakdong River. For example, Ulsan Hadae site, Gyeongju Gujeong-dong, Gyeongju Gueo-ri tomb no. 1, Ulsan Jungsan-ri, Gyeongju Hwangseong-dong and Dongnae Bokcheon-dong tomb no. 60. In Ulsan Hadae tomb no. 46 and two chambers in Gyeongju Gujeong-dong tomb, more than 10 socketed iron spears were used as coffin pedestals laying like railway rails. In Gyeongju Gueo-ri tomb no. 1, the situation in which casted iron adzes were erected aslant around the corpse and socketed iron spears with a design of fern were laid below was confirmed. A bit with a design of fern was unearthed from Ulsan Hadae tomb no. 43 and a chisel-shaped sharp-edged tool with a design of fern, which measures 97.1 cm long was unearthed from the tomb no. 44, showing a phenomenon of the overall iron implements becoming ritual goods during this period. In Hadae tomb no. 18, 24, 45, 46 and 65, socketed iron spears with a design of fern and iron ritual implements with thorn-like figure of designs of fern were unearthed together, which can be established as the epoch of iron implements of ritual character<sup>70</sup> (Figure 16).

There are examples in which iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools imitating an adze, a sickle and a knife and iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were unearthed together. The iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools have been mainly unearthed in the Goryeong area such as Goryeong Bongwan-dong tomb, Jisan-dong tomb, Kwaebin-dong and Namwon Wolsan-ri tomb. One piece of the iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures was found from earth used in building a mound of the Tomb no.1 in Goryeong Kwaebin-dong mounded tomb group which is a large-scale tomb with timber packing surrounding and protecting a coffin of the beginning of the 5th century. Only the body of it remains and it is curved overall. It has symmetrical five thorns for left and right each, triangle thorns were made by cutting the iron plate below and four thorns are curved outside and made a design of fern at the body. It is about 2 mm thick. The body becomes thinner toward its outside.. This is the oldest example in the Goryeong region and a new material which does not belong to a category of the traditional types. Only three pieces of the iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures have been unearthed in the Goryeong region, which prevents from grasping the overall situation. However, considering that the iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools peculiar to the Goryeong region and prevalent during the 5th century to the 6th century were first found in the Tomb no.1 in Goryeong Kwaebin-dong mounded tomb group and unearthed together with the iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures, the new form of ritual ceremonies is guessed in this region at the beginning of the 5th century<sup>71</sup> (Figure 17).

The iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were unearthed together with the set of pottery and iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools also from the Tomb no.10 in Kwaebin-dong mounded tomb group, which is a pit-style tomb with stone packing surrounding and protecting a coffin of the first half of the 6th century. Only the body of it remains intact and has bilaterally symmetric large and small four “C” shaped thorns. That was found with a sickle attached.

The actual situation of the Goryeong region, which was the center of the Daegaya, began to be known at the excavation of Jisan-dong mounded tomb group. Through the expansion process of the Goryeong-style pottery unearthed in this mounded tomb group, it becomes possible to estimate relationships between Daegaya and surrounding countries. In the Jisan-dong tomb no.35 estimated to date back to the second half of the 5th century, which is the oldest tomb as a mounded tomb in Daegaya, one iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures was found from the ritual feature no. 35D located on the guardian stones in its eastern part. Total 379 iron miniatures of agricultural or craft tools were unearthed in Jisan-dong mounded tomb group, and 23 ones were found in the situation that they gathered on the left of the legs of the buried corpse in the Jisan-dong tomb no.35.

Imitations of iron agricultural and craft tools have been unearthed also in the Japanese Islands, which are called miniatures of ironware (雛形鉄器) as well. It is pointed out that agricultural and craft tools made of iron and iron miniature of agricultural and craft tools were unearthed together in the second half of the 4th century when the imitation began, although main kinds of the tool were different. Also, as the examples of Ishiyama mounded tomb in Mie prefecture show, steatite imitations mainly of agricultural and craft tools had begun to be made since the second half of the 4th century<sup>72</sup>. There is an opinion stating that an origin of iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools in Japan is those of the Korean Peninsula<sup>73</sup>. In fact, there are similar points such as the combination of kinds of tools of object between the two. This is an issue which should be examined together with steatite imitations of objects.

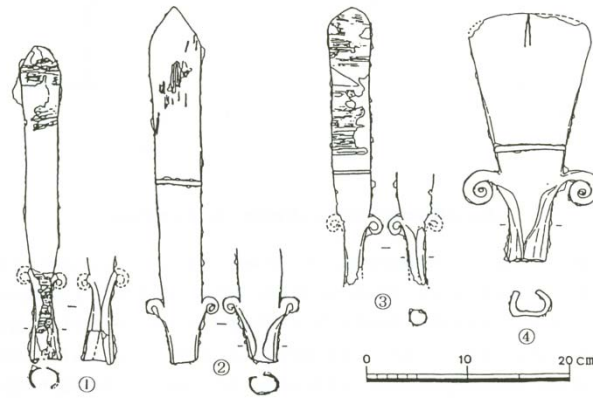


Figure 16 Socketed iron spears with a character of ritual ware and iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures unearthed in Ulsan Hadae Site No. 46 (Seo Yongnam/Lee Hyeon joo (1997): 「三韓・三国時代鉄器の儀器的性格に関する一考察」; 『伽耶考古学論叢』2、駕洛国史蹟開発研究院)

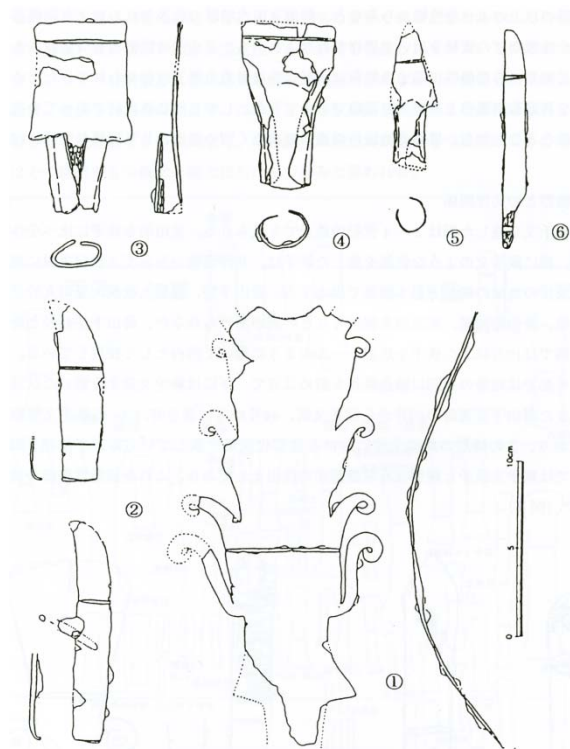


Figure 17 Iron miniatures of agricultural and industrial tool and iron ritual implement with thorn-like figure unearthed in Tomb No. 1 of Goryeong Kwaebin-dong Mounded Tomb Group (Foundation of Yeongnam Cultural Properties Institute (1996): 『高靈快賓洞古墳群』; 嶺南埋藏文化財研究院學術調查報告書第3冊)

### (3) Location of excavation

The iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures, to which a handle is attached, are highly likely to have been buried after they were used for a ritual ceremony. If considering the situation how they have been unearthed thus far, it strongly suggests a character as a major burial accessory because most of those were found in the burial space together with flat iron ingots, iron agricultural tools and weapons.

Gyeongju Hwangnam-dong tomb no.109 is the oldest tomb with piled-stone wooden burial chamber. There are four piled-stone stone packings surrounding and protecting a coffin inside the burial mound, and the

third and fourth ones are estimated to have been built earlier than the first and second ones. In the third one, a group of pottery was put in the east and the body was put in the west, and gold earrings were unearthed at the places where the buried corpse's ears are considered to have been. The buried person had been laid with his head to the east, and an iron single-edged sword was put in the right while the iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures was put in the left. Around the legs, weapons such as an iron single-edged sword, iron arrowheads and a socketed iron spear were buried. From such situation of grave goods, therefore, the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures in Gyeongju region in the second half of the 4th century are considered to have taken on the character of prestige goods like an iron single-edged sword.

There is a specific example which proves that the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were used for a ritual ceremony. Gyeongju Sikri-chong tomb, tomb with piled-stone wooden burial chamber of the second half of the 5th century, is estimated to be 30 meter in diameter and above 6 meter in height. A socketed iron spear and a crushed pedestaled dish were unearthed lying directly on the wooden packing surrounding and protecting a coffin. A long-necked jar was unearthed in the pile of stones. And two socketed iron spears, two iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures and one sickle were unearthed outside of the piled-stone, suggesting that rituals were performed during the processes of building the tomb.

A lot of examples in which the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were used for tomb rituals as described above are observed in Goryeong region. In case of the Tomb no.1 in Goryeong Kwaebin-dong mounded tomb group, which dates back to the beginning of the 5th century, one iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures was unearthed from a layer of the mound above the wooden packing surrounding and protecting a coffin with two pieces of large jars and six pieces of bowl-shaped vessel stands, and all the pottery except for a few vessel stands were found in fragments. Such situation shows us that ritual ceremonies were performed in building a mound using pottery and the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures.

In Jisan-dong tomb no.32, 33, 34 and 35 which are pit-type tombs with stone packing surrounding and protecting a coffin, two or three large pots were unearthed outside of the stones on guard of each feature and various types of pottery such as a vessel stand were unearthed in fragments in a place slightly away from the stones on guard. And one piece of the iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures was unearthed from the ritual feature no. 35D located above the stones on guard in the east of the tomb no. 35 (Figure 18).

Slightly later, there are examples showing such use of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures also in Hapcheon region since the middle of the 6th century. In Jeopo-ri tomb no. E-2, which is a mounted tomb with a stone burial chamber with horizontal lateral entrance, relics such as an iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures, pedestaled dishes, lids, iron knives, ornamented metal fittings for a coffin and chisel-shaped iron implements were confirmed from the mound. From the surrounding moat no. 9, pedestaled dishes, lids, pots and the iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures were also unearthed and these articles may be ritual relics for ceremonies of tomb rituals after the construction of the tomb since they were found in the layer slightly upper than the ground level<sup>74</sup>.

The situation of the excavation as above described shows us that the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were used for ritual ceremonies of tombs with pottery such as large pots and vessel stands in Goryeong region. The limited distribution of ritual wares including iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools in Goryeong region suggests that the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures had been understood to be ritual wares mainly used for ritual ceremonies rather than articles with a character of main burial relic in this region.

The iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were used as grave goods in a lot of tombs in Silla and Gaya district, but also have been found from places other than burial space. Consequently, two usages of main burial articles and ritual wares for ritual ceremonies are considered.

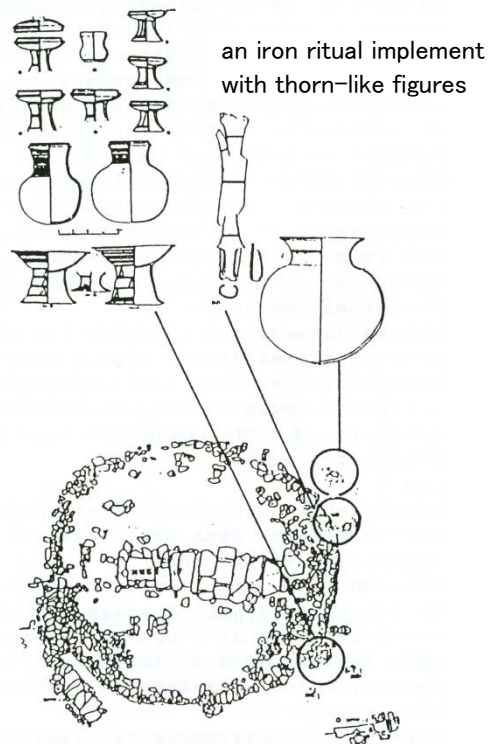


Figure 18 An iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures and pottery unearthed in the Goryeong Jisan-dong Ritual Feature No. 35 (金東淑 Kim Dongsook (2000): 「新羅・伽耶墳墓の祭祀遺構と遺物に関する研究」; 慶北大学校考古人類学科文学硕士学位論文, p. 25)

#### (4) Changing aspects and establishment of stages viewed from regional distributions

Iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures have various processes for each region, and different meanings and different forms of possession appear in each region. For establishing stages of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures, it is closely related to the processes of changes in flat iron ingots in shape of a plate-like iron adze and flat iron ingots used as materials. In this manuscript, the author has roughly divided into four stages on the processes of occurrence, changes and disappearance of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures per region.

##### *First stage*

Incipient stage of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures (the beginning of the 3rd century to the first half of the 4th century)

A-I type; flat iron ingots in shape of a plate-like iron adze/design of fern

As seen in the examples of the Gimhae Yangdong-ri site no. 8 and Ulsan Hadae site, the traces of a plate-like iron adze such as an arc-like edge strongly remains in the first stage. During this period, burials of ironware are noteworthy compared to pottery, and diversified ironware are observed along with burials on a large scale of elongated socketed iron spears with a character of ritual goods and flat iron ingots in shape of a plate-like iron adze. And an article added to the grave goods is the iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures.

Design of fern seen in the first stage of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures is common in a decorative element of socketed iron spears which has a feature of a ritual ware. Its meaning appears to lie in the fact that the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures and the socketed iron spears were buried as a set like the case of Ulsan Hadae. This decorative element was prevalent in the middle of the 3rd century, but it does not exist in sites other than Yeongnam region. Considering a meaning of the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures as an extension that ironware began to be buried on a large scale in large

tombs in Byeonjin (弁辰) district from the 3rd century, it seems that iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were buried as a symbol of economic wealth and socketed iron spears with a character of a ritual ware as a symbol of military.

### ***Second stage***

Stage of specialization by region (the middle of the 4th century to the second half of the 4th century)

A/B - III type; flat iron ingot/ Design of fern, “C” shape

Characters held as a ritual ware did not change in principle, but processing became easier with the use of flat iron ingots. As seen in the examples of Gyeongju, Ulsan Hadae site, Gimhae Yean-ri and Dongnae Bokcheon-dong, diversified changes occurred to the decorations. In particular, a regional characteristic became prominent in the downstream basin of the Nakdong River caused by an appearance of the B-type represented by Dongnae Bokcheon-dong and production of unique iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures decorated with a variety of ornaments in Gimhae region.

### ***Third stage***

Stage of regional indigenization (during the 5th century)

B/C/D-III; flat iron ingot/“C” shape, triangle, folded triangle

E-IV; processed iron sheet, design of birds

Diversification of the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures further developed and regional characteristics began to be clearly presented. Those of B-type were mainly unearthed in Dongnae Bokcheon-dong, C-type in the Gyeongju region, D-type in the Daegu region and E-type in the Hapcheon region. While the decorations became simplified due to omissions of production processes in the east bank basin of the Nakdong River, bird-patterned iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures began to emerge in Haman/Hapcheon region, or the west bank basin of the Nakdong River, starting to form a sharp contrast between the east bank and west bank basins of the river.

As processed iron sheets were used as materials for bird-patterned iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures, it is considered to have a different character in principle from the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures of other regions. This fact can be confirmed also because only this region shows special aspects on the changing processes. Then, the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures in other regions were buried with grave goods such as weapons separated from a body of the buried corpse. However, only one large-scale iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures with a decoration of bird designs was buried near the buried corpse depending on the sizes of a tomb in the Haman/Hapcheon region, showing the unchanging aspect from the first half of the 5th century when the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures emerged to the middle of the 6th century when those disappeared. The noteworthy point here is that there are only three examples of the unearthed iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures in Goryeong region which was the leading power of the Daegaya league, and the examples of those were concentrated in the Haman/Hapcheon region. However, iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools were unearthed on a massive scale in Goryeong region as ritual wares related to agricultural production, expressing a regional characteristic of Goryeong<sup>5</sup>.

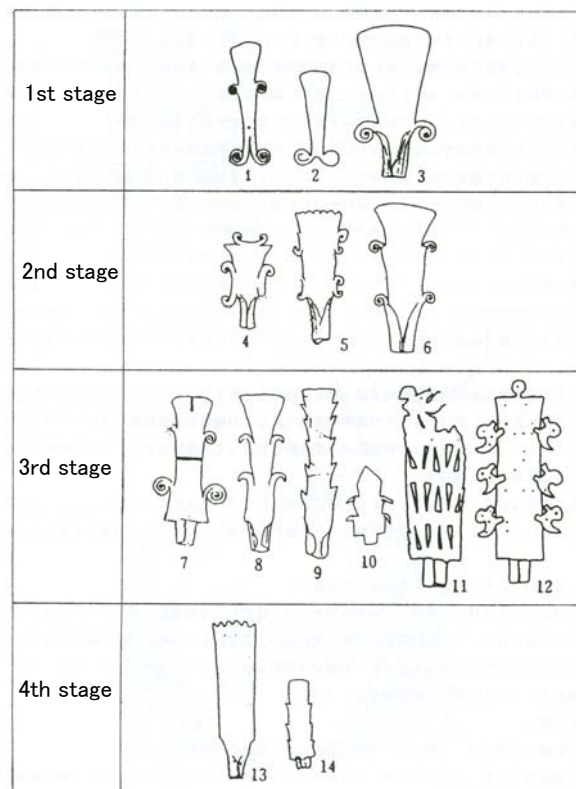
### ***Fourth stage***

Stage of extinction (the end of the 5th century to 6th century)

C/D-III; flat iron ingot/triangle, folded triangle

Iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures disappeared at the end of the 5th century in Bokcheon-dong mound group and in the first half of the 6th century in the Daegu/ Gyeongsan region, but those remained until the 6th century in the Gimhae/Hapcheon region. As seen in the example of Hapcheon Jeopo-ri tomb no. 9 estimated to have been built in the second half of the 6th century, decorations and triangular thorns were degenerated and only small holes on an iron sheet remains. The reasons for the extinction may be that the production of iron or ironware that had been conducted in each region or country was merged and consolidated by Silla (Figure 19).





- |                               |                                 |                                 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Gimhae Yangdong-ri no. 8   | 2. Gyeongju Hwang' o-ri no. 14  | 3. Ulsan Hadae no. 46           |
| 4. Gimhae Yean-ri no. 104     | 5. Gimhae Yean-ri no. 150       | 6. Dongnae Bokcheon-dong no. 60 |
| 7. Changwon Dogye-dong no. 18 | 8. Dongnae Bokcheon-dong no. 11 | 9. Gyeongju Geumryeong-chong    |
| 10. Daegu Dalseo no. 37       | 11. Hapcheon Okjeon no. 47      | 12. Haman Dohang-ri no. 3       |
| 13. Hapcheon Jeopo-ri no. E2  | 14. Daegu Bokhyeon-dong no. 154 |                                 |

Figure 19 Establishment of stages due to changes in forms of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures

### (5) Production of iron and ironware, and iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures

In Gimhae region, the oldest example of an iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures is seen and a lot of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures have been unearthed, which dates back to mainly in the 4th century up to the 6th century when those disappeared.

There is an article in the article of Byeonjin of the Record of Encounters with Eastern Barbarians of the History of Wei in the Records of Three Kingdoms describing “*The country affords iron. Han (韓), Ye (濊) and Wae (or Wa (倭)) all take the iron. For any dealings of market, everyone uses iron like using coins in China. They supply iron to both, Lelang (樂浪) and Daifang (帶方) Commandery*”<sup>76</sup>. This article suggests iron production in the south eastern part of the Korean Peninsula<sup>77</sup>. The country referred to in this article is considered to possibly be in Byeonhan (弁韓) district, and Guya-guk (狗邪国) in Gimhae is the most possible candidate. “Geum” (金) of Geumgwan-guk (金官国)<sup>78</sup>, another name of Guya-guk, means iron, and the words of “Sunara” (須那羅·素奈羅) which mean this region in “Nihonshoki” (日本書紀) can also be comprehended to be “Soenara” (쇠나라) (country of iron)<sup>79</sup>.

Among many archaeological materials including iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures which back up the plentiful production of iron in Gimhae region, the relics unearthed in Daeseong-dong mounded tomb group is particularly noteworthy. This mounded tomb group is considered to be a graveyard of the governing class of Gimhae region built during the 1st century to the 5th century. From the tomb with a wooden coffin of the tomb no. 12 of the first half of the 2nd century that was confirmed in the excavation in 1993, human bones with an iron belt around the head were found, providing valuable materials to guess the origin of a gilt bronze crown. And from the tomb no. 2 and no. 13 which are tombs with wooden

packing surrounding and protecting a coffin of the 4th century, relics of Wa lineage that shows exchanges with the Japanese Islands of those days were unearthed, including bronze whorl plaques with central boss, cylindrical bronze objects, jasper sticks and jasper arrowheads. Such relics reveal that active trading activities were conducted in Gimhae region based on the iron production.

Diversified types of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were unearthed from Dongnae Bokcheon-dong mound group, telling a history of iron production in this region. The B-type iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures, which have “C” shaped thorns, were unearthed in concentration mainly in tombs of the 5th century. Dadaepo and Dongnae is a region identified with Geochil-guk (居柒国) in the “Samguk-sagi” and Tatara (多多羅) in “Nihonshoki”, and the possibility of iron production is also backed up because “Tatara” (traditional steel making method of Japan) is a terminology related to iron-making technology in Japanese<sup>80</sup>.

A lot of iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures of types of A, B and C were unearthed from the main tombs in Gyeongju. Then, also from a legend described in volume 1 of “Samguk-yusa” that Talhae (脱解), ancestor of the Seok (昔) clan, had been a metallurgical workman, we can understand that Saro, located mainly on Gyeongju, grew to be Silla based on iron production. Besides, the first and second volumes of Roles and Duties, Volume 38 to 39 of “Samguk-sagi” describes that Silla especially established an office called Cheolyu-jeon (鉄鑪典) to specialize in production of metal plows and hoes and metal wares, and another office called Gongjang-bu (工匠府) (craftsman office) to administer technologies of metal crafts. There is Gyeongju Hwangseong-dong site as archaeological materials that back up the iron production as described above. Features such as iron making hearths, smelters and refining/forging hearths were found in this site, showing that iron production was conducted under the consolidated operation during the 4th century to the 5th century.

The iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures unearthed in Ulsan Hadae is the one with design of fern as the type of the first stage, and was unearthed together with socketed iron spears with design of fern which has a character of a ritual ware. And in this site, a lot of ironware with a ritual character such as flat iron ingots in shape of a plate-like iron adze was unearthed, which indicate the tendency of ironware in general to become ritual wares. The article of Geodo (居道) of the Biography 4 of volume 4 of “Samguk-sagi” includes a description that Geodo of the generation of Talhae conquered Geochil-guk and Usisan-guk (于尸山国). The location of Usisan-guk is estimated to be Ulsan region. There is a view that the aim of the conquest described in the article was a struggle for iron production<sup>81</sup>. Such a comprehension would be sufficiently possible, also considering the excavation of the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures.

In case of the Daegaya<sup>82</sup>, an area called “Yaro” (冶爐) (literally “metallurgical hearth”) belonging to Hapcheon-gun in the present administrative district is originally Goryeong district, which had relation to iron production as indicated by the name<sup>83</sup>. Also from a description of “Yaro prefecture (冶爐県) affords iron sand. There is an iron factory at Simmyo-ri (心妙里) in the south, making a contribution of pure iron (正鉄) of 9,500 geun (斤) per year” posted in the article of Hapcheon-gun of Geography Book of “Sejong-sillok”, such a fact can be confirmed. Few iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures have been unearthed because iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools were mainly buried as ritual wares. In Goryeong region, iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were used for rituals of funeral ceremonies. The difference of main burial ritual wares as described above is considered to represent regional characteristics and to be attributable to the difference in an underlying ideological concept.

The name of place “Dara-ri” (多羅里) still remains near Okjeon mound group in the Hapcheon region, and this place is highly likely to have been a central of Dara<sup>84</sup> appeared in “Nihonshoki”. An established theory says that Okjeon area was an important small country as a member of the Daegaya league considering the familiarity with Daegaya seen in the excavation of the Goryeong-style pottery<sup>85</sup>. However, the area is considered to be more intimately related to Haman region in terms of ironware with a ritual character as observed in bird-patterned iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures. CHO Yeongje comprehended that there was a group supplying iron and iron products to Daegaya in Okjeon area because the quantity of the metal relics unearthed in Okjeon mound group is extraordinarily much more than those in Jisan-dong mound group in Daegaya<sup>86</sup>. Although the author has classified bird-patterned iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures as iron ritual implements with thorn-like

figures, their materials and forms tell us that those are ritual wares that have in principle a different character from other iron ritual implements with thorn-like figure. It is guessed that those were used for a funeral ceremony to see off a dead person from a decoration of bird design. As Dara that was a member of the Daegaya league was economically based on plentiful production of iron, it is also considered that the rulers appealed their authorities through the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figure that are very decorative and were required sophisticated forging technology.

The regional circles to be established by the differences of the iron ritual implement with thorn-like figure as discussed above are almost equal to the production of iron and ironware in Geumgwan-guk, Geochil-guk, Daegaya, Dara, Usisan-guk and Saro (Silla) cited in the historical documents. As the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures of the first stage were articles which flat iron ingots in shape of a plate-like iron adze were decorated by the design of fern, those had a strong character of personal prestige goods. And those gradually took root in each region and changed to various types. As seen in the examples in Gyeongju and Goryeong, the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were sometimes used as ritual wares in venue of ritual ceremonies.

The indication of regional characteristics as mentioned above shows that groups in charge of iron production were different in each region and, at the same time, means that the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures were used for a symbol of their self-assertiveness. Taking into account that the iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures is a maximized form of the symbolic concept which a flat iron ingot has, it would not be exaggerated to say that establishing regional circles based on iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures directly reflects the actual situation of iron production in Silla and Gaya countries.

## 6. Conclusion

In this thesis, the author has taken a general view of the examples of ritual sites and ritual features in Korea, introduced them per location, and seen the outline of the previous processes of the investigation and the development of studies as comparable materials for understanding and positioning the rituals in Okinoshima Island. After that, the author has examined mainly imitations and iron ritual wares which have been unearthed from tombs and ritual sites/features.

Horse-shaped imitations in ritual-related sites are considered to have a character as offerings to god, and supposed to have been used as offerings in various opportunities for praying for safety of voyages and praying to mountainous gods. Particularly, concerning the usage of horse-shaped iron figurines started in the United Silla period, horse-shaped iron figurines became subject to enshrinement at a divine shrine during the Joseon period. At present days, we see an example in which people dedicate the horse-shaped iron figurine in Seonghwang-dang (城隍堂) in the Gangwon-do Samcheok region<sup>87</sup>. It is very interesting that such examples have been conducted mainly in mountainous areas. Examination of examples of religious folkways like them would be indispensable for reconstructing the way rituals were performed in ancient times.

In Japan, where a lot of horse-shaped clay figurines have been unearthed, only two horse-shaped iron figurines were unearthed from the ritual site of Mt. Futara (or Mt. Nantai) in Nikkō, Tochigi prefecture<sup>88</sup>. Considering this situation, horse-shaped iron figurines could be called ritual relics peculiar to Korea.

In case of Silla earthen figurines, pure climate of Silla that does not own exotic elements is directly reflected and indigenous religious aspects appear in them. The earthen figurine itself has identity and its expression is very realistic, and life phase of this world and symbolism of various animals are dramatically merged, creating magic elements. Earthen figurines were made in a collective way in around the 5th century, when Silla was accelerating as a powerful ancient state. Decorative pottery to which earthen figurines were attached has been unearthed collectively in tombs of Gyeongju region. The tombs are not piled-stone tombs with wooden packing surrounding and protecting a coffin of upper class but mostly mounted tombs with a stone burial chamber around those of upper class, showing a structural difference of the social classes.

Decorated Sue wares (unglazed stoneware) in Japan have strong regional characters<sup>89</sup>, and their origin may

be due to exchanges with Silla. It is required to understand them in the process of exchanges between areas and that of integration of foreign groups who settled in Japan to local groups.

The iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures is a maximized form of the symbolic concept which a flat iron ingot has, and it had settled in each region and changed into diversified types. And as seen in the examples in Gyeongju and Goryeong, it was used as a ritual ware for ritual ceremonies in some occasions. Establishing regional circles based on the iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures directly reflects the actual situation of iron production in Silla and Gaya countries. The regional characteristics show differences between groups in charge of iron production in each area, and concurrently mean that the iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures was used as a symbol of their self-assertiveness.

Main offerings in ritual features during the 5th century in the Japanese Islands are considered to have been consisted of iron weapons, iron agricultural/craft tools, clothes, flat iron ingots as iron materials and early Sue wares<sup>90</sup>. The introduction of ritual wares made of iron together with flat iron ingots which are precious iron materials and the latest technology of blacksmithing is sufficiently possible. Iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools are distinctive relics, which collectively appeared in part of the Gaya district, in the basin of the Geum River of Paekche, and in the basin of the Yeongsan River in Jeollanam-do even during the Three Kingdoms period in the Korean Peninsula.

From tombs and ritual sites in Japan, while iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools have been unearthed, any iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures has not been unearthed so far. Flat iron ingots, from which iron ritual implements with thorn-like figures are made, have been unearthed mainly in tombs of the 5th century in Japan. Although as many as 872 flat iron ingots of various sizes were unearthed in Yamato tomb no. 6 which is a satellite burial mound of Uwanabe tomb in Nara city, an iron ritual implement with thorn-like figures, a simplified article made by slightly processing a flat iron ingot, has never been found there. In Okinoshima ritual site no. 21, iron miniatures of agricultural and craft tools were found in the situation that they were coexisted with flat iron ingots and practical ironware items. From the site no. 8, more than 50 pieces of iron miniatures of an adze, and similarly, more than 50 pieces of iron miniatures of a single-edged sword were unearthed. Such an uneven distribution of iron ritual wares in both Korea and Japan shows regional characteristics thereof, and let us know aspects of cultural exchanges and receptions including customs and ceremonies accompanied by transfer of technologies and even by migration of people.

The actual situation of iron production and trading in the Korean Peninsula are well known from historical records and archaeological materials. In case of Silla, particularly, it would not be exaggerated to say that their diplomatic strategy putting an emphasis on trading led to a great achievement of the subsequent unification. The sphere of the trading seems to have spread to the remote Western Regions. It has already checked, based on the descriptions of not only “Samguk-sagi” but also other Korean historical materials, relics unearthed from tombs and Arabian historical materials of the medieval times, that diversified products of culture were delivered from the Western Regions such as the Arab Islamic Empires during the Silla period, and there were people coming and going as well as trading between the two regions<sup>91</sup> (Figure 20).

A lot of relics related to Silla have been unearthed also in Okinoshima Island. A gold four-petal finger ring, a gilt bronze crupper strap divider with spangles and cast iron adzes unearthed in the site no. 7 or no. 8 of rituals in the shade of rock, the second stage of the rituals in Okinoshima, are imported articles, similar to the articles from the tombs of Silla around Gyeongju. A fragment of cut glass cup unearthed in the site no. 8 was a cup from the Sassanid Empire,<sup>92</sup> hence, Okinoshima Island is called as “the End of the Silk Road.” The similar cups were unearthed in the tomb no. 98 and the tomb no. 155 (Cheonma-chong) of Hwangnam-dong and Geumryeong-chong tomb, Gyeongju.

The magnificent relics of the site no. 7 and no. 8 in Okinoshima were products of the exchanges with Silla, and these sites are estimated to belong to from the second half of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century. However, there are almost no historical records that can certify the specific negotiations thereof, and the only one clue to explore a history of exchanges is an article concerning the Rebellion of Chikushi-no-Kuni-no-miyatsuko Iwai who was said to have risen in revolt against the Yamato polity joining hands with Silla in the 21st to 22nd year of Emperor Keitai. The involvement with Okinoshima

rituals by Munakata-no-Kimi who was a powerful regional clan in Munakata region at the second stage can be estimated judging from the situation of the tombs in this region<sup>93</sup>. Munakata-no-Kimi, who had been taking command of the sea people in Munakata region, would have sailed between Chikushi (Kyūshū) and the southern part of the Korean Peninsula and performed rituals for praying for the safety of navigation and bumper for the goddess of Okinoshima<sup>94</sup>.



Left: Decorated treasure sword unearthed in Tomb No. 14 of Gyerim-ro in King Michu tomb area, Gyeongju (Silla, from the 5th century to the 6th century, 36 cm long, Treasure No. 635, National Gyeongju Museum (1995):『国立慶州博物館』)

Right: Stone statue of soldier of Iranian origin in Gwaereung, Gyeongju (權寧弼Kwon Young-pil (1997):『シルクロード美術』悦話堂、p.16)

Figure 20 Artifacts of Silla expressing exchanges with the Western regions

The third stage of the Jungmak-dong ritual site that plays a very important role in considering ancient ocean traffic routes concurrently with Okinoshima Island is also estimated to be from the second half of the 5th century to the first half of the 6th century. During the center of this period, it can be guessed that the basin of the Yeongsan River and Gaya, and Wa (Kyūshū) performed jointly rituals when Gara made a contribution to the Southern dynasties<sup>95</sup>. It seems that there is a dualistic structure of trading around the East Asia at its back. The forces of Kyūshū would have had a view on trading different from that of the Kinai which is symbolized by the subsequent Rebellion of Iwai, and formed a network of groups of sea people.

### Supplementary notes (not translated):

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3 ①祭祀遺物に関する研究論文

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- 9 高麗大学校埋蔵文化財研究所 (2004) : 『麻田里遺跡(C 地区)』
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- 58 この名称は、日本の縄文時代の土偶と混乱を招く恐れがあるが、韓国では一般的に定着している



ため、ここでは新羅の「土偶」と呼ぶことにする。

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- 62 国立慶州文化財研究所（2004）：『慶州蒜谷洞・勿川里遺跡 慶州競馬場予定敷地 A 地区』
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- 66 東潮（1985）：『古代朝鮮の祭祀遺物に関する一考察』；『国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告第7集』国立歴史民俗博物館 p. 490
- 67 李基白、李基東（1982）：『韓国史講座』古代篇、一潮閣、p. 149
- 68 李基東 上記の補注50の文献 p. 151
- 69 統一新羅時代の柏栗寺石幢記（高さ104cm、各面の幅29cm 慶州博物館所蔵第）一面には、異次頓殉教の場面と仏教公認の内容が刻まれている。元々慶州市の柏栗寺にあったが、1914年慶州博物館に所蔵された。『三国遺事』巻3 原宗興法厭觸滅身条によると、この碑の建立年代は817年（憲徳王9年）に推定される。
- 70 徐始男・李賢珠（1997）：『三韓・三国時代鉄器の儀器的性格に関する一考察』；『伽耶考古学論叢』2、駕洛国史蹟開発研究院、p. 155 →有刺儀器を儀器鉄矛の性格を継ぐ新たな形態の鉄器と把握し、有刺儀器の登場と非実用的な鉄矛を通じて推定できる嶺南地域の地域的な分化は同一のものであるとした。
- 71 安順天（1997）：『大伽耶圏域の縮小模型鉄製農具研究』；釜山大学校史学科文学碩士学位論文、p. 159 →小形鉄製模造農耕具が高靈地域内ではⅠ～Ⅲ階級の古墳、周辺地域では大伽耶と密接な関係を持つ首長墓からのみ出土していることから、高靈での支配層と管理階層の統制、周辺地域との首長層との結束関係が推測できると指摘した。
- 72 上野恵司（1997）：『古墳と明器』；『季刊考古学』第59号、p. 75 →滑石の普及に伴い容易に模造品が造られる状況において、あくまで鉄にこだわった模造品が作られた点について、当時の鉄の供給問題と模造品を造るという新たな葬送・埋納儀礼の導入が考えられるとした。
- 73 門田誠一（1993）：『武器と農具の語る精神世界』；『海でむすばれた人々』
- 74 金東淑（2000）：『新羅・伽耶墳墓の祭祀遺構と遺物に関する研究』；慶北大学校考古人類学科文学碩士学位論文、p. 25
- 75 朝鮮時代後期の『擇思志』の記録によると「慶尚右道は農耕立地条件が非常に良好で、特に伽耶川流域の星州、高靈、陝川と智異山東側の晋州などは韓半島内でもっとも肥沃な土地であって、単位面積当たりの収穫量が一番多く、農業用水が豊富で、旱災にあわない」と記述されている。
- 76 『三国志』魏志東夷伝弁辰条「国出鉄、韓 倭皆從取之、諸市買皆用鉄、如中国用錢、又以供給二郡」
- 77 記事の中の国が辰弁韓のどの地域を指しているのかに関してはまだ議論の余地があるが、有刺儀器の出現から想定できる原三国時代における初期段階の鉄生産の中心は金海地域であると思われる。
- 78 『三国史記』地理志、『三国遺事』五伽耶—『本朝史略』
- 79 李永植（1996）：『伽耶と鉄』；『市民のための伽耶史』、釜山・慶南歴史研究所編、p. 65
- 80 李賢恵（1995）：『鉄器普及と政治権力の成長』；『伽耶諸国の鉄』、仁済大学校伽耶文化研究所編、p. 19
- 81 李賢恵 前掲論文 p. 22
- 82 大伽耶の表記は『三国史記』地理志、『三国遺事』五伽耶—『駕洛国記』に見られ、現在の慶尚北道高靈がその比定地である。
- 83 李炯基（2000）：『大伽耶の聯盟構造に関する試論』；『韓国古代史研究』18、p. 22
- 84 『日本書紀』神功紀49年（多羅の表記は『梁職貢図』百濟使でも見られる）
- 85 李熙濬（1995）：『土器からみた大伽耶の圏域とその変遷』；『伽耶史研究』
- 86 また4～6世紀前半にかけて多くの遺構から玉が出土しており、鉄器・玉を生産する工人集団の存在の可能性は極めて高い。



- 87 金泰坤（1983）：『韓国の民間信仰研究』、集文堂
- 88 大場磐雄編（1983）：『神道考古学講座第3巻－原始神道期二』、雄山閣
- 亀井正道（1971）：「祭祀遺物－模造品の変遷－」；竹内理三編『古代の日本2』、角川書店
- 89 間壁菫子「装飾須恵器の小像群」1988、『倉敷考古館研究集報第20号』 →日本の場合は主体が犬、鹿、猪、馬、鳥であるが、出土数の多い岡山・兵庫・大阪・和歌山では人物像との組み合わせの例が多い。
- 90 笹生衛（2010）：「古墳時代における祭具の再検討－千束台遺跡祭祀遺構の分析と鉄製品の評価を中心に－」；『國學院大学伝統文化リサーチセンター研究紀要』第2号、p. 91
- 91 ムハマド カンス（1992）：『新羅・西域交流史』、檀国大学校出版部
- 権寧弼（1997）：『シルクロード美術』、悦話堂
- 鄭守一（2002）：『文明交流史研究』、四季節出版社
- 92 弓場紀知氏は新羅の古墳から出土したほとんどがローマングラスであることを指摘し、ササン・ペルシア系ガラスはローマングラスより一世紀後の五、六世紀のものであり、その伝来経緯が異なるとした。
- 93 原俊一（1988）：「古墳時代の宗像」；『古代を考える－沖ノ島と古代祭祀』 吉川弘文館
- 94 和田萃（1988）：「沖ノ島と大和王権」；『古代を考える－沖ノ島と古代の祭祀』、吉川弘文館、p. 187
- 95 高慶秀（2003）：「三国時代の海洋祭祀に関する一考察－扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡を中心に－」；『考古学シリーズⅧ：考古学に学ぶ（Ⅱ）』同志社大学、p855～865
- 同上（2008）：「韓国扶安竹幕洞祭祀遺跡の文化複合－海辺と航海の祭祀－」；『古代日本の異文化交流』勉誠出版、p108～127

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